

ORAZIO AND ARTEMISIA GENTILESCHI

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KEITH CHRISTIANSEN

JUDITH W. MANN

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Yale University Press, New Haven and London

This catalogue is published in conjunction with the exhibition "Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi: Father and Daughter Painters in Baroque Italy," held at the Museo del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, October 15, 2001–January 6, 2002; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, February 14–May 12, 2002; The Saint Louis Art Museum, June 15–September 15, 2002.

This project is supported in part by grants from the National Endowment for the Arts.

In New York, the exhibition is made possible in part by the Gail and Parker Gilbert Fund.

The exhibition has been organized by the Soprintendenza per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico e Demoetnoantropologico di Roma, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and The Saint Louis Art Museum.

In New York, the exhibition catalogue is made possible by the Doris Duke Fund for Publications.

Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

John P. O'Neill, Editor in Chief
Emily Walter, Editor, with the assistance of Jane Bobko
Bruce Campbell, Designer
Gwen Roginsky and Sally VanDevanter, Production
Robert Weisberg, Desktop Publishing
Jean Wagner, Research and Bibliographic Editor

Translations, from the Italian, of the essays by Roberto Contini, Riccardo Lattuada, and Alessandro Zuccari and catalogue entries 11 and 14: A. Lawrence Jenkins; the essay by Livia Carloni, from the Italian, by Erikson Translations; the essay by Jean-Pierre Cuzin, from the French, by Jane Marie Todd.

Set in Dante and Centaur
Printed on 130 gsm R-400
Color separations by Professional Graphics Inc., Rockville, Illinois
Printed and bound by Europrint SNC, Treviso, Italy

Jacket/cover illustration: Orazio Gentileschi (1563–1639). Detail of *Lute Player* (cat. 22)

Back cover illustration: Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1652/3). Detail of *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 51)

Frontispiece: Orazio Gentileschi. Detail of *Judith and Her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes* (cat. 39)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Christiansen, Keith.
Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi / Keith Christiansen, Judith W. Mann et. al.
p. cm.
Catalog of an exhibition held at the Museo del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, Oct. 15, 2001–Jan. 6, 2002, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Feb. 14–May 12, 2002, and the Saint Louis Art Museum, June 15–Sept. 15, 2002.
Includes bibliographical references and index
ISBN 1-58839-006-3 (hc.:alk. paper)—ISBN 1-58839-007-1 (pbk.:alk. paper)—ISBN 0-300-09077-3 (Yale University Press)
1. Gentileschi, Orazio, 1563–1639—Exhibitions. 2. Gentileschi, Artemisia, 1593–1652/3—Exhibitions. I. Mann, Judith Walker. II. Gentileschi, Orazio, 1563–1639. III. Gentileschi, Artemisia, 1593–1652/3. IV. Museo di Palazzo Venezia (Rome, Italy). V. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.). VI. St. Louis Art Museum. VII. Title.

ND623.G36 A4 2001
759.5'09'032074—dc21

2001044343

Contents

Foreword

Work on this project began in earnest three years ago, when, following the initiative of Judith Mann at The Saint Louis Art Museum, The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Soprintendenza per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico e Demoetnoantropologico di Roma agreed to collaborate on an ambitious, three-venue exhibition devoted to the work of Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi, father and daughter. Fascinating figures in their own right, when looked at together these two related but strikingly individual artists define many issues posed by the revolution in painting brought about in early-seventeenth-century Rome by Caravaggio. Orazio was arguably the most singular and inspired of those artists who knew and were directly influenced by the Lombard master (most Caravaggesque artists came to his work indirectly, through the example of Bartolomeo Manfredi), while Artemisia used a Caravaggesque idiom to become the greatest female painter of the century. Surprisingly, Orazio has never been the subject of a monographic exhibition, while the exhibition devoted to Artemisia, held in Florence in 1991, was limited in scope.

Today, much scholarly and popular attention has tended to focus on Artemisia. However, in the seventeenth century Orazio's fame eclipsed that of his daughter, and in the first half of the twentieth century—in the flush of scholarly interest in Caravaggio and his followers—he seemed well on the way to the sort of popularity now enjoyed by Georges de La Tour. In such exhibitions as "The Age of Caravaggio," mounted in New York and Naples in 1985, or the recent "Genius of Rome," in London and Rome, Orazio's pictures stood out for their striking blend of Caravaggesque realism and Raphaelesque classicism—of physical immediacy and abstraction. Of course, Orazio's example was the determining factor in Artemisia's training and has been thought a key element in the art of such non-Italian masters as Hendrick ter Brugghen and even Vermeer. He worked at the courts of Marie de' Medici in Paris and of Charles I in London, and, as Jean-Pierre Cuzin points out in this catalogue, his contribution to French painting was substantial. To those unfamiliar with Orazio's work, the exhibition will be a revelation; his brilliant use of color and his compact, carefully constructed compositions—curiously devoid of the dramatic urgency that lies at the core of Artemisia's paintings—are unforgettable. He is a poet of light—nowhere more so than in the sublime *Annunciation*, in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin (cat. 43)—and on this count alone is a central figure in the history of seventeenth-century painting. Thanks to a number of exceptional loans—among which, mention should be made of the altarpieces from Ancona, Fabriano, Farnese, Rome, Turin, Milan, and Urbino, and the large canvases from Paris and London—it has been possible to present through Orazio's finest paintings a panorama of his career.

Fueled by feminist studies, interest in Artemisia's art has increased enormously over the last quarter of a century: here is a strong female voice in an almost exclusively male chorus. Rejecting the genres of portraiture and still life—the arena deemed suitable to women artists—Artemisia sought to compete (and sometimes collaborate) with her male colleagues, undertaking mythological, allegorical, and biblical themes. Far from shying from violent, erotically charged subjects, she made them the focus of her activity, giving prominence to stories involving a female protagonist-victim. (In this, her work has often been interpreted as an extension of her own biography.) At a time when marriage and the convent were the only respectable alternatives held out to a woman in a Catholic society, Artemisia chose to live by her brush. The audacity of that choice and its implications for the interpretation of her pictures by twenty-first-century viewers are explored by Elizabeth Cropper, in her provocative contribution to this catalogue. Here, it should be stated that despite the groundbreaking monograph by Mary Garrard in 1989 and the recent, indispensable catalogue raisonée by R. Ward Bissell, we are still far from a coherent view of Artemisia's career. There remain basic issues of attribution and dating, and these are best dealt with in the context of a full-scale, monographic exhibition,

where pictures can be compared directly. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a case in which an exhibition could contribute more fruitfully to shaping our views of an artist. The fact that the authorship of a picture of the quality of the *Cleopatra* (cat. nos. 17, 53) is still the subject of debate—it is catalogued here under both Orazio and Artemisia—testifies to the problems that attend the study of her paintings.

Every effort has been made to give the fullest possible representation of Artemisia's work and to deal with some of the thorny problems that beset an understanding of her career. Unfortunately, many of the canvases she painted in Naples are in poor condition, and what are arguably her finest late masterpieces—two splendid canvases in Potsdam—are attached to a wall of the grand gallery of the Neues Palais and thus could not be lent. Despite the presence of the Brno *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 83), it has proved impossible to do full justice to Artemisia's still undervalued late works. However, as Judith Mann emphasizes in her introductory essay, our understanding of this exceptional artist is still a work in progress and the cumulative effect of this, the most comprehensive display of her work ever assembled, will, we trust, play a vital role in that endeavor.

Doubtless, the experience of seeing the work of father and daughter together will be an enriching one, encouraging a deeper, more subtly shaded appreciation of the very different achievements of each. Our ability to do this is, of course, directly dependent on the generosity of the lenders, to whom we would like to express our profound thanks. We would especially like to note Fernando Cecha, Director of the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid; Karl Schütz, Director of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Jan Kelch, Director of the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Nicola Spinosa, Soprintendente per i Beni Artistici e Storici in Naples; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, Director of the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence; Serena Padovani, Director of the Galleria Palatina, Florence; Maria Lucrezia Vicini, Director of the Galleria Spada, Rome; Graham W. J. Beal, Director of the Detroit Institute of Arts; Earl A. Powell III, Director of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; and Lady Victoria Leatham for agreeing to deprive their collections of two or more works in the interest of furthering our understanding of these artists.

The exhibition was organized by Judith W. Mann, at the Saint Louis Art Museum, Keith Christiansen, at the Metropolitan Museum, and Rossella Vodret, of the Soprintendenza in Rome. They have carried out their tasks with dedication and professionalism and our gratitude to them is great.

This project is supported in part by grants from the National Endowment for the Arts. The Metropolitan Museum gratefully acknowledges the Gail and Parker Gilbert Fund for its generosity toward the exhibition in New York. Our sincere thanks go also to the Doris Duke Fund for Publications for making the exhibition catalogue possible.

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Acknowledgments

This catalogue and exhibition would not have been possible without the assistance of numerous friends and colleagues. Special mention should be made of Erich Schleier, to whom we turned again and again for advice and guidance and who acted, in effect, as an unofficial member of the organizing committee. R. Ward Bissell and Mary Garrard—the two leading scholars on Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi—were no less generous with their counsel and help. Together with Rossella Vodret, Roberta Rinaldi has played an indispensable role in negotiating Italian loans. Richard Spear generously read most of the catalogue and offered invaluable advice.

Keith Christiansen would like, in particular, to thank Andrea Bayer, Patrizia Cavazzini, Gabriele Finaldi, and David Stone, who kindly read his entries and offered their comments. Mary Newcome was his vade mecum in Genoa, while Livia Carloni acted as his mentor in all things Marchigian. He would also like to acknowledge the contribution of the students in a seminar he taught at the Institute of Fine Arts. During the last three years his research was greatly facilitated by the assistance of three young scholars: Laura Zirulnik, Emilie Beck, and Marcello Toffanello.

Judith Mann would like especially to note the contributions of the late Stephen Pepper and to acknowledge the critical support provided by James D. Burke, former director of the Saint Louis Art Museum. She also wishes to express her appreciation for the help of Alexandra Lapierre. She has benefited from fine student assistants: Doug Allebach, Angela Wilcoxson, Heather Maes, Diane Linsin, C. D. Dickerson, Deborah Ruiz, and Susanna Burke. Mary Beth Carosello warrants special thanks for her organizational skills and unflagging ingenuity.

Among the many others to whom we have incurred debts of one kind or another, we would like particularly to acknowledge: Alfred Ackerman, Annette Ahrens, Sivigliano Alloisi, Placido Arango, Luis Arenas, Irina Artemieva, Paola Astrua, Joseph Baillio, Irene Baldriga, Gerd Bartoschek, Alexander Bell, Sergio Benedetti, Carlo Bennati, Carla Bernardini, Rita Bizzotto, Katherine Blaney-Miller, Pietro Boccardo, Babette Bohn, Caterina Bon, Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée, Claudia Caldari, Piero Cammarota, Francesca Cappelletti, Dawson Carr, Alessandro Cecchi, Costantino Centroni, Matteo Ceriani, Kaliopi Chamonikola, Françoise Chaserant, David Chesterman, William and Marjorie Coleman, Maira Corsinovi, Jon Culverhouse, Jean-Pierre Cuzin, Paolo Dal Poggetto, Mons. Gino Paolo D'Anna, Diane De Grazia, C. Roustan Delatour, Margarita López Diaz, Giampiero Donnini, Jean Edmonson, Yael Even, Everett Fahy, Richard Feigen, Larry Feinberg, Dorothee Feldman, Giancarlo Fiorenza, Sarah Fisher, Michael Foreman, Abramo Galassi, Vittoria Garibaldi, Hans-Joachim Giersberg, Angel Balau Gonxaléx, George Gordon, Burchkhardt Göres, Marco and Matteo Grassi, Mario Guderzo, Ann Guité, Fátima Halcón, Charlotte Hale, Nicholas Hall, Gisela Helmkampf, Sabine Jacob, David Jaffe, Catherine Johnston, J. Richard Judson, George Keyes, Armand Killan, Richard Knight, Teresa Laguna, Jean Laidlaw, Marit Lange, Mario Amedeo Lazzari, Carol Lekarew, Mark Leonard, Knut Ljogodt, Christopher Lloyd, Stéphane Loire, Nannette Maciejeunes, Stefania Macioce, Dorothy Mahon, Eugenio Malgeri, Patrick Matthiesen, Maurizio Marini, Juan Martinez, Don Aldo Mei, Juan Garrido Mesa, Lorenza Mochi Onori, John Morton Morris, Massimo Mossini, José Gabriel Moya, Marina Nelli, Larry Nichols, Bruno Oberhansli, Elke Oberthaler, Father Denis O'Brien, Piero Pagano, Enrica Pagella, Antonio Paolucci, Anna Maria Pedrocchi, Zora Pelousková, George Pepe, Nando Peretti, Silvana Pettenati, Catherine Phillips, Claudio Pizzorusso, Joan Pope, Wolfgang Prohaska, Elizabeth Ravaud, Mons. Cesare Recanatini, Paolo Riani, Eugenio Riccomini, Esperenza Rodriguez, Pierre Rosenberg, Eliot Rowlands, Giorgio Saitta, Timothy Salmons, Ana Sánchez-Lassa, Carla Scoz, Mons. Luigi Scuppa, Michael Shapiro, Michael Simpson, John Somerville, Hubert von Sonnenberg, Carla Enrica Spantigati, Paul van der Spek, Luigi Spezzaferro, Timothy Standring, David Steele, Mahrukh Tarapor, Bonnie Teeter, Marianne Thauré, Katka Tlachová, Letizia Treves, Simona Turriziani, Andrés Ubeda de los Cobos, Jesús Urrea,

Mariella Utili, Maria Rosaria Valazzi, Francesco Virnicchi, Marco Voena, Chrisoph Vogtherr, Robert Wald, Roger Ward, Mark Weil, Clovis Whitfield, Adam Williams, Stephan Wolohojian, Albert Ysequilla, Eric Zafran, Pietro Zampetti, and Don Alfredo Zuccatosta.

For production of the catalogue, we are especially grateful to our editor, Emily Walter, our designer, Bruce Campbell, and to Jean Wagner, Gwen Roginsky, Sally VanDevanter, Robert Weisberg, Ann Lucke, and Jane Bobko, working under the guidance of John P. O'Neill.

For the organization and installation of the exhibition, the following people should be mentioned. At The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Linda M. Sylling, Manager for Special Exhibitions and Gallery Installation; Herbert M. Moskowitz, Chief Registrar; Marceline McKee, Loans Coordinator; Stephanie Oratz Basta, Associate Counsel; Emily Kernan Rafferty, Senior Vice President for External Affairs, and Kerstin Larsen, Deputy Chief Development Officer for Corporate Programs; Michael Langley, Exhibition Designer; Zack Zanolli, Lighting Designer; Barbara Weiss, Graphic Designer; Kent Lydecker, Associate Director for Education; Elizabeth Hammer-Munemura, Associate Museum Educator; Harold Holzer, Vice President for Communications; Andrew Ferren, Senior Press Officer; Barbara Bridgers, Bruce Schwarz, and Paul Lachenauer in the Photograph Studio.

At the Saint Louis Art Museum: Linda Thomas, Assistant Director for Exhibitions; Jeanette Fausz, Registrar; Cornelia Homburg, Assistant Director for Curatorial Affairs; Jim Weidman, Director of Development; Jeff Wamhoff, Installation Designer; Dan Esarey, Head of Building Operations; Ann Thunell, Administrative Assistant, Curatorial; Jon Cournoyer, Graphic Designer; Brett Schott, Corporate Donors; Katie Pope; Kay Porter, Community Relations; Rita Wells, Retail Sales; Louise Cameron, Head of Youth and Family Programs; Victor Simmons, Head of Adult Programs; Stephanie Sigala, Acting Director of Education and Public Programming; Paul Haner, Paintings Conservator; and Mary Ann Steiner, Head of Publications.

Keith Christiansen
Judith W. Mann

Lenders to the Exhibition

AUSTRIA
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5, 45
CANADA
Ottawa, The National Gallery of Canada 42
CZECH REPUBLIC
Brno, Moravská Galerie 83
FRANCE
Le Mans, Musée de Tessé 64
Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 47
Paris, Musée du Louvre 44
GERMANY
Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 19, 27
Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 23
Munich, Alte Pinakothek 85
Pommersfelden, Kunstsammlungen Graf von Schönborn 51
HUNGARY
Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum 61
IRELAND
Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland 12
ITALY
Ancona, Church of the Gesù (on deposit in the Pinacoteca Comunale di Ancona; Proprietà Arcidiocesi di Ancona–Osimo) 7
Bologna, Musei Civici d'Arte Antica di Bologna, Collezioni Comunali d'Arte 66
Fabriano, Church of Santa Maria Maddalena; Cathedral of San Venanzio 24, 29
Farnese, Chiesa parrocchiale del SS. Salvatore 14
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi; Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti 58, 59, 60, 62
Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera; Amedeo Morandotti; Dott. Gerolamo Etro 9, 17, 67
Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte 55, 72, 79
Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria 32
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini; Santa Maria della Pace; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini; San Silvestro in Capite; Galleria Spada 4, 11, 18, 21, 25, 52, 63
Turin, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica e Palazzo Madama; Galleria Sabauda 16, 43
Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche 30
NORWAY
Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet 13
ROMANIA
Bucharest, Muzeul National de Artă al României 15
SPAIN
Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes 46
El Escorial, Colecciones del Real Monasterio 84
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado 6, 20, 77
Seville, Cathedral 68
UNITED KINGDOM
Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery 34
Hampton Court, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 81
London, Matthiesen Gallery 49
Stamford, Burghley House 38, 65
UNITED STATES
Bryn Mawr, Martha McGeary Snider 50
Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums 28
The Cleveland Museum of Art 41
Columbus Museum of Art 80
The Detroit Institute of Arts 40, 69
Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art 39
Houston, The Museum of Fine Arts 33
Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum 37
Minneapolis, Curtis Galleries 57
New York, Richard L. Feigen; The Metropolitan Museum of Art 36, 71
Princeton, The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Foundation 8, 70
The Saint Louis Art Museum 54
The Toledo Museum of Art 78
Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art 22, 31
PRIVATE COLLECTIONS 1, 2, 3, 10, 26, 35, 48, 56, 73, 74, 75, 76, 82

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Rossella Vodret
Livia Carloni
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The exhibition has been organized by the Soprintendenza per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico e Demoetnoantropologico di Roma; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and The Saint Louis Art Museum.

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Notes to the Reader

Abbreviated references are used throughout. For full listings, see the bibliography.

Measurements are given in inches and centimeters. Height precedes width.

Unless otherwise noted, entries for Orazio Gentileschi are by Keith Christiansen; those for Artemisia Gentileschi are by Judith W. Mann. The following initials are used:

LC Livia Carloni
MPdO Maria Pia d'Orazio

If a picture is not exhibited in all three venues, the venues are designated as follows:

Rome
New York
Saint Louis

The venues reflect loan arrangements as of September 1, 2001.

Chronology

Documented Chronologies of the Life and Work of Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi

ORAZIO

1563 *July 9* Orazio Gentileschi is baptized in Pisa, the son of a Florentine goldsmith, Giovanni Battista Lomi. (Carità 81)

ca. 1576–78 Moves to Rome.

1587 Guarantees a loan to his older brother Aurelio Lomi. (Masetti Zannini 1974, 43)

ca. 1588–89 Is part of équipe that decorates the Biblioteca Sistina in the Vatican.

1593 *Presentation of Christ,* Orazio's fresco in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, is completed.
Living on via Ripetta near San Giacomo degli Incurabili.

1594 *December 6* First son, Giovanni Battista, is baptized. (Bissell 1981, 99)

1595 *April 24* Paid for paintings on the catafalque of Cardinal Marco Sittico Altemps in Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome. (Toesca 1960)

1596 *June 8* Working on the *Conversion of Saint Paul,* an altarpiece (destroyed) for San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome. (Samek Ludovici 1956, 153–54)

1597 *February 27* Is contracted to decorate two chapels in the Benedictine abbey at Farfa, some twenty-five miles north of Rome, and to carry out other frescoes in the nave of the church. Working with an équipe of artists, he eventually contributes to the decoration of three chapels in the left nave, provides two altarpieces, and decorates the lunettes between the chapels. His personal contribution is limited. Work seems to be completed by February 1599. (Bissell 1981, 135–37)
June 11 Second son, Francesco, is baptized. Living on Piazza di Spagna in the parish of San Lorenzo in Lucina. (Bissell 1981, 100, Lapierre 1998, 430)
August Angelo Fiorenzuola, a Florentine textile merchant, is pressured to begin the frescoed decoration of the family chapel in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome. The frescoes are still unfinished in 1604, when funds from revenues are sought; in 1611, Orazio is mentioned as having received four hundred scudi many years ago ("più [anni] fa"). The frescoes are not complete in 1615, and Orazio's actual contribution is limited to frescoes in the vault and the underside of the entrance arch, as noted in an anonymous early-seventeenth-century guidebook. (Suzan Major Germond 1993, 754–59; Christiansen 1994, 621; Dorati da Empoli 2001, 52, 54–55 n. 16)

1598–99 Is paid for work in the Benedictine abbey, Farfa.

1599 *May* Scaffolding is erected for the frescoed decoration of the transept in San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, under the direction of the Cavaliere d'Arpino; work is largely completed by August 19, 1600, when the cycle is inspected by Clement VIII; Orazio paints a monumental apostle. (Freiberg 1995, 83, 300–301)

ARTEMISIA

(This chronology is comprised in large part of edited selections from the Register of Documents in R. Ward Bissell, Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art: Critical Reading and Catalogue Raisonné *[University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999], in which full archival and bibliographical references are provided. Reprinted by permission of the author and publisher. Material added by Judith W. Mann appears in brackets.)*

1593 *July 8* Artemisia Gentileschi is born in Rome.
July 10 Baptized in the Roman church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, the daughter of Orazio Gentileschi and Prudentia Montoni.

ORAZIO | ARTEMISIA

July 2 and 29 Is paid for painting four angels in the cupola of the Madonna dei Monti, Rome; four others are painted by Cesare Nebbia. (Tiberia and Barroero)
July 31, 1599–June 5, 1600 Is paid for frescoing the apse of San Nicola in Carcere, Rome, for Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. (Abrombson 1981, 355)
September 16 Third son, Giulio, is baptized. Orazio is listed as living on via Paolino (present-day via del Babuino) in the parish of Santa Maria del Popolo. (Hoogewerff 1938, 112)

ca. 1600 Establishes a friendship with Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio.

1601 Living in Rome on via del Babuino, at the corner of via dei Greci; he will remain there until 1610. (Bissell 1981, 100; Lapierre 1998, 430)
March 22 Petitions to execute cartoons for the mosaics in the cupola of Saint Peter's (see appendix 2).
September 24 Son Giovanni Battista dies.
October 13 Another son, also named Giovanni Battista, is baptized. (Bissell 1981, 100)

1603 *February 2* Giovanni Battista, the second of Orazio's sons to bear this name, dies.
July Is obliged to pay the Accademia di San Luca, evidently for an evaluation of work he has done in the Ubertini family loggia near his home; he makes the payment on May 30, 1604. (Gallo)
September 12 and 14 Testifies in a libel suit involving the painters Giovanni Baglione and Caravaggio: "I can write, but not very correctly." Caravaggio, in his testimony, denies that Orazio was his friend: "He hasn't spoken to me in over three years." Orazio declares: "I haven't spoken with Caravaggio in about six or seven months, though he sent a request for a Capuchin habit and a pair of wings that I lent him and he returned about ten days ago."

1604 *May 30* Another son, Marco, is born.

1605 Wife, Prudentia Montoni, dies at the age of thirty. (Bissell 1981, 101)
Contributes to the Accademia di San Luca (not in 1613, as is often stated). Becomes a member of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon. (Bissell 1981, 101)

1605 (Artemisia) *June 12* Confirmation day for the eleven-year-old Artemisia in San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome.

1606 *March 7* Witnesses the will of the sculptor Tommaso della Porta together with Annibale Carracci, Annibale's pupil Giovan Antonio Solari, and the sculptor Domenico Lupo. (Panofsky 1993, 125)

1607 *March 1* Is living on via del Babuino with his four children and his widowed sister, Lucrezia. (Bissell 1981, 101)
March 23 Is contracted by the banker Settimio Olgiati to paint a *Baptism of Christ* for Santa Maria della Pace, Rome (cat. 11). The altarpiece is to be completed within six months. (Maniello 1994)
June 24 Orazio's *Circumcision* (cat. 7) is installed on the high altar of the Gesù, Ancona. It was commissioned at a cost of 303 scudi by Giovanni Nappi sometime after 1605, when construction on the church began. Nappi's son Filippo was rector of the church. (Pirri 1952, 13; Carloni in Fossombrone 1997, 22, 26 n. 31)
November 25 In a record of a pastoral visit by Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato to Como, Orazio's *Vision of Saint Cecelia* (cat. 9) in the church of Santa Cecilia is described as recently finished. (Rovi 1992)

1608 *May 31* The record of a pastoral visit to the parish church of San Salvatore, Farnese, mentions the altar for which Orazio painted a *Saint Michael* (cat. 14). (Schleier 1970, 177)

1608–9 (Artemisia) Artemisia begins her training as a painter.

1609 Date on reverse of *Madonna and Child* (cat. 15).
April 15, July 10, and December 23 Is paid for work on the mosaics in the crossing dome of Saint Peter's.

ORAZIO

October 24 Is reported as painting a *Madonna and Child* for the duke of Mantua; it is delivered in February 1610 and returned for retouching. (Luzio 60–61 note; see cat. 15)

1610

March 20 Living on via del Babuino; moves soon after to via Margutta, where he is certainly listed on February 16, 1611 (*stati di anime*: see appendix 1).
May 28, June 11, July 16, and August 6 Paid for the mosaic of the Madonna in the crossing dome of Saint Peter's. (Orbaan 1919, 84–87)

1611

Works with Agostino Tassi on the decorations of the Sala del Concistoro in the Palazzo del Quirinale. There are payments to Tassi from March 19, 1611; on September 6, 1611, he is paid for having completed the room. Payments to Tassi and Orazio follow in January 1612 for the decorations in Cardinal Lanfranco Margotti's quarters in the Quirinale. A final joint payment to Tassi and Orazio is made in January 1612. (Cavazzini 1998, 219)
April 10 Moves from via Margutta to via della Croce and then, after July 16, to the parish of Santo Spirito in Sassia—not far from Tassi's residence—where he is cited as living in 1612. (Lapierre 1998, 430)
September 13 Payments for the scaffolding for the decoration of Scipione Borghese's Casino delle Muse on the Quirinale, Rome (fig. 6). Payments to both Orazio and Tassi run through April 1612; in October 1612, the frescoes are described as "newly painted." A last payment is made to Orazio on December 6, 1612, and to Tassi on December 15. There are no payments during March or between April and December 1612. (Cavazzini 1998, 218)

1612

Orazio and Tassi finish the frescoes for the Casino delle Muse (see under 1611).
Date inscribed on the reverse of Orazio's *Judith and Holofernes* (fig. 46), probably the picture confiscated for the trial.
Orazio Griffi founds an oratory at San Girolamo della Carità, Rome, for which Orazio's *Saint Francis with an Angel* (cat. 21) may have been painted. (Vodret 1998, 71–73)
March Files suit against Agostino Tassi for the rape of his daughter, Artemisia. The trial begins on March 2 and ends on October 29, 1612, followed by preliminary sentencing of Tassi on November 27 and definitive sentencing on November 28.
July 3 Writes to the grand duchess of Tuscany to beg her aid in keeping Tassi in prison, offering to send her a sample of Artemisia's work.

1613

October A roll call of the Accademia di San Luca reports that Orazio is working in the Palazzo (or Monte) Savelli but is at present "outside Rome." (Gallo 1998)

1614

January Name appears in the account books of the Savelli family in Rome. (Testa 1998 349)

1615

January 17 Niccolò Tassi, a neighbor and friend of Orazio's, writes to the astronomer Galileo Galilei mentioning Orazio ("pictore insigni"). He encloses an epigram he had written about a *Cleopatra* that Orazio had sent to Cosimo II, grand duke of Tuscany. (Pizzorusso 1987, 70; see cat. 17)
April 6 Name occurs in the account books of the Savelli. (Testa 1998, 349)
March 16 Andrea Cioli, the Florentine secretary of state, writes to Pietro Guicciardini, the Florentine ambassador to Rome, inquiring about Orazio, whose fame has reached Florence, and noting that Artemisia has already established a reputation there. (Crinò 1960, 264)
March 27 Guicciardini responds with a devastating evaluation of Orazio and his art. Stating that the artist is living with Paolo Savelli, he reports that he has located only two pictures on public display in Rome: the Casino delle Muse frescoes (fig. 6) and the Santa Maria della Pace *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 11). (Crinò and Nicolson 1961)

ARTEMISIA

1610

Artemisia's earliest dated painting, the *Susanna and the Elders* at Pommersfelden (cat. 51).

1611

May 6 Raped by Agostino Tassi.
October Designated godmother to the son of the Spaniard Pietro Hernandes (Pedro Hernández), according to testimony presented during perjury proceedings against witnesses at the Tassi trial.

1612

May 14 During her testimony at Tassi's trial, Artemisia speaks of a portrait that she had painted of a cleric named Artigenio.
November 27 "The excellent and very illustrious Hieronimus Felice, judge, condemns [Agostino Tassi] to choose between a punishment of five years of hard labor or banishment from Rome." (Cavazzini 1998, 175–76)
November 28 Tassi chooses banishment; the court sentences him to exile.
November 29 Artemisia marries Pierantonio di Vincenzo Stiattesi, a Florentine, in the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome.
December 10 Pierantonio Stiattesi assigns power of attorney to his brother, the sometime notary Giovanni Battista, entrusting him with his Roman affairs in a possible preparation for leaving the city.

1613

September 21 In Florence, a son, Giovanni Battista, is born to Artemisia and baptized in the parish of Santa Maria Novella, with Lorenzo di Vincenzo Cavalcanti standing as godfather.

1614

November 1 A bill to Pierantonio detailing charges made by Artemisia to a joiner for artist's supplies and household furnishings.

1615

July 10 In the Florentine parish of San Piero Maggiore, Artemisia stands as godmother at the baptism of a child named after her, born July 9 to Annibale di Nicolò Caroti and Ottavia di Marcantonio Coralli. The painter Cristofano Allori is designated godfather.
August 24 Advance of ten florins from Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger to Artemisia for the *Allegory of Inclination* (fig. 110).
September 7 Note by Artemisia's husband to Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger requesting four or five ducats for the "number of misfortunes that had befallen him."
Between September 7 and November 13 Requests of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger 21 lire (i.e., three florins), which she claims she will reimburse as she had her previous debts to him.
November 9 A son, Cristofano, born to Artemisia on November 8 and named after his godfather, the painter Cristofano Allori, is baptized in the Florentine parish of Sant'Ambrogio.
November 13 Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger pays Artemisia three florins; she receives it in bed, "being in childbirth."

	ORAZIO	ARTEMISIA
1616	*July 19* May be in Florence when Artemisia pays her matriculation fee for the Accademia del Disegno. (Bissell 1981, 103)	*February 3, April 2, June 18, and August 20* Four payments totaling 16 florins to Artemisia, two stipulated for the *Allegory of Inclination*. *May 9 through January 6, 1617* Itemized account of charges totaling 32 scudi, three baiocchi for goods supplied to Artemisia by a druggist. *July 19* Matriculates at the Accademia del Disegno at Florence. *August 20* *Allegory of Inclination* is delivered. Although Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger's account with the artist is closed, Artemisia remains indebted to him.
1617	*January* Writes to Don Giovanni de' Medici, the natural son of Duke Cosimo I, and asks his help in securing work in the ducal palace in Venice in place of another artist—probably Carlo Saraceni. (Crinò 1960, 264)	*August 2* A daughter, named Prudenza (Prudentia) after her deceased maternal grandmother and born to Artemisia on August 1, is baptized in the Florentine parish of San Salvatore, the Cavaliere Anea di Silvio Piccolomini Aragona standing as godfather. This daughter apparently also answered to the name Palmira. *December 6* Carpenters summoned by the Accademia del Disegno estimate a reduced amount for the bill that Artemisia had run up with another carpenter in 1614 and 1615.
1618		*January 24* Final judgment against Artemisia for the debt to a carpenter that she had accrued in 1614 and 1615. *March 3* Payment on behalf of the grand duke of Tuscany to Artemisia for paintings executed or to be executed. *June 26–27* Argues successfully before the council of the Accademia del Disegno in Florence that a certain judgment made against her by a Francesco Lomi is invalid, since as an artist she is entitled to the privileges and subject only to the rules of the Accademia. *October 14* A daughter born to Artemisia on October 13 is baptized in the Florentine parish of Santa Lucia sul Prato with the name Lisabella, after her godmother, wife of the dramatist Jacopo Cicognini. The poet Jacopo di Bernardo Soldani stands as godfather.
1619	*February 20 and 27* Is recommended to Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere in Urbino by Cardinal Bonifacio Bevilacqua to fresco the tribune of the church of Sant'Ubaldo, Pesaro. Nothing comes of it. (Gronau 1936, 273–74) *July 24* Applies to decorate the benediction loggia at Saint Peter's, a commission that is instead given to Giovanni Lanfranco (see appendix 2).	*February 28* Notice that a *Diana at Her Bath* by Artemisia has entered the collection of the grand duke of Tuscany. *June 5* A letter addressed by Artemisia to Grand Duke Cosimo II of Tuscany requests his intervention in a judgment brought against her by the Accademia for debts incurred by her husband to a Michele *bottegaio*. She claims ignorance of the debts and protests the judgment because "as a woman she could not incur debts while her husband was still with said woman." *June 9* Death of Artemisia's daughter Lisabella. *July 4* In the Florentine parish of Santa Lucia sul Prato, Artemisia stands as godmother at the baptism of a child named after her, a daughter born to Filippo d'Antonio Stinelli and Lisabetta di Alessandro Sapiti. *December (?) 18* The council of the Accademia del Disegno orders Artemisia to pay a creditor 70 lire.
1620	The chapel in San Benedetto, Fabriano, containing Orazio's *San Carlo Borromeo* (fig. 53), is dedicated.	Date on *Jael and Sisera* (cat. 61). *January 13* Order to give Artemisia 1½ ounces of ultramarine so that she may finish a *Hercules* which the grand duke has ordered. *January 16* Order that Artemisia pay for the aforementioned ultramarine. *February 10* Letter from Artemisia to Cosimo II de' Medici informing him of a proposed trip to Rome and promising to send him within two months a painting for which she has already received 50 scudi. *February 15* Order to return to Artemisia those household goods of hers which had been sequestered because of her failure to pay for the 1½ ounces of ultramarine she had received.
1621	Giovan Antonio Sauli, of an old Genoese patrician family, is in Rome for the papal election and invites Orazio to Genoa. For Sauli, Orazio paints a *Penitent Magdalene*, a *Danaë*, a *Lot and His Daughters*, and "other works of great exquisiteness" (cat. nos. 35–37). (Soprani 1674, 316–18)	*February 10* Inventory in Florence of household effects and studio materials for sale to Francisco Maringhi (see appendix 3). *March* In Rome, living on via del Corso with her husband, Pierantonio Stiattesi, her daughter Palmira, and servants. *November 17* Sublets a small apartment on via della Croce.
1622		[Date on *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 65).] Date on the reverse of the *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* (cat. 66).

	ORAZIO		ARTEMISIA
			Lent Living on via del Corso with her husband, her daughter Palmira, her brothers Giulio and Francesco, and servants. *June* Finding a group of Spaniards on his via del Corso doorstep, apparently there to serenade his wife, Pierantonio is accused of having slashed one of them in the face.
1623	*April 2* Writes to Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy, offering his services, and sends an *Annunciation* (cat. 43). Had already sent a *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 42). (Baude de Vesme 1932, 319; Pizzorusso 73)	**1623**	*Lent* Living on via del Corso with her daughter and servants. By this date Artemisia's husband has departed, and sometime thereafter she loses track of him. [The Ludovisi inventory lists a *Susanna and the Elders* by Artemisia (Wood 1992, 522).]
1624	*April 17* Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy, writes to his son Vittorio Amedeo about 150 ducats that Orazio owes an innkeeper, stating that this sum should be paid if they want the artist to come to Turin and begin work. (Bava in Romano 1995, 248) *August 13* The Neapolitan painter Battista Caracciolo offers to prepare an estimate of the frescoes (destroyed) Orazio has just painted for Marc Antonio Doria's casino at San Pier d'Arena, near Genoa—a loggia to whose decoration Caracciolo had himself contributed. Orazio either is still in Genoa or has just left for France. (Pacelli-Bologna 1980, p. 27) Arrives in Paris to work for Marie de' Medici.	**1624**	*February 27* A *Cupid and Psyche* by Artemisia is inventoried in the Patrizi collection at Rome. *Lent* Living on via del Corso with her daughter and a servant.
1625	*May* The duke of Buckingham arrives in Paris for the proxy marriage of Marie de' Medici's daughter Henrietta Maria to Charles I; he acquires two works by Orazio (see cat. 45). Orazio is invited to London.	**1625**	*March 17 or later* A *Saint Apollonia* painted by Artemisia on copper figures in an inventory of the Medici Villa Imperiale. *Lent* Living on via del Corso with a daughter, Prudentia, and servants. *June 20* Sublets an apartment on via Rassella (via dei Serpenti); her home and studio remain on via del Corso. *July 1625–February 1626* Three paintings attributed to Artemisia—a *Christ and the Little Children* (fig. 132), a *David with a Harp*, and a *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 68)—are acquired in Rome by the duke of Alcalá, Spanish ambassador extraordinary to the Holy See. *September 15* Appealing to the civil tribunal, Artemisia's servant Dianora Turca demands back pay in the amount of 30 scudi, of which she is awarded 20 (see October 18). *September 29* The artist witnesses as godmother the baptism of another Artemisia, daughter of a Luca from Siena and a Domenic from Zagarolo. *October 18* Date of Dianora Turca's claim that Artemisia still owes her 10 scudi for services rendered. *December 9* Enters into an agreement with her landlord concerning work to be done by him on her via del Corso residence.
1626	*September/October* Arrives in London. On December 4, Amerigo Salvetti, the envoy of the grand duke of Tuscany, writes, "About two months ago there came here from France Signor Orazio Gentileschi, painter, whom I am given to understand, besides exercising his art, is also engaged in another matter of great importance, as he is often with the duke of Buckingham and also with the king." The duke of Buckingham outfits quarters for him at the cost of five hundred pounds. Orazio is seen in the company of noted members of the court. (Sainsbury 1859, 311–15; A. M. Crinò 1967, p. 532)	**1626**	A *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* thought to be by Artemisia is recorded by Cassiano dal Pozzo in the Madrid collection of the marqués de la Hinojosa.
1627	*July 16* The Tuscan envoy in London, Amerigo Salvetti, writes to Florence to announce the imminent departure of Orazio's two sons Francesco and Giulio, who are to go to Genoa to purchase pictures for Charles I. They leave on August 20, but the purchase is later thwarted by Nicholas Lanier, the king's agent. (see Finaldi 1999, 35 n. 32)	**1627**	Date of the engraving by Jérôme David after Artemisia's *Portrait of the Engineer Antoine de Ville.* Date of a pamphlet printed in Venice containing verses dedicated to three paintings—*Amoretto, Lucretia,* and *Susanna and the Elders*—by Artemisia. Publication in Venice of the *Lettere di Antonio Colluraffi,* in which Artemisia's presence in the city is noted and she and her talent extolled by way of letters, Latin inscriptions, and madrigals.
1628	*January 31* Royal warrant granting Orazio an annuity of one hundred pounds, backdated to December 25, 1626. A fresh warrant is issued on January 31, 1630, for three hundred pounds. This sum is paid in three installments: April 20, 1630, November 12, 1630, February 4, 1631. (Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 145, and Wood 2001, 115, 125–26)	**1628**	In Venice, where she receives a payment of 1,467 giulii, 14 baiocchi for a *Hercules and Omphale* commissioned by Philip IV of Spain through the intermediary of the conde de Oñate.

ORAZIO

The painter-writer Joachim von Sandrart visits Orazio's London studio and sees a *Penitent Magdalene*, a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, and *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 46).
August The duke of Buckingham, Orazio's primary supporter in London, is assassinated.
December 4 A pass is issued for Orazio's son Giulio to return to Italy. (Sainsbury 1859, 311 n. 37)

1629

Orazio: A list is drawn up by the rival painter Balthazar Gerbier of the money Orazio has received from Charles I. The list mentions a *Magdalene,* a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, a *Christ at the Column,* and a *Lot and His Daughters* (see cat. nos. 45, 46, 49). (Sainsbury 1859, 314–15; and Finaldi 1999, 35 n. 31)
Gentileschi is called "his Ma[jesty]'s Picture Maker (Croft-Murray 1947, 90 n. 11)
January 29 Writes to Charles I about the hostilities between his son Giulio and Gerbier (see p. 226) (Sainsbury 1859b)
March Writes to the secretary of state, Lord Dorchester, about the trip Giulio and Francesco made to Italy on behalf of the king and accounting for payments received from the king between 1627 and 1629 (see appendix 4).
April 24 Writes to Lord Dorchester regarding the sums he has received and is owed (see appendix 4).

Artemisia: *July 1629–May 1631* A *Saint John the Baptist* and two paintings described as portraits of Artemisia are acquired by the duke of Alcalá, Spanish viceroy to Naples.

1630

Orazio: Roger du Plessis de Liancourt, duke of La Roche-Guyon, pays 460 livres to Orazio for a painting of Diana (cat. 47). (Finaldi 1999, 36 n. 57)
October 13 Laments his financial condition to Lord Dorchester, the secretary of state (see appendix 4).

Artemisia: Date on Capodimonte *Annunciation* (cat. 72).
August 24 Letter from Artemisia in Naples to Cassiano dal Pozzo in Rome, notifying him that she has received the measurements for a picture and that she will begin work on his commission after she completes "some works for the empress."
August 31 Letter from Artemisia to Cassiano dal Pozzo informing him again that he will have the portrait commissioned by him as soon as she finishes "some works for the empress."
December 21 Letter from Artemisia to Cassiano dal Pozzo reporting that she has returned to Naples and assuring him that the *Self-Portrait* he had commissioned will be dispatched to Rome.

1631

Orazio: *June 23* Warrant is issued to pay Orazio two hundred pounds for pictures delivered to Charles I. (Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 145)
July 28 The widow of the duke of Buckingham writes to Lord Dorchester that if Orazio receives his pay from the king, he will return to Italy, thus freeing up York House for her use. (Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 145)

Artemisia: *August 21* Final 12 ducats paid to Artemisia of a 20-ducat fee for a *Saint Sebastian* for Giovanni d'Afflitto of Naples.
Autumn Visited in Naples by the German painter and writer Joachim von Sandrart, who sees a *David with the Head of Goliath* in her studio.

1632

Orazio: *June 14* Warrant is issued to pay Orazio four hundred pounds for his services. (Crinò and Nicolson 1961,145)

Artemisia: Date on the *Clio, Muse of History* (cat. 75).

1633

Orazio: *May 8* Letter of introduction from Sir John Coke, secretary of state, to Sir Arthur Hopton, the English ambassador in Madrid, for Orazio's son Francesco, who is accompanying Orazio's *Finding of Moses* (fig. 87) to Madrid to present the painting to Philip IV. (Harris 1967)
July 13 Writes to the grand duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II, expressing his desire to return to Florence; sends a small painting as a sample of his work. (Crinò 1954, 203–204)
October 14 Balthazar Gerbier writes Charles I from Brussels that the queen mother, Marie de' Medici, and the infanta have admired Gentileschi's work (see appendix 4).
October 26 Sir Arthur Hopton, the English ambassador in Madrid, writes to Sir John Coke, reporting Philip IV's satisfaction with Orazio's *Finding of Moses*. (Harris 1967)
November 18 Philip IV authorizes payment of nine hundred ducats to Orazio for the *Finding of Moses*. (Bissell 1981, 106)

1633–34

Orazio: An account for varnishing and gilding of picture frames at Greenwich mentions three pictures by Orazio: *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48), *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (fig. 88), and *Muses* (fig. 93); also a *Tarquin and Lucretia*, likely to be by Artemisia (Chettle 1937, 104).

1634

Artemisia: *March 15 and 18* The English traveler Bullen Reymes, retainer of the duke of Buckingham, visits Artemisia and her daughter in their Neapolitan residence. Prudentia is said to be both a painter and a player of the spinet.

1635 *January 21* Letter from Artemisia to Cassiano dal Pozzo announcing that her brother Francesco is to arrive in Rome with a painting she has made which, through Cassiano's help, she wishes to present to Cardinal Antonio Barberini (January 25 and July 20, 1635).
January 25 Letter from Artemisia to Francesco I d'Este in Modena apprising him that she has sent her brother Francesco to Modena with pictures for the duke. She claims that her brother had been dispatched by Charles I to bring her to England but that she would prefer Francesco d'Este's patronage.
March 7 Letter from Francesco d'Este thanking Artemisia for her gift.
May 22 Letter from Artemisia to Francesco d'Este expressing her gratitude that the paintings had found favor. She entreats the duke to provide her with the means of serving him in person.
July 20 Letter from Artemisia in Naples to Ferdinand II de' Medici announcing the arrival in Florence of her brother with paintings for the grand duke. She also tries to guarantee patronage from the grand duke so that she can postpone her trip to England.
October 9 Letter from Artemisia in Naples to Galileo in Arcetri asking his help in determining whether the two large paintings she had sent to Florence had pleased the grand duke.
October (?) 20 Letter from Artemisia to Andrea Cioli in Florence asking if the two large pictures she had sent pleased the grand duke.
December 11 Letter from Artemisia thanking Andrea Cioli for his courtesies, and proclaiming her desire to send him a *Saint Catherine* by her hand and a painting by her daughter.

1636 *February 11* Letter from Artemisia to Andrea Cioli lamenting the "tumults of war" and the poor quality and high cost of life in Naples; again seeks employment in Florence.
April 1 Letter from Artemisia to Andrea Cioli asking his assistance in arranging the grand duke's patronage. Planning to journey to Pisa in May to sell some property there for money, to marry off a daughter; proposes to stop in Florence for a period of four months.
May 5 Receipt of 250 ducats as final payment for three paintings for Prince Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein.
December 19 Transfer of 20 ducats from the bank account of Bernardino Belprato to Artemisia, as final payment of 60 ducats for a painting she is to deliver.

1637 *October 24* Letter from Artemisia to Cassiano dal Pozzo about her need for money for her daughter's marriage; asks whether or not her husband is still living.
November 24 Letter from Artemisia to Cassiano dal Pozzo identifying the pictures that she intends for Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini as a *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* and a *Saint John the Baptist in the Desert*. Expresses her wish to return to Rome.
[*December 22* Inventory of Alessandro Biffi collection lists a *Madonna*, a *Lute Player*, an *Allegory of Painting* by Artemisia, and a *David* by Orazio (see cat. nos. 52, 63, 18) (Cannatà-Vicini 1992).]

1637–39 Three pictures by Artemisia are listed in the English royal collections: *Fame, Susanna and the Elders,* and *Tarquin and Lucretia*.

1638 [*Self-Portrait as a Lute Player* (cat. 57) and *Self-Portrait as an Amazon with Curved Sword and Helmet* are recorded in a Medici inventory of the Villa Medici at Artimino. (Papi 2000, 452)]
March A *David with the Head of Goliath* by Artemisia is inventoried in the collection of Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani at Rome.
March 1 A *Judith Slaying Holofernes* is entered in a Medici inventory of the Palazzo Pitti.
March 3 Artemisia's *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 60) is entered in a Medici inventory.

1639 (Orazio) *February 7* Orazio dies in London, "much mourned by his majesty." (Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 145)
July 2 Orazio's will is proved by his son Francesco. (Finaldi 1999, 33)

1639 (Artemisia) *December 16* Letter from Artemisia in London to Francesco I d'Este in Modena telling the duke that her brother will arrive from England to present a painting to him.

1640 Document listing Artemisia's *Saints Proculus and Nicea* and *Saint Januarius in the Amphitheater* (cat. 79), and almost certainly her *Adoration of the Magi*, for the cathedral at Pozzuoli.
Date of the engraving by Jean Ganière after Artemisia's *Child Sleeping near a Skull.*
March 16 Letter from Francesco I d'Este in Modena to Artemisia in London, thanking her for the painting she has sent him.

1644 A painting by Artemisia described as "a woman with an Amore" is inventoried in the collection of Cardinal Antonio Barberini in Rome.

1646 *November 17* A *Judith* attributed to Artemisia, having been inherited by the Pio Monte della Misericordia, Naples, from the estate of D. Cesare di Gennaro, principe di San Martino, is evaluated.

1648 *September 5* Payment of 30 ducats to Artemisia in Naples made by Fabrizio Ruffo, prior of Bargnara, for a painting on which she is working.

1649 Five pictures by Artemisia are listed in the English royal collection: *Fame, Susanna and the Elders,* "A S[t] laying his hand. on frutite," *Diana at Her Bath* (elsewhere identified as *Bathsheba*), and *Tarquin and Lucretia.*
[Date on Brno *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 83).]
A *Sacrifice of Isaac* and a *Saint Cecilia* appear under Artemisia's name in the Neapolitan collection of Vincenzo D'Andrea.
January 5 Payment of 160 ducats to Artemisia for a *Galatea* from Don Antonio Ruffo of Messina.
January 30 Letter from Artemisia in Naples to Don Antonio Ruffo in Messina for the *Galatea.* (Ruffo 1916, 48)
February 21 Letter from Ruffo to Artemisia containing 100 ducats as an advance for a *Diana at Her Bath.*
March 13 Letter from Artemisia to Ruffo reporting the receipt of 100 ducats and lamenting that the *Galatea* shipped in January had suffered from the sea journey. Adds that she will send Ruffo her *Self-Portrait* and a small picture by her daughter, whom she had married to a Knight of St. James. [She also notes that she is bankrupt and in need of work.]
June 5 Letter from Artemisia to Ruffo acknowledging his correspondence of May 24 and informing him that because of the indisposition of the model who was posing for it, the picture (identifiable as the *Diana at Her Bath*) was not yet finished. Notes she has made three paintings for Don Fabrizio Ruffo, a prior in Naples.
June 12 Letter from Artemisia to Don Antonio Ruffo requesting 50 ducats to help defray her high expenses for female nude models.
June 22 Two advances to Artemisia for the *Diana at Her Bath.*
July 24 Letter from Artemisia to Ruffo acknowledging receipt of the advance. Postpones delivery of the *Diana* to the end of the August.
August 5 Date of an accounting by Ruffo of expenses incurred in providing a shipping crate and a frame for Artemisia's *Galatea.*
August 7 Letter from Artemisia to Ruffo announcing receipt of his voucher and the imminent completion of the picture. She adds that she will show him "what a woman can do."

September 4 Letter from Artemisia to Ruffo explaining that she has not met the delivery deadline for the *Diana* because a change in the perspective had necessitated redoing two of the figures.
October 23 Letter from Artemisia to Ruffo expressing her mortification that he wished to cut by one-third her fee for the *Diana at Her Bath.*
November 13 Letter from Artemisia to Ruffo informing him that she had finished the *Diana at Her Bath* but could not let it go for less than the stipulated price. She comments: "You will find the spirit of Caesar in this soul of a woman."
A second letter is sent. In correspondence of October 26, Ruffo had informed the artist of a cavaliere in Messina who wanted works by her hand, specifically a *Judgment of Paris* and a *Galatea,* the latter to be different from the one for Don Antonio, and a preliminary drawing. Artemisia claims that "in none of my pictures is there the slightest repetition of invention, not even a single hand," and notes her resolve never again to submit drawings, since one for the bishop of Sant'Agata de' Goti representing souls in purgatory had been turned over to another painter to execute.
December Letter from Artemisia to Ruffo sending Christmas greetings while apprising him that if he wants the *Diana at Her Bath* he has to intervene, given the ill will between her and Don Antonio's nephew and intermediary in Naples, the prior Don Fabrizio Ruffo.

1650 *February 26* Advance of 25 ducats to Artemisia for the *Diana at Her Bath* in October 1649 is recorded in Don Antonio Ruffo's account book.
April 12 Artemisia receives a final payment of 80 ducats for the *Diana at Her Bath* from Don Flavio Ruffo in Naples acting on behalf of his brother Don Antonio.
April 30 Three notations in the account book of Ruffo note that Artemisia has been paid.
August 13 Letter from Artemisia to Ruffo expressing her gratitude that he has resumed communication with her and her hope of sending him a "little *Madonna* in small scale" (possibly cat. 84).

1651 *January 1* Letter from Artemisia to Ruffo informing him that she is still convalescing from an illness she contracted at Christmastime, and that she will send him the small *Madonna* on copper—now half-painted—when she is well. Reports she has in her studio two half-completed paintings as large as the *Galatea,* representing Andromeda Liberated by Perseus and Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, which she will finish by April for 90 scudi each, providing that Ruffo advances her 100 ducats.

1652 Date reported to have appeared on a *Susanna and the Elders* with Averardo de' Medici in Florence.

1653 Publication date in Venice of the *Cimiterio, epitafij, giocosi* by Giovanfrancesco Loredan and Pietro Michiele, which includes two posthumous epitaphs disrespectful of Artemisia.

Orazio Gentileschi



The Art of Orazio Gentileschi

KEITH CHRISTIANSEN

We possess two portraits of Orazio Gentileschi (1563–1639). As luck would have it, they date from two widely separated and crucial periods of his life. The first is from 1612, when Orazio was fifty years old. He had just completed work on two cycles of frescoes: one for an apartment in the grandiose palace of Pope Paul V (r. 1605–21) on the Quirinal hill (destroyed), the other for a garden loggia, or casino, for the pope's art-loving nephew, Cardinal Scipione Borghese (figs. 6, 7). These were collaborative enterprises, undertaken with the perspective specialist Agostino Tassi (1578–1644), and they should have crowned Orazio's decade-long effort to establish himself as one of the major painters in Rome, alongside artists such as the slightly older Cigoli (1559–1613) and the rising star of a younger generation, Guido Reni (1575–1642), both of whom were also employed by Scipione Borghese. In his 1674 biography, Raffaele Soprani specifically links Orazio's subsequent fame to his work for the Borghese. Yet this was a bittersweet moment, for while work on the projects proceeded, Tassi took advantage of his professional association with Orazio to quench an insatiable passion for the latter's daughter, Artemisia. After much frustration and scheming, he raped (or, in the legal terminology of the day, deflowered) her on May 3, 1611. Though he already had a wife, he convinced Artemisia to enter into a liaison that, he promised, would end in marriage—thus setting things aright. The affair came to a head when it was discovered, belatedly, by Orazio, who took Tassi to court, applying for justice to the same pope for whom he had been working.[1] It is in the context of the ensuing trial that the first, verbal sketch of the artist was made by a friend of Tassi's who was an innkeeper—conditioned, one imagines, to sizing up his clients. "Orazio is a man of fifty years, with a black beard that is beginning to turn a little white. He is of a good height and dresses in black."[2] To this thumbnail delineation of his outward aspect, we may add a few tints of character. Carlo Saraceni (ca. 1579–1620), a fellow Caravaggista who had known Orazio for upward of ten years, described him as an honorable person ("persona molto honorata").[3] Then there is the testimony of the wife of Orazio's tailor, Costanza Ceuli, who had known the artist for fourteen years and lived next door to him on via della Croce—in the popular quarter of Rome between Santa Maria del Popolo and Piazza di Spagna. Costanza noted wryly that Orazio was truly a poor man, who spent grandly when he had money and did nothing when his pockets were empty ("quando non ne haveva faceva niente").[4] It is a genial enough image of an energetic, somewhat irresponsible man still lacking the financial rewards of success but dressed in their outward trappings. But we are well advised not to be too quick to color in these summary contours.

The second portrait is a drawn study made in London about twenty years later by Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) as part of a series of illustrious men (fig. 1).[5] Orazio had arrived in the city in 1626, at the invitation of the minister of Charles I (r. 1625–49), George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, who provided the artist and his three sons with ample quarters and a studio in his house on the Strand. Orazio's position at court marked a pinnacle in his career. Five years earlier, he had accepted the invitation of the Genoese patrician Giovan Antonio Sauli to move from Rome to Genoa, only to be invited two and a half years later to accept a position at the court of Marie de' Medici (1573–1642), where he worked in her grandiose Luxembourg palace. The move to London followed the marriage of Charles I to Marie de' Medici's daughter, Henrietta Maria.

Van Dyck had met Orazio in Genoa and recorded two of the artist's compositions in his sketchbook (figs. 74, 94). The painters may well have established a cordial relationship, but there can be

Opposite: Detail of the *Annunciation* (cat. 43)



Figure 1. Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), *Portrait of Orazio Gentileschi.* Black chalk with gray wash and pen and ink on paper. British Museum, London

no doubt that the aging artist felt himself outclassed by Van Dyck, whose rising position at the Caroline court would, in fact, relegate him to working for the queen (on this, see Finaldi and Wood, pp. 227–29). Van Dyck arrived in London in 1632; he was knighted, and a year later granted a retainer of £200 a year—twice that of Gentileschi. In Van Dyck's black-chalk portrait, we recognize the same distinctive features that had so struck the innkeeper in 1612: the beard—white rather than peppered with gray—the carriage, and the stature. There has, however, been a conspicuous alteration in social status. This is not someone living from hand to mouth, his pockets full one day and empty the next. He is dressed in the simple but elegant clothes of a court figure, with a large starched collar and well-tailored cloak. His attitude is that of a man of position and influence, his left eyebrow arched, one hand extended in a rhetorical gesture of discourse. How different from the restless inhabitant of the rough-and-tumble neighborhood he lived in in Rome—from 1605 as a widower—and where he had frequented the popular taverns together with Caravaggio and his unruly claque. We know, in fact, that in London he rubbed shoulders with the nobility and with the king himself: the French ambassador in London, François de Bassompierre, noted Orazio's attendance at a state dinner, and the Florentine envoy suspected he was being employed on diplomatic missions.

Yet there is something churlish in his coarsely handsome face, and indeed we know that in London, as in Rome, Orazio did not get on with his fellow artists (admittedly, our view is colored by the testimony of his nemesis, Balthazar Gerbier, always on the lookout for anything he could use against the painter, whom he considered an interloper in his claims as royal artist, diplomat, and art adviser). Nor had his spending habits—so prominent in the memory of his Roman neighbor two decades earlier—improved: to respond to accusations of misuse of funds, Orazio was required to give an accounting of the large sums of money that had been advanced to him by the duke of Buckingham (this unfortunate habit of free spending was later exaggerated to almost criminal proportions in his scoundrel of a son Francesco).

Giovanni Baglione, in his unflattering biography, published in 1642, characterized Orazio's conduct as "more bestial than human" ("piu nel bestiale, che nel'humano egli dava"), noting that "he kept to his opinions, and with his satirical tongue offended everyone; let us hope that the good Lord forgives him his sins."[6] Baglione had belonged to a rival faction of artists in Rome and in 1603 had brought a libel suit against Caravaggio and three members of his inner circle, one of whom was Orazio. It was, in fact, Orazio who seems to have been the author of one of the libelously obscene verses directed at Baglione. At the trial Orazio played the innocent, just as, at the rape trial in 1612, he assumed the part of the offended and unjustly betrayed victim. But what did he expect from such friends?[7] (Tassi had a notorious reputation—above all, for sexual escapades.) The Florentine ambassador in Rome, Piero Guicciardini, in the assessment of Orazio that he sent back to Florence in 1615, echoed Baglione's low opinion of the artist's behavior,[8] and André Félibien recorded that in France Orazio's paintings "were rather well thought of, but as he had an utterly savage temperament ("d'une humeur tout à fait brutale") and was given to slander-mongering, he was not held in high esteem.[9]

There is a notable dichotomy between the coarse-seeming character of Gentileschi that emerges from these accounts and the refined work he produced. It is not a dichotomy that is easily explained, and it serves as a warning to anyone who seeks to read the painter's biography into his art. It is one thing for that apologist of classicism, Giovan Pietro Bellori, to have used Caravaggio's swarthy complexion and dark eyes and hair as a key to his brooding style, with its cellar light: this was a matter of Renaissance physiognomics. Or for Artemisia's more recent biographers to discern in the biblical female victims and heroines that are the subjects of her early paintings a self-projecting voice of protest (though we might question the distinctly late-twentieth-century accent of the voice these writers profess to hear).[10] But there is no obvious relationship between the coarse humor and demeaning, scatological language of Orazio's libelous poem about the work of Baglione and the poetry of the *Lute Player* in Washington (cat. 22) or the chaste, religious sentiment of the Turin *Annunciation* (cat. 43). These works seem to emanate from an expressive and refined imagination, of which there is little trace either in the proud but surly visage of Van Dyck's drawn portrait or in the various documents and writings that delineate Orazio's public biography.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian writers were more open than we tend to be to the paradoxical relationship that sometimes exists between art and the public persona of its creator. They lived in a world of social tensions held together by hierarchies, a world in which individuals were skilled at constructing public masks and where appearances did not necessarily reflect reality. Van Dyck's portrait drawing of Orazio presents one such mask: Orazio Gentileschi as painter at the court of Charles I. The drawing reflects as much of his true character as the letter he addressed to Grand Duke Ferdinand II of Tuscany, in an attempt to solicit a position at the Florentine court. In the letter, Orazio adopts the conventional language expected of an artist, promoting himself as one who has always been in service to grand princes. He abases himself as unworthy of the grand duke's favor. He is "your most humble servant" ("suo humilissimo"), with only a "feeble talent" ("fiacco talento"). The picture he is sending the grand duke as an example of that talent is of little merit ("poco merito"), but Ferdinand will, he is certain, receive it as a sign of his devotion and because it is, after all, a product of the genius of one of his vassals ("quanto nasca dall'ingegno delli suoi vassali")—someone who had been born in Tuscany and proudly signed his name "Florentinus."[11]

If this letter reveals someone adept at negotiating the complicated social hierarchies on which his well-being depended, Gentileschi's art suggests regions of feeling and sensitivity that have left no written record and that were perhaps not much visible even to his colleagues and neighbors. His touching depictions of the Madonna and child (cat. nos. 8, 15) or of Saint Francis succored by an angel (cat. nos. 6, 21), his sparkling landscape settings (cat. 27), his radiant altarpieces showing miraculous visions (cat. nos. 25, 30), and his somber description of the Crucifixion (cat. 29) give indications of a capacity for tenderness and affection, a response to beauty—whether of nature, a young woman, or a helpless infant—and a sense of human tragedy and sorrow. If the subjects seem conventional, the terms of expression have a disarming directness, derived from their means of presentation. For Orazio's art is based on the Caravaggesque practice of painting directly from the model, and his models were the people he knew in his everyday life. It is through this intersection of life and art that, from time to time, his paintings seem to take on the character of a personal disclosure or confession.

Gentileschi, Caravaggio, and the Rivalries of Painting

Orazio's encounter with Caravaggio in the summer of 1600 was the central event of his life. Prior to the unveiling of Caravaggio's canvases showing the calling and martyrdom of Saint Matthew (fig. 4) in the French national church of San Luigi dei Francesi, which created a sensation by making the Lombard artist's work publicly visible for the first time, Orazio had painted in a style that was predicated on compromise and accommodation. His figures were types, his compositions conventional; his color was slack. There is a blandness, an anonymity, and a disturbing lack of conviction to his work of the 1590s that comes as a shock to those who know only his distinctive, post-Caravaggesque pictures. Small wonder that Guicciardini, in the report he sent back to Florence, pointedly omitted any mention of those paintings done before 1600, as though they were irrelevant to a proper appraisal of the artist's achievement (as, indeed, they are).[12]

The work of Caravaggio demanded a rethinking of the relationship between artist and model, the imagined and the real, the



Figure 2. Orazio Gentileschi, *Triumph of Saint Ursula*. Oil on canvas. Benedictine Abbey, Farfa

painter and his artifact. In the critical language of the day, it opposed truth, or *il vero,* to verisimilitude (*verosimile*), by which ordinary experience was transposed into the exemplary and ideal.[13] It discarded the twin pillars of Renaissance painting, *invenzione* and *disegno*, by which imagination was prized over observation: "He claimed he imitated his models so closely that he never made a single brushstroke which he called his own, but said rather that it was nature's. Repudiating all other rules, he considered the highest achievement not to be bound to art," declared Bellori of Caravaggio.[14] It took Orazio the better part of a decade before he dared to fully embrace this new dynamic. But when he did so, it was with a directness that none of Caravaggio's other followers could match. Indeed, as Longhi pointed out in 1916, in his seminal study of the artist, Orazio's work is actually more faithful to the model—more *vero*–than Caravaggio's, where the interpretive factor—the transformation of the everyday into the extraordinary and dramatic—is far greater.

Orazio arrived in Rome from his native Tuscany when he was still a boy, perhaps no more than thirteen. He lived with an uncle who was a captain of the guards in the Castel Sant'Angelo, taking from him his adopted name, Gentileschi (his family name was Lomi, which Artemisia used when she returned to Florence). We do not know from whom he received his training. Baglione states that his older brother, Aurelio Lomi (1556–1623), introduced him to the craft of painting, but this may be biographical invention. By the end of the 1580s, Orazio had managed to join the team of artists who, under Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585–90), decorated the Biblioteca Sistina in the Vatican and the nave walls of Santa Maria Maggiore. His contribution to the first is a matter of conjecture,[15] but for the great fifth-century Roman basilica he painted a pedestrian fresco of the Purification in the Temple that opens the cycle on the north wall. In 1596, he worked for the Benedictine order at San Paolo fuori le Mura, for which he provided an altarpiece of the Conversion of Saint Paul (destroyed by fire in 1823). Typically, Baglione says he obtained the commission by stealth, at the expense of a colleague. This, in turn, led to his commission to decorate two chapels at the ancient Benedictine abbey at Farfa, in the Sabine hills outside Rome (fig. 2).[16] The resulting frescoes and altarpieces, the products of collaboration, are of a qualitative level that can only be described as dismal, though it is in their lack of commitment to stylishness that their promise lies (see cat. 1).

Orazio did not lack work. Sometime after August 1597—possibly on the strength of his Tuscan birth—he was contracted to decorate a chapel for Filippo and Angelo Fiorenzuola, in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, the church of the Florentine community in Rome. (He painted only the vault and entrance arch before abandoning or subcontracting the project.)[17] Then, virtually at the same time, he made a monumental figure of Saint Thomas in the transept of San Giovanni in Laterano[18]—part of Pope Clement VIII's (r. 1592–1605) vast scheme to decorate the basilica for the Jubilee celebrations of 1600—carried out four angels in the cupola of the Madonna dei Monti, and frescoed the tribune of the early medieval church of

San Nicola in Carcere, Rome, for Clement VIII's powerful nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1572–1621). (The decoration in San Nicola is described in its cultural context in Zuccari, p. 42.)

By 1600, Orazio had carved out for himself a modest niche in the busy artistic world of Clementine Rome. His decision to become a follower of Caravaggio can only be termed unexpected and bold: he had a wife and four children and was thirty-seven—by far the oldest painter to associate himself with Caravaggio (by comparison, Orazio Borgianni was twenty-six in 1600, Carlo Saraceni about twenty-one, and Bartolomeo Manfredi—the key figure for the next generation of Caravaggesque painters—perhaps twenty). Moreover, because Caravaggesque painting was so little suited to fresco practice—to the kind of large-scale, decorative commissions that had, until then, sustained him—Orazio would have not only to transform his style but to refocus his career (though he continued to paint frescoes when suitable commissions came his way). All of which underscores the degree of his commitment to the new dynamic, with its emphasis on painting from the model.

An association with Caravaggio carried with it certain liabilities, as the Lombard artist had a notoriously volatile temperament and incited rivalry. (We know from the seventeenth-century biographer of Florentine artists, Filippo Baldinucci, that Cigoli allowed himself to get dragged to cheap trattorias with Caravaggio and his circle simply to avoid causing offense.)[19] Orazio, who shared studio props with Caravaggio, was immediately caught up in this bohemian life, in which a key figure was his near contemporary as well as future biographer, Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566–1643). Baglione was an artist of far greater facility than Orazio and in the 1590s had risen to the top of his profession. His superficial brand of Caravaggism serves to throw Orazio's into clear relief.

At San Giovanni in Laterano, Orazio was assigned a single apostle, while Baglione painted one of the principal narrative scenes, carrying it out with great panache. He was clearly someone to watch, and his frescoes of the life of the Virgin in Santa Maria del Orto, in Trastevere (fig. 3), seem to have attracted the attention of Caravaggio himself. In his scene of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Baglione consigns the main subject to the background and fills the foreground with an enormous, plumed figure in contemporary dress—one very much like the dandies of Caravaggio's early paintings of fortune-tellers and cardsharps. The group of scantily clad beggars exemplifies the work of an ambitious artist who transforms an unpromising subject into a virtuoso display of his mastery of the nude. The fresco advertised the critical elements of *invenzione* and *varietà* (compositional invention and variety) by emphasizing *difficoltà* and *fantasia*. There can be little doubt that when, in his *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (fig. 4), Caravaggio inserted a group of nude male figures in the foreground, he was responding to precisely this sort of challenge. (Recent scholarship has identified the figures as neophytes. But while this may be so, the primary reason for including them was a desire on the part of Caravaggio to enter into the fray of artistic competition and, more specifically, to outdo a rival by the novelty of his dramatic lighting and the revolutionary naturalism of his figures.)

A competition was set in motion, one that involved not only artistic principles and reputation, but patrons. In 1601 or 1602, Caravaggio painted for Vincenzo Giustiniani a canvas depicting "a laughing Cupid who shows his contempt for the world, which lies at his feet in the guise of various instruments, crowns, scepters, and armor" (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin).[20] In direct competition with this picture—whose fame was celebrated by two madrigals written by Gaspare Murtola—Baglione painted a canvas showing Earthly Love subjected by Divine Love. He dedicated the picture to Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, the brother of Caravaggio's patron. Furthermore, at a public exhibition held on August 29, 1602, at San Giovanni Decollato to celebrate the feast day of John the Baptist, Baglione directed that his picture be hung opposite a painting by Gentileschi of the archangel Saint Michael (lost). Incensed at this obvious attempt to outclass him, Orazio confronted Baglione and criticized his picture for the incorrect manner in which he had depicted Divine Love—adult and in armor instead of young and nude. Baglione thereupon painted a second version. Both paintings found their way into Cardinal Giustiniani's collection (they are now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, and the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome), and Baglione was decorated by the prelate with a gold chain, thereby upstaging both Caravaggio and Orazio.

The culminating chapter of this rivalry came in 1603, when Baglione's enormous and coveted commission for an altarpiece, in the Gesù, of the Resurrection (destroyed, but known from a *modello* in the Louvre, Paris) was unveiled. The dramatic use of light and the dark and boldly sprawling seminude soldiers in the



Figure 3. Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566–1643), *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.* Fresco. Santa Maria del Orto, Rome

foreground were recognizable allusions to and criticisms of Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew*. A campaign of slander was launched against the work by Caravaggio and his cronies, leading to the libel suit noted earlier. Baglione, through it all, retained intact his Mannerist-based style. Caravaggism was, for him, merely a modish veneer, to be applied like makeup in accordance with the latest fashion. His real commitment was to the artistic establishment, and it is with some irony that, in the fall of 1606, we find him going to court to denounce two of Caravaggio's followers, Orazio Borgianni (1574–1616) and Carlo Saraceni (ca. 1579–1620), who had tried, unsuccessfully, to stage a takeover of the Accademia di San Luca and incited, into the bargain, a physical attack on Baglione, then president of the academy.[21]

Orazio's commitment to Caravaggio's revolutionary style was of a different order from Baglione's fashionable trappings. In it he sought a naturalistic foundation on which to build a personal style—one of far greater modernity than those of either Borgianni or Saraceni. He was a slow, methodical worker, and his first experiments in a Caravaggesque idiom (cat. nos. 2, 3) show how painful the process of transformation was. Whether he could have become a successful popularizer of Caravaggism, in the manner of Bartolomeo Manfredi (bapt. 1582–1622), is doubtful. There is no evidence that he tried. Caravaggism was for him the means by which he made painting a vehicle of personal expression. It is this which makes Gentileschi's achievement so remarkable.

Unlike some of Caravaggio's followers, Orazio was also open to the more classicizing ideals promoted by Annibale Carracci (1557–1602) and his pupils. This is particularly evident in the pictures he carried out in the years immediately following Caravaggio's flight from Rome in May 1606 (see, especially, cat. nos. 12, 13). In March of that year, we in fact find him co-witnessing the will of the Mannerist sculptor Tommaso della Porta (1546–1606) together with Annibale Carracci and Annibale's pupil Giovan Antonio Solari (ca. 1581–1666). At the very least this document establishes an acquaintanceship beyond that of Caravaggio's circle and implies the personal relationships which stand behind the vein of Bolognese classicism that informs some of Gentileschi's most elegant compositions.

During Orazio's last years in Rome, around 1617–21, the physician and amateur art critic Giulio Mancini (1558–1630) described the outstanding artists of the day; Mancini placed Orazio not among Caravaggio's followers, but with those artists "who, possessing valor in their profession, have worked in their own manner and, in particular, without following in the footsteps of anyone else."[22] In other words, Orazio, having laboriously worked through the principles of Caravaggesque painting, went on to develop his own style, which Mancini singled out for its "good color and understanding" ("buon colorito e sapere"). These are not terms that say much today. Understanding, or "sapere," referred to a general mastery indicating knowledge about the art of painting. It is a term Mancini used to describe artists whose only trait in common was the sort of conspicuous display that connoisseurs ("gl'intendenti") could easily recognize. The second term, "buon colorito," meant, literally, a good sense of color.[23] However, it carried a reference to Venetian art and the implication of naturalism. In the entry for *colorito* in his *Vocabulario toscano dell'arte del disegno,* Baldinucci discusses the scientific relation of color to light—something that would be very apropos to Orazio's

art but which is probably not what Mancini had in mind. For him "buon colorito" stood in contrast to both Mannerist and Caravaggesque practice. The first emphasized washed-out, arbitrary colors. The second obtained striking effects by an unnaturalistically focused light. Guercino, Reni, Domenichino, and Passignano are all praised by Mancini for their "colorito." Reni's work, with its combination of compositional elegance and strength of color and its tendency to treat movement as a component of formal arrangement, was to provide an important example for Orazio (see cat. 12). Curiously, Mancini lets pass without comment Orazio's use of the model—his "osservanza del naturale." Yet this was the single factor that had transformed his work and on which his vision of painting was predicated.

Orazio's Studio and Painting from the Model

Thanks to the testimony given at the rape trial in 1612–13, it is possible to sketch an image of what Orazio's studio was like in these crucial years. He moved three times between 1610 and 1613, but only the last move took him out of the popular neighborhood that lies between the church of Santa Maria del Popolo and the Piazza di Spagna, where he had lived for fifteen years. Until sometime after March 20, 1610, his house had been on what is today via del Babuino, next to the Greek church of San Atanasio. It had a room to the right as one entered, where he painted and met visitors; the private quarters on the left were kept scrupulously closed. The house on via Margutta, where he lived until April 1612,

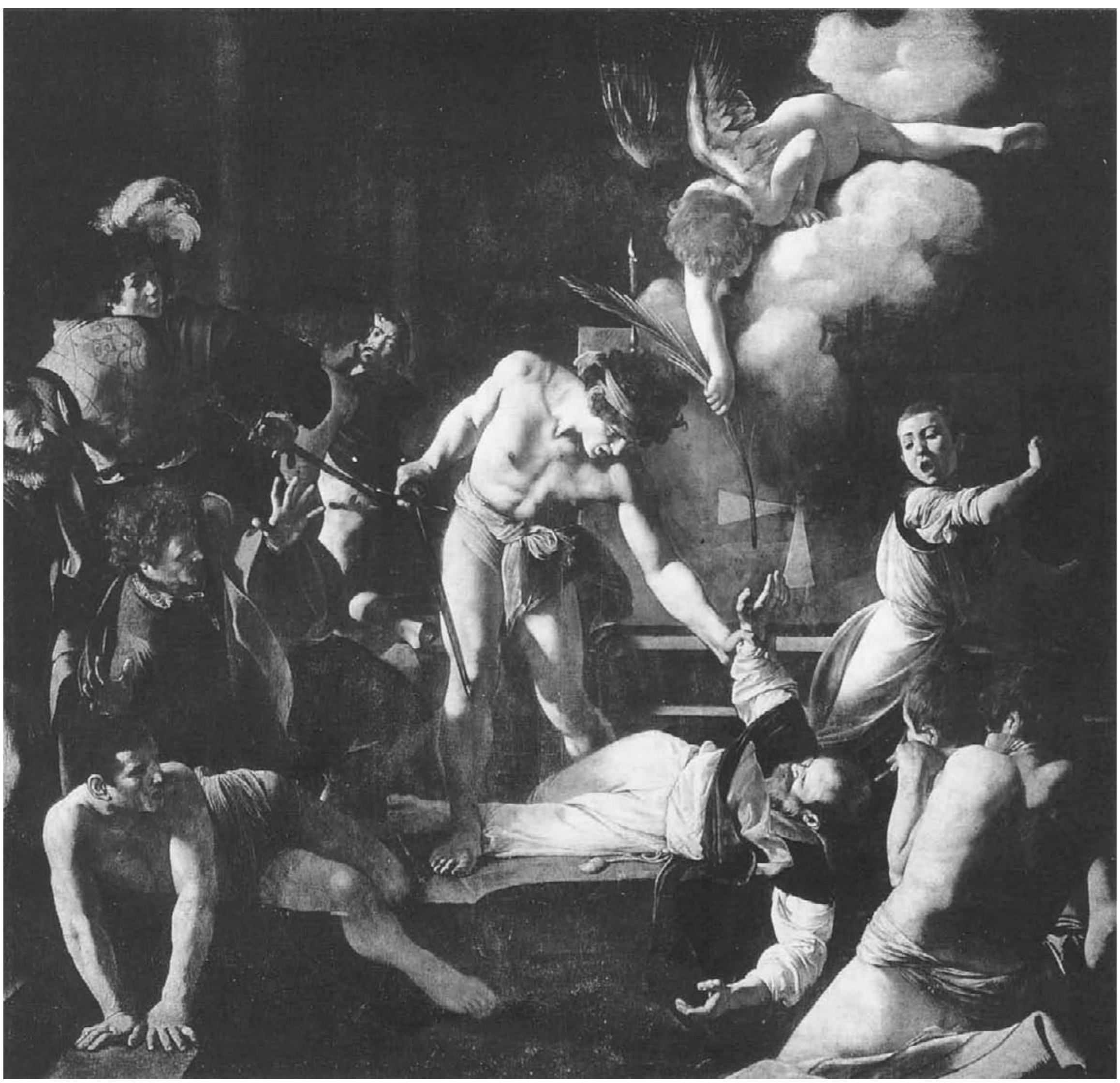


Figure 4. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610), *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew.* Oil on canvas. San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome

when he moved to via della Croce, near the Piazza di Spagna, seems to have been larger, with a more elaborate layout. Visitors passed through a hall closed by a grille. There was a room in which laundry was done, a courtyard, and a double flight of stairs leading to the main quarters on the second floor. There were two rooms, the first of which was used as a kitchen/dining area, while the second, with two windows overlooking the street, served as Orazio's studio. The bedrooms on the floor above for Orazio, Artemisia, her three brothers, and, for a time, Orazio's nephew, were kept closed against a constant flow of visitors. Among these were Orazio's various hired models: a seventy-three-year-old pilgrim from Palermo named Giovanni Molli; Orazio's barber of twenty years, Bernardino Franchi; an apprentice named Francesco; and his tailor's wife, Costanza Ceuli, who would bring her children to be drawn. This assortment of neighborhood denizens presented quite a different cast of characters from the well-proportioned, athletic youths brought in as models at the academy. As might be expected, clients too paid visits: the agent of the duke of Mantua, the banker Settimio Olgiati (for whose chapel in Santa Maria della Pace Orazio provided the altarpiece; cat. 11), and some Theatine priests. There could be no greater contrast than that between these makeshift, crowded quarters and the spacious rooms and large studio the duke of Buckingham outfitted for Orazio and his three sons at York House, in London, sixteen years later. (It was there that the German painter and writer Joachim von Sandrart saw him at work on a number of canvases in 1628.)

Costanza Ceuli, who, as we have seen, lived next door to the Gentileschi household on via della Croce, seems to have spent a good deal of her day watching the activities of her artist-neighbor, though she never saw him paint. Orazio's oldest son, Francesco, ground colors and must have stretched and primed canvases as well. When, together with Agostino Tassi, Orazio was commissioned, in 1611, to decorate the Casino delle Muse for Scipione Borghese and an apartment in the Palazzo del Quirinale, he hired a former apprentice of Tassi's, Nicolò Bedino, to work for him. Costanza saw Nicolò in the courtyard drawing water from the well and grinding colors, but he also ran errands—shopping for meals, making the beds, and carrying the all-important cartoons required for the casino frescoes. According to Nicolò, Orazio worked on the cartoons at night and on feast days. When Orazio was away working, Artemisia instructed Nicolò in drawing.

Orazio must have been one of the very few artists who had observed Caravaggio working. As already noted, the two artists shared props—most famously a pair of wings and a Capuchin habit—and it stands to reason that Orazio must have seen how Caravaggio worked from the posed model. Just what was involved emerges from the testimony of Giovanni Molli, the pilgrim from Palermo whom Orazio employed to pose for a number of pictures, but most particularly for a full-length *Saint Jerome* (cat. 16). For this work, Molli stripped to the waist and assumed a position he could hold over an extended period of time. "He kept me in the house all during Lent, and three or four days a week I had to go to his house. Some days I would go and stay from morning to night, and I ate and drank in his house, and he paid me by the day, and I returned to my own house to sleep." During the times that Orazio's barber served as a model he came not once every week, as was his wont, but four or five times a day, "because many times he used me as a model."

The barber met Molli on some of his visits and gives a description of him that demonstrates how closely reality and imaginative reconstruction were made to intersect in the *Saint Jerome*: "Handsome in appearance, with a face like that of Saint Paul, bald-headed, hair turned white, with a fine thick beard that is as heavy on the cheeks as in the beard itself."

We might imagine the dark-haired youth in the *Executioner with the Head of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 20) as Francesco Scarpellino, described by one witness at the trial as "an ugly type with long black hair, whom they said they used on occasion as a model for some paintings." The model for the *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. 18), with his tan neck and hands, seems another of these characters—perhaps a porter. The short-haired, bearded, middle-aged model for Holofernes' head in the painting *Judith and Her Maidservant* in Oslo (cat. 13) also posed for the *David Slaying Goliath* in Dublin (cat. 12). Was this Orazio's barber? If so, then he also sat for Artemisia in her own *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 55)—this would have been before Orazio moved across the Tiber, in the summer of 1611.

Not surprisingly, we hear almost nothing about female models, though Orazio certainly employed them. In Britain, he listed both female and male models—"modelli tanto di femine quanto di huomini"—in the account of expenses he submitted to Sir Dudley Carleton, Lord Dorchester,[24] but a stigma was attached to any woman willing to submit herself to the prying scrutiny of an

artist. The poor but honorable woman who modeled as the Madonna for Caravaggio found herself denounced to her mother by a suitor. (Typically, Caravaggio got even with the man by attacking him in Piazza Navona.)[25] While Costanza Ceuli was comfortable testifying that she had allowed her children to be drawn, she may have felt reluctant to confess to having herself posed. Yet a neighbor clearly sat for Orazio, nursing her baby, for the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* (cat. 15).

If posing clothed involved risks to a woman's reputation, what about posing nude? In her essay (pp. 262–81), Elizabeth Cropper makes an eloquent case for the shocking nature of Artemisia's self-presentation (if that is what it is) in the *Susanna and the Elders* of 1610 (cat. 51). What about the *Cleopatra* (cat. nos. 17, 53), the attribution of which has been much debated but which in the catalogue I argue was painted more or less contemporaneously by Orazio? This extraordinary picture—in which the female nude is treated with a boldness as shocking as that of Édouard Manet's *Olympia* of 1863—is key to our understanding of the way Caravaggesque painting from the model attacked the very roots of those idealizing conventions by which past and present, public and private, imagined and real were kept decorously apart. It is, therefore, of some interest whether seventeenth-century male artists in Rome painted from nude female models.[26] Certainly the rarity of the female nude in Caravaggesque painting might at first suggest that only artists with a classicizing bent, willing to base their depictions on Roman statues, could broach the theme. However, where sex can be easily bought—and the quarter where Orazio lived had a large population of prostitutes—female models cannot have been in short supply. During the trial the pigment dealer, Marc Antonio Coppino, brazenly asserted that Artemisa posed nude for her father.[27] Coppino was a witness for Tassi and probably part of the latter's plan at character assassination. Yet, the highly individualized features of the model for the *Cleopatra* recur in the richly attired woman holding a fan in Orazio's frescoes in the Casino delle Muse (frontispiece, p. 282). Based on its resemblance to a later engraving and portrait medal of Artemisia (fig. 95), that figure has long been identified as showing Orazio's daughter (see cat. 39). Whether or not Artemisia actually posed for the *Cleopatra*—and we might well doubt she would have done so—the fact that both father and daughter were producing paintings of naturalistic female nudes must have fueled the flames of circulating rumors. Following the trial, the painting may well have become something of a firebrand and Orazio may have chosen not to market it in Rome, considering it first as a gift to the grand duke of Tuscany and eventually selling it, together with Artemisia's *Lucretia* (cat. 67), to a Genoese client, Pietro Gentile.[28]

In all respects, painting *dal naturale*—with a posed model—was a different proposition from the normal manner of working from drawings and the imagination, with only occasional reference to models. Annibale Carracci drew incessantly from the model, but the idea of painting from one over a period of some forty days would have seemed excessive and even counterproductive to the effects he sought of a perfected reality, and it is hardly surprising that Orazio maintained this practice only for a few years and only for single-figure compositions.[29] That during this time he also decorated the Casino delle Muse (fig. 6) for Scipione Borghese and managed to adapt this system of working from the model to fresco practice is remarkable. We must, I think, imagine highly elaborate cartoons of individual figures that were done from multiple sittings, the model posed on a table or other raised surface, so that Orazio could study the effects of the low viewing point. (He must have used the same method in painting the angel in the *Vision of Saint Cecilia;* cat. 9). Each figure was then inserted, using a modified fresco, or *mezzo fresco*, technique into the architectural setting Tassi had created (done in *buon fresco*).[30] It is a system completely at odds with the idealizing approach of Cigoli and Guido Reni in the two companion casinos in the Borghese garden. Reni, like Cigoli, worked out his composition in drawings and concentrated his efforts on effects of rhythm, movement, and the distribution of color across the whole expanse. By comparison, Orazio's fresco appears a piecemeal affair, and the arresting naturalism of the parts (fig. 7) hardly compensates for the loss in overall unity. The sheer beauty of Reni's *Aurora* left little room for Orazio's approach to decoration, and he soon moved away from the radical naturalism of the preceding years. In his subsequent works, there is a greater emphasis on formal presentation, with a creative tension between the artifice of the composition and the naturalistic treatment of the parts.

The root of the problem was well characterized by Mancini. "This school," he wrote, referring to Caravaggio and his followers, "succeeds well with a single figure, but in the composition of a narrative and in interpreting feelings, which requires imagination rather than observation, it does not seem to me that [these

artists] succeed by portraying a model who is always before them, it being impossible to represent a story by putting in a room lighted from a single window a multitude of men, each one having to laugh or cry or feign walking and [at the same time] keep still in order to be copied. And so the figures, while they possess strength [in execution], lack motion and expression and grace."[31]

An echo of this verdict was sounded by Guicciardini, the Florentine ambassador in Rome, when he was asked his opinion about Orazio's work. "He's a man who lacks proper design ["non ha disegno"], and is unable to compose a narrative or to draw a single figure well. . . . His worth is in his careful, not to say diligent, execution ["diligenza"], . . . and in making a head or even a half figure, he seems to the eye to work well, since he imitates the model or object in front of him."[32] If the strength of painting from nature is illustrated by Orazio's *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. 18), in which an individual figure is shown close up and cut off at the calf, the curiously static *Saint Michael and the Devil* (cat. 14) demonstrates its weakness. The picture reads like fragments of posing sessions pieced together, and it is not difficult to understand why Orazio should have concentrated his efforts on shallow, compact, friezelike compositions rather than those requiring figures to be disposed in a carefully articulated interior space. The one exception is the magnificent *Annunciation* at Turin (cat. 43), in which he achieves a perfect balance between space, figure, and action and creates one of the masterpieces of seventeenth-century painting.

Not surprisingly, we find the same compositional weaknesses in many of Artemisia's early paintings. Nowhere is this more evident than in her dramatic *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 55), a work that has elicited much discussion, little of which takes into account the representational problem that confronted Artemisia but that she conspicuously did not resolve. It is Orazio's washerwoman who informs us that Orazio (and presumably Artemisia) painted his posed models behind closed doors, evidently protective of the act of painting. Nevertheless, he was eager to show the results to visitors, who must invariably have commented on the resemblance of the painted figure to the model. In the case of the *Judith Slaying Holofernes,* it is clear that the composition is based not on an action staged by three figures, but a kind of patchwork of three models separately posed. Only this can explain the lack of spatial clarity, the disparities of scale (conspicuous, above all, in the oversized fist of Holofernes juxtaposed with the head of the servant Abra), and the unwieldy knot of outstretched limbs, which X radiographs demonstrate caused the young artist special difficulties. Artemisia's later treatment of the subject, in Detroit (cat. 69), subordinates the *verismo* of the individual parts to a fluid, overall design and is the more successful work.

Orazio had received a conventional training, and he probably never entirely abandoned the use of drawings in favor of painting from life, though no drawings can be ascribed to him with certainty.[33] (Was it Manfredi's experiments in the style of Caravaggio that spurred Orazio's experiments in painting exclusively from the model—so crucial to the formation of Artemisia's working method?)[34] Thus, Orazio's increased use of drawings, and possibly cartoons, after 1612/13 would not be unexpected. He must also have made studies of heads, which he gathered together as a sort of repertory. Molli's apostolic features reappear years later in the frescoed, half-length figures of Saints Anthony Abbot and Jerome in the cathedral of Fabriano, and then again in the *Abraham and Isaac* painted in Genoa (fig. 63). For his *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana* (cat. 30), Orazio seems to have found two models—a girl of perhaps fourteen and a child of eight or nine months—whose features captivated him. Preparatory drawings seem to have been made for the painting, perhaps oil sketches as well (see cat. 31). (The practice of using oil studies of heads was not unknown in the early seicento and was a commonplace with Rubens.) In any event, the same two figures recur in an altarpiece of problematic attribution—the *Madonna of the Rosary,* in the Pinacoteca at Fabriano—and the features of the older girl seem also to have shaped those of the Magdalene at the foot of the cross in the *Crucifixion* for San Venanzio (cat. 29). A similarly featured figure reappears as the Virgin in the *Annunciation* Orazio sent to Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy, in 1623 (cat. 43). It is this practice of re-using earlier studies that makes any chronology of Orazio's work based on the resemblance of models problematic; it also distinguishes his work from that of Caravaggio.

Orazio's Patrons in Rome

As we have seen, the first decade of Orazio's activity centered on the collaborative production of large fresco cycles. His conversion to the style of Caravaggio in the years following the unveiling in 1600 of the canvases of the *Calling* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* entailed refocusing his career—not a simple task for

someone who was thirty-seven years old. Like all Caravaggesque artists, Orazio became principally a painter of canvases, with only incidental fresco commissions. Private collectors now outnumbered sponsors of public, ecclesiastical projects. Not much attention has been paid to the changes in strategy this necessitated, and only now can we begin to chart the network of patronage that Gentileschi built up, patronage that would eventually take him to the courts of Marie de' Medici and Charles I.

Some of the commissions on which Orazio worked in the 1590s had been sponsored by Clement VIII, and they had brought him to the attention of the cardinal-nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini. It was for Aldobrandini's church San Nicola in Carcere that he painted, according to Baglione, figures of God the Father, putti, and a kneeling saint (destroyed), replacing the medieval decorations in the tribune. Aldobrandini also sat to Orazio for his portrait (lost), and through him the artist must have come into contact with other potential patrons, such as Duke Mario Farnese and the rich Sannesi brothers, Clemente and Jacopo. It was for a confraternity in the duke's fiefdom of Farnese that, around 1607–8, Orazio painted an altarpiece of Saint Michael combating the Devil (cat. 14).

The Sannesi were much favored by Clement VIII, who in 1604 raised Jacopo to the cardinalate.[35] They enjoyed the special protection of Clement's cardinal-nephew; indeed, Clemente Sannesi was Aldobrandini's Maestro di Camera. In the early-seventeenth century, the Sannesi were busy decorating their villa/casino in Borgo Santo Spirito. Giovanni Lanfranco (1589–1647) furnished it with frescoes around 1606–8, and for it, according to Passeri, Clemente Sannesi acquired numerous ancient statues, "spending prodigally on its decoration . . . and especially on paintings." The brothers owned two masterpieces by Caravaggio—the first versions of the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* and the *Conversion of Saint Paul,* both of which had been intended for the Cerasi chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo but were rejected by the friars (only the *Conversion of Saint Paul* survives, in the Odescalchi collection, Rome).[36] They also owned a fine copy of Caravaggio's *Cardsharps*. The 1724 inventory of their last heir, Anna Maria Sannesi, lists three works by Gentileschi, a *Madonna and Child*, a *David with the Head of Goliath*, and a *Saint George*. These were clearly deluxe works: the first two were painted on panel, a support Orazio rarely used, and the third was on copper. If two of them may be identified with paintings in the exhibition (cat. nos. 8, 20), then Orazio must have been in touch with the Sannesi between around 1607 and 1612—that is, during his most Caravaggesque phase.

The Sannesi were no less favored by Paul V than they had been by Clement VIII, and their interest in Orazio suggests that, after Clement's death in 1605, he continued to draw his patrons from people closely connected with the pope. Presumably, this explains how he managed to receive four commissions for major altarpieces outside Rome and one in the city between about 1605 and 1608. The earliest was for a painting of the *Madonna in Glory with the Holy Trinity* for a Capuchin church outside Turin (fig. 5). Although no documents have been traced, the commission almost certainly originated with Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy. Carlo was a promoter of the Capuchin order and in 1581 purchased the spectacular site for the church. He probably placed the commission through his ambassador in Rome, who could well have sought papal advice.[37] Orazio's sympathies for the Capuchin order have never been investigated, but it is a singular fact that he painted a number of images of Saint Francis, both in Rome and in London, where Henrietta Maria was a strong supporter of the order.

Another altarpiece, the *Circumcision* (cat. 7), was commissioned for a Jesuit church in Ancona. The patron, Giovanni Nappi, was a member of a prominent Marchigian family, and his son Filippo was rector of the church. Perhaps in commissioning the altarpiece Giovanni sought to ingratiate himself with Paul V, an ardent supporter of the Jesuits.[38] Certainly, there is evidence that during these years Giovanni was trying to curry favor with the pope, with a view to improving his landholdings in Ferrara—since 1598 part of the Papal States. To do this, he assisted Scipione Borghese in obtaining some of the celebrated paintings by Dosso Dossi (ca. 1486–1541/42) still in the Este castle at Ferrara, using his kinsman in Rome, Francesco Nappi, as a go-between. Interestingly, Scipione Borghese's collecting activity also involved Paolo Savelli, who was to become Orazio's single most important patron.[39]

A third commission came from a prominent banker in Rome, Settimio Olgiati, who in 1607 commissioned the *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 11) for his chapel in Santa Maria della Pace.[40] Settimio's uncle Bernardo Olgiati had been papal treasurer under Clement VIII and in 1587 had commissioned the Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640) to decorate the family burial chapel in the ninth-century church of Santa Prassede. To construct that chapel, an older one, dedicated to John the Baptist, was destroyed. The dedication of the



new chapel made amends for this destruction. Settimio appears to have been a man of taste. He hired the outstanding architect Carlo Maderno (1555/56–1629) to remodel his palace near the church of the Stimmate,[41] and according to Baglione, Onorio Longhi (1568–1619)—a companion of both Caravaggio and Orazio—designed the loggia for the Olgiati in Piazza Fiammetta. We get some idea of the kind of person we are dealing with from a notice in 1610 of Settimio's throwing a sumptuous banquet at his villa near the baths of Diocletian for the Spanish ambassador and his retinue. In 1612, it was the turn of Cardinals Montalto and del Monte.[42] Olgiati thus had contacts with the most cultured circles in Rome. He retained a keen interest in Orazio; he went to the artist's house on via Margutta to see his work in 1611, and in 1612 he visited Scipione Borghese's Casino delle Muse to view Gentileschi's frescoes then in progress.[43] Later sources mention two pictures by Orazio in the Olgiati collection: one of a saint and the other of the Madonna (described as hanging over a door). His commission of the *Baptism* provided Orazio a public forum in Rome.

The Olgiati were from Como, where they maintained a family chapel in the church of San Giovanni fuori le Mura, and it is possible that Settimio acted as intermediary in commissioning from Orazio the *Vision of Saint Cecilia* for the church of Saint Cecilia in Como (cat. 9).[44] The picture, installed by November 1607 (it is virtually contemporary with the *Baptism*), attracted the attention of no less a person than Cardinal Paolo Sfondrato, who visited the church shortly thereafter. Evidently, he expressed his opinion that Gentileschi, "with his valor walks in step with any of the more illustrious and famous painters in Rome." Given his patronage of Guido Reni, the remark takes on special resonance.

As we have seen, the opportunity to give a prominent, public demonstration of Gentileschi's talents came in 1611, when he was commissioned to carry out frescoes in the Palazzo del Quirinale of Paul V and in a garden casino belonging to Scipione Borghese (figs. 6, 7). The frescoes marked a new phase in his career, not simply for the wonderful attention given to pose, gesture, foreshortening, and light, but because they put him on equal footing with Cigoli and Reni. It may have been through Cigoli that Orazio met Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), who was in Rome from the end of March to June 1611 to present his astronomical discoveries to the papal court. Cigoli was a close friend of the scientist and famously included Galileo's illustration of the surface of the moon in his depiction of the Immaculate Conception in the dome of the Pauline chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore.[45] We can, however, only speculate on whether Orazio's new interest in light and the naturalism of his landscapes might owe something to Galileo and his circle of friends, which—as Livia Carloni points out in her essay on Gentileschi's work in the Marches (p. 124)—included the Fabrianese Francesco Stelluti.[46] In any event, both Orazio and Artemisia were later to appeal to Galileo for his support at the Florentine court. It remains unclear whether Scipione's patronage of Orazio extended beyond the frescoes in the casino; an eighteenth-century inventory of the Palazzo Borghese attributes seven pictures to him, but at least two are certainly incorrect.[47]

Scipione Borghese's patronage of Gentileschi clearly marked a watershed. It was possibly through him that Orazio was proposed to Pietro Campori, Scipione's secretary and majordomo, as the person best equipped to paint an altarpiece of the Magdalene for a small church in Fabriano (see cat. 24). This work may have served as Orazio's carte de visite for what became a highly profitable series of commissions in that Marchigian city (for an alternate view, see Carloni, pp. 121–23). But scarcely less important was the patronage of Paolo Savelli, a member of one of the old Roman baronial families.[48] Soprani is quite explicit about the importance of the Savelli in his generally well-informed 1674 biography of Gentileschi, stating that the artist first demonstrated his worth under Clement VIII and then acquired fame for his frescoes in the Palazzo del Quirinale and in the "delicious loggetta of Cardinal Borghese, and also in other paintings done for Prince Savelli and other notable men, for which his new manner of painting was admired not only in Rome but was sought after throughout Italy."[49]

A distinguished soldier, Prince Paolo Savelli (d. 1632) had accompanied Clement VIII to Ferrara in 1598, when the city was incorporated into the Papal States. He was sent to Hungary to assist Emperor Rudolf II in his battle against the Turks and, as a consequence, was promoted to governor of the papal armies in Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna by Paul V. In 1607, the pope raised the family's feudal holdings in Albano to a principality, whence Paolo's title. It was during this time that he was involved

Figure 5. Orazio Gentileschi, *Madonna in Glory with the Holy Trinity.* Oil on canvas. Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, formerly in Santa Maria al Monte dei Cappuccini, Turin







Pages 16–17: Figure 6. Orazio Gentileschi and Agostino Tassi (1578–1644), *A Musical Concert with Apollo and the Muses.* Fresco. Casino delle Muse, Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Rome

Figure 7. Detail of figure 6

with Scipione Borghese's schemes to acquire the works by Dosso Dossi in Ferrara. The climax of his political career came in 1620, when, as imperial ambassador to the pope, he made a magnificent ceremonial entrance into Rome with thirty-six carriages, "benissimo adornati."[50]

Paolo's brothers Federigo and Giulio also enjoyed distinguished careers. Federigo was his brother's coadjutor in Emilia and succeeded Paolo as field marshal of the Church. Like Paolo, he had profited from his time in Ferrara by purchasing paintings by Dosso Dossi, Garofalo (1481–1559), Scarsellino (ca. 1550–1620), and other Ferrarese and Venetian artists.[51] Giulio, destined for an ecclesiastical career, served as governor of Ancona from 1608 to 1610. Paul V elevated him to cardinal in 1615 and the following year appointed him bishop of Ancona. Traditionally, the Savelli had charge of the tribune of the Corte Savella, where the 1612 rape trial was held, and it is of some interest that we first hear of Orazio's association with the family the year after the case was settled, when at an October meeting at the Accademia di San Luca he is cited as in the employ of the Savelli and "outside Rome" ("fora di Roma").[52] Whether, as seems to me most likely, he was working for the Savelli at one of their estates—Ariccia, for example—or whether he was on his way to Fabriano, possibly on the occasion of the transport of his painting of the Magdalene for the Università dei Cartai, cannot be ascertained (again, see Carloni's somewhat different analysis of the situation in her essay).[53] In 1614 and 1615, there are payments to him by the Savelli, and when Pietro Guicciardini wrote to Grand Duke Cosimo II of Tuscany in Florence, in March 1615, he specified that Orazio "is supported by and staying in the residence of Prince Savelli."[54] Guicciardini then added, "And if my Most Serene Master wishes, I know that the prince would most willingly send him, and the same Gentileschi would most willingly come. But concerning the excellence of his paintings, you have heard what I have to say." As we have seen, Guicciardini was no admirer of Orazio's work, and for this reason it is important to underscore that his opinion had been solicited because the artist's reputation as "one of the most excellent and famous painters to be found in Rome" had reached the ears of the grand duke.[55] Orazio's work for the Savelli capped his Roman career. Their patronage may be linked to the profitable employment he found in Fabriano, and it seems—as

Soprani implies—to have been Savelli's pictures that impressed Giovan Antonio Sauli when he came to Rome in 1621, following the election of Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621–23), and invited Orazio to come to Genoa.

Gentileschi, Dosso Dossi, and Venetian Painting

What did Orazio paint for the Savelli, and what was the impact of his residence in their palace? First and foremost, Orazio owed to Savelli patronage the altarpiece of the stigmatization of Saint Francis for their chapel in San Silvestro in Capite (cat. 25)—one of his most individual and arresting compositions and only his second post-Caravaggesque public altarpiece in Rome. (Why, unlike his colleague Carlo Sarceni, Orazio received so few ecclesiastical commissions in Rome remains problematic.) But the bulk of the work, carried out for Paolo, consisted of gallery pictures for family palaces and villas. When the various inventories are collated, we find no fewer than twelve pictures, among which is the powerful *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (cat. 23) and small, precious works in an Elsheimer-like mode done on copper.[56] We do not know whether it was during the time Orazio was employed by the Savelli or immediately after that he worked in Fabriano (it cannot be ascertained how long his residence with them lasted). Nor is it at all clear whether Giulio's position as bishop of Ancona played a part in his commissions in the Marches (Fabriano was under the bishopric of Camerino, not Ancona).[57] However, it is during this time that Orazio's work acquires a new compositional refinement (Mancini's "sapere") and an unmatched handling of light and color ("buon colorito"), and we may well ask whether the Savelli' paintings by Dosso Dossi, Garofalo, and Scarsellino—not to mention those ascribed to Titian and Giorgione—played a part in this final transformation of Orazio's previous, Caravaggesque practice.[58]

Two Savelli commissions brought Gentileschi's work into direct—and probably intentional—competition with Dosso. One was a collaborative painting for a (lost) still life of fruits and flowers with three children—the only still life of which we have any record—which would have made an interesting comparison with the painting of birds and animals by Dosso listed in the Savelli inventory of 1610. (A similar collaborative work with two children is currently ascribed to Bartolomeo Cavarozzi [ca. 1590–1625] and an anonymous still-life painter).[59] The other was for a sibyl (possibly cat. 33). The latter picture not only had a direct counterpart in a picture by Dosso—was it conceivably the marvelous painting in the Hermitage (fig. 8)?—but was accompanied by paintings of sibyls by Reni and Domenichino (see fig. 61). Then there was the *Adam and Eve* by Orazio—a subject difficult to imagine him treating but conceivably set in a landscape "alla veneziana." A listing in the inventories of a picture of "a figure who plays the lute, by Giorgione,"[60] brings to mind Orazio's *Lute Player* (cat. 22), about which we know only that it belonged to a Bolognese family, but which is deeply indebted to Venetian art and was perhaps painted during the time Orazio was a resident in the Savelli palace (the Savelli had close ties with Bologna). Paolo's patronage serves as a reminder that the character of Orazio's art depended on more than his contacts with artists in Rome; it was shaped as well by the taste of those for whom he worked.

In his seminal article on Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi of 1916, Longhi reaffirmed his view that Caravaggio was the key figure of seventeenth-century European painting. He saw Orazio's place in this early history of modernism as a sort of middle term



Figure 8. Dosso Dossi (ca. 1486–1541/42), *Sibyl*. Oil on canvas. The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

between Caravaggio's early, Giorgionesque genre painting and the sunlit interiors of Johannes Vermeer's (1632–1675) scenes of domestic life.[61] Longhi emphasized the quotidian dimension of Orazio's paintings: his tendency, in a work such as the *Vision of Saint Cecilia* (cat. 9), to subordinate the religious subject matter and to "essentially realize a study of an interior in all its truthfulness as a calm, filtered, luminous container." "It is a fact," he declared, "that to find another case in which the pictorial necessities of giving truthful actuality to the setting brings an artist to such a strange, uncomfortable combination of a scene at once religious, mundane, and aristocratic, we would have to turn to Vermeer and his curious and perfectly Gentileschian *Allegory of Faith*" (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).[62]

This aspect of his art—what I have termed the intersection of life with art through his use of models—Orazio owed in large part to his encounter with Caravaggio. But Longhi then went on to point out that, in a work such as the *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana* (cat. 30), Orazio also became the first practitioner of what he christened "pittura di valori," by which he meant painting based, in the first place, on relationships of color, light, and form—the basis, as he saw it, of all of modern painting down to Claude Monet and Auguste Renoir. "Ordinarily I am not much predisposed, as so many others, to let photographs do the speaking!" teased Longhi rhetorically. "But in this case we are faced with such a clear and evident license for beauty that it is perhaps not worth the trouble to speak. Unless it is to say something not subtle but strong and resolute—as an affirmation. And that is that this work in Fabriano [where the *Saint Francesca Romana* altarpiece then was] is one of the first things to succeed on the basis of *valori* [values], instead of colors. Meaning that not since some hints in the work of [Lorenzo] Lotto and in Caravaggio's *Lute Player*, in the Liechtenstein Gallery, had one seen a work so complex, in which the loom of style, art's interweaving, was achieved not by the juxtaposition of areas of color, as in Venetian painting of the early cinquecento, but by a scaled relationship of quantities of light and color, quantities that, precisely because they are scaled, become qualities of art—*valori*."[63]

About Orazio's career, too little was known at the time Longhi wrote to indicate how and when the artist had attained this remarkable synthesis of light and color. In his search for antecedents, Longhi pointed to a picture then given to Caravaggio but which has since been recognized as one of Orazio's masterpieces—the Liechtenstein *Lute Player* (cat. 22), a work whose affinities with Giorgionesque painting as well as the early work of the Lombard master we have already noted. Longhi may have erred in his attribution, but he was surely correct to see Orazio as the greatest poet of light in seventeenth-century Italy. (Readers of the catalogue entries will note that I have taken as my guide to the dating of Orazio's paintings his early mastery of Caravaggesque lighting and his subsequent transformation of that heritage into something based on observation rather than artifice.) Is it too much to suggest that the Ferrarese and Venetian paintings in the collections of Scipione Borghese and, most particularly, the Savelli provided Gentileschi with the impetus to combine the dramatic, focused light of Caravaggesque painting with Venetian *colore* as the basis for a new kind of painting based on a marvelously nuanced response to *luce*?[64] This remarkable achievement is at the core of his art. What saves the gesticulating women of Pharaoh's court in the *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48) from rhetorical hollowness is a Veronesian sense of ceremonial splendor and an unmatched description of light playing across satin fabrics. It is easy to see why Longhi should have viewed this work as a precursor to Vermeer.

Marketing Success

From a relatively early moment in Orazio's career as a Caravaggesque artist he began to market compositions, or *invenzioni*, in multiple versions. Among the earliest was a natural-seeming *Madonna and Child*, one version of which is in Bucharest (cat. 15). Variants of the picture are known from copies (fig. 47), as well as from a report written by Bartolommeo Pellini, the duke of Mantua's representative in Rome, to Giovanni Magno, secretary to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in Mantua. (It was Giovanni Magno who had viewed Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* [Louvre, Paris] with Peter Paul Rubens prior to its purchase by the duke.) "The child is no more than one month old," Pellini noted, "so one can see that naturalism is a very good thing."[65] Pellini's remarks testify to a real appreciation of Gentileschi's Caravaggesque naturalism and explain the demand for copies and variants.

A year later, Orazio seems to have replicated his striking image of Saint Jerome based on the Palermo pilgrim Giovanni Molli (cat. 16); a second version is known from photographs. The roughly contemporary *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. 18) was repeated on a reduced scale, with another landscape

setting and the giant's head placed differently (cat. 19). However, none of these repetitions is adequate preparation for the far more extensive recycling of compositions that followed Orazio's move to Genoa, Paris, and London: the *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. nos. 37, 42), the *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 35 and fig. 26), the *Danaë* (cat. nos. 36, 41), the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. nos. 34, 45). A replica of the *Lot and His Daughters* that Orazio had painted for his Genoese patron Giovan Antonio Sauli was sent to Carlo Emanuele, duke of Savoy, and it was conceivably a replica of Sauli's *Magdalene* that he sent to Marie de' Medici.

This activity indicates, on the one hand, the considerable demand for prized compositions by Orazio. On the other, it has sometimes been taken as a slackening of his inventive capacities. It is, therefore, well to remind ourselves that replicas were the direct product of collecting, as collectors have always preferred recognizable masterpieces to what is offbeat. Artists such as Bernardo Strozzi (1581–1644) had a virtual sideline in the production of replicas and variants of their most successful compositions—some of them autograph, others painted by workshop assistants. Even painters of the stature of Guercino (1591–1666) and Reni made replicas. To take only one example, Guercino's *Ecstasy of Saint Francis* (Louvre, Paris), dating to 1620, provided the prototype for two smaller, autograph variants (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, and Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw), one of which seems to have been owned by Cardinal Massimi, a collector of considerable standing. Giulio Mancini, usually so informative on artistic practice, does not deal with the matter of autograph replicas, but he believed that copies devalued the worth of an original, and we find him urging his brother not to allow copies to be made of their two paintings by Caravaggio and by Annibale Carracci. Yet such was his desire to own an example of a particularly admired composition by Caravaggio that he was forced to settle for a copy, negotiating with Cardinal del Monte to have one made.[66]

The great collector and connoisseur Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564–1637) said nothing about painters who replicated their own work, but he recognized that even copies reflected in varying degrees the excellence of the painters who made them.[67] Some copies were worse than the original, some indistinguishable, and some, he allowed, might even surpass it. The same can be said of Orazio's replicas and variants: usually the first, or prime, version is the freshest in execution and most responsive to observed phenomena, but this does not mean that a second version cannot have its own characteristics—especially when it is painted many years later. In the case of the *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48), the second version (fig. 87), which was sent to Philip IV of Spain, is so decidedly superior to the first version that scholars perpetually reversed the relationship of the two pictures; X rays have now settled the matter.[68]

Replication

In the 1637 catalogue of the collection of Charles I, Abraham van der Doort lists a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* that was copied by Orazio.[69] An earlier version of this composition (by Orazio) belonged to the duke of Buckingham, and it is possible that the copy was taken directly from that work; this would have been simple to arrange. But how was a copy made of a painting that was not readily available? That had, in fact, been sold years earlier and was hundreds of miles away? From another entry in Van der Doort's catalogue, we learn of "a Booke in larg[e] folio in white vellam herein some 8 little drawings of Horatio Jentellesco."[70] Detailed drawings that record compositions are certainly one means by which Orazio could have produced variants, and the reduced version of the *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. 19) demonstrates that he was adept at changing scale. But drawings such as these would hardly have enabled the easy production of replicas that retained the scale and the details of the original—down to the arrangement of drapery folds. For this, the most obvious expedient was the re-use of a cartoon made for, or a tracing taken from, the finished work. That Gentileschi used a mechanical means both for replicating and varying his designs—even when the original was readily available—can be demonstrated. (We know, incidentally, that Orazio supplied drawings for tapestries when in London, so the idea of creating designs for replication was not foreign to him.)[71]

Let us begin with the simplest scenario: the repetition of a composition that is identical in all but minor parts. This category applies to the two versions of Orazio's *Danaë* (cat. nos. 36, 41), both of which have been X rayed. That the picture painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli (cat. 36) is the prime version cannot be doubted. Quite apart from the sheer quality of execution (what Mancini termed the "osservanza del vivo quanto che la fierezza et risolutione della maniera")[72] visible to any viewer, the X ray reveals minor changes in contours and a creative method

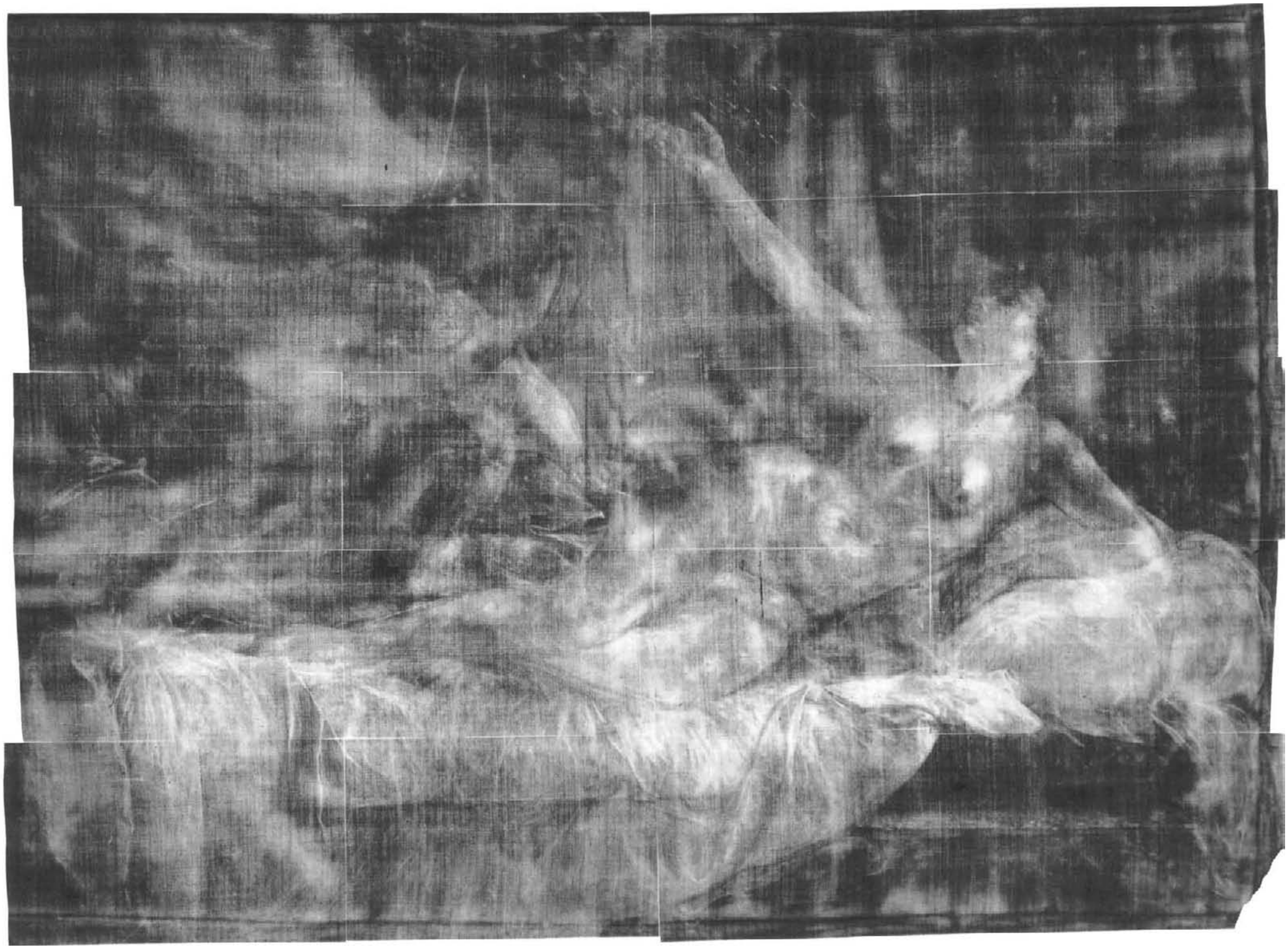


Figure 9. X radiograph of *Danaë* (cat. 36)

of working up the highlights (figs. 9, 10). By contrast, the X rays of the Cleveland version (fig. 11) show an approach in which the modeling no less than the contours is hard and predetermined by a carefully laid-in design. When a tracing of the ex-Sauli picture is superimposed over the Cleveland painting, there is a perfect match of part to part, though not of the whole. That is to say, the Cleveland painting was generated from a tracing or cartoon that was either in sections or was slightly shifted during the transfer process. Sections match up individually, but the tracing has to be shifted so that these sections align (for a detailed analysis, see cat. 41). We have notices of two *Danaës* in Genoese collections, and it seems only reasonable to assume that the paintings in the exhibition are these two.

The same relationship characterizes the two versions of the *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 39 and Pinacoteca Vaticana). Although no X ray of the Vatican painting was available, when a tracing of the prime version in Hartford was superimposed over the Vatican replica, the results yielded were exactly analogous to those obtained from the two *Danaës*: the one was clearly generated from the other using a mechanical means of transfer, and, again, there was a slight shifting from section to section.[73] In this case, it seems possible that the second version was for the most

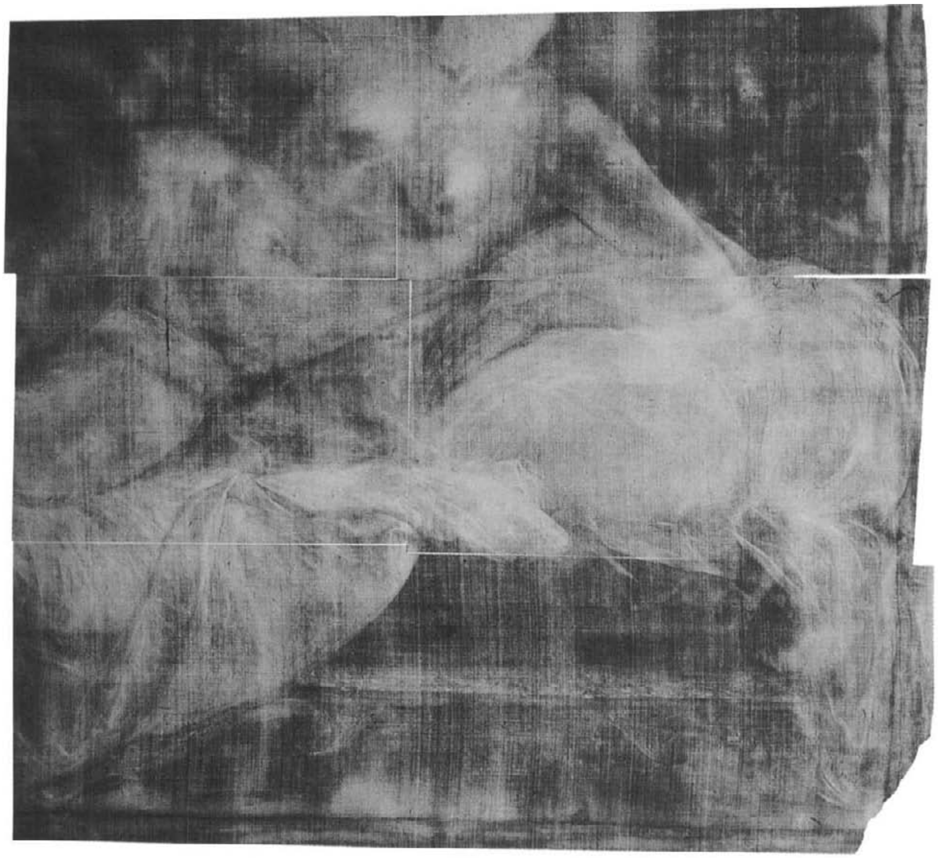


Figure 10. X radiograph of lower-right quadrant of figure 9

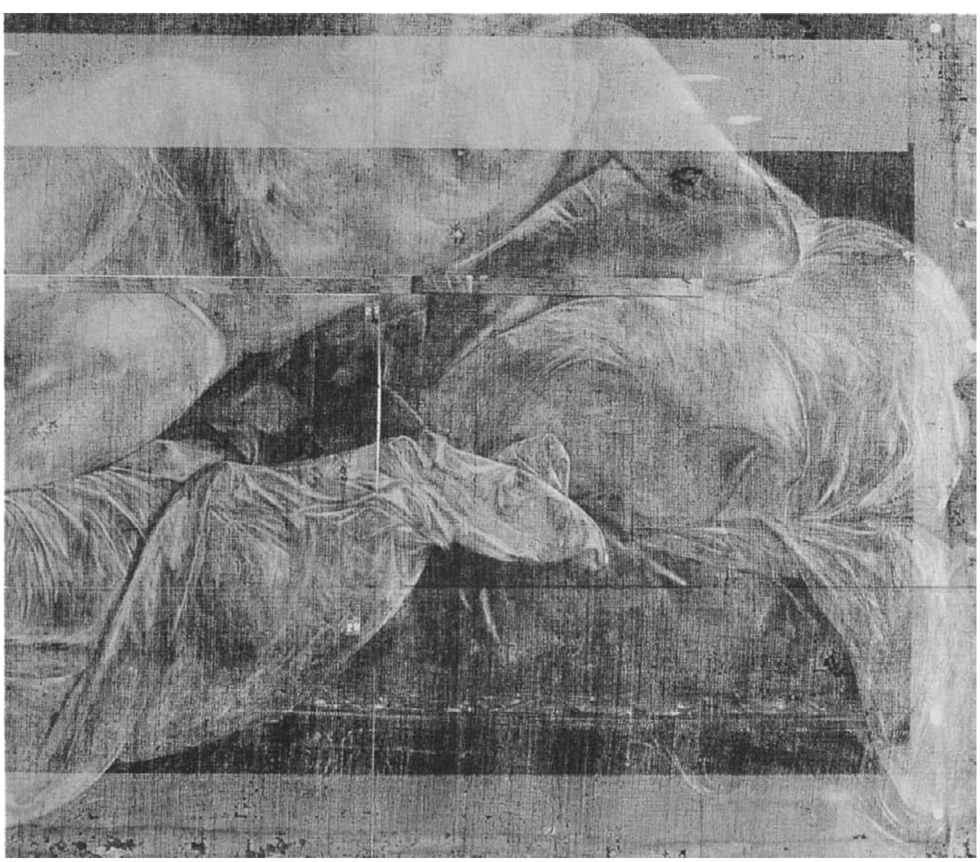


Figure 11. X radiograph of lower-right quadrant of *Danaë* (cat. 41)

Figure 12. X radiograph of *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 37)



Figure 13. X radiograph of lower-right quadrant of figure 12

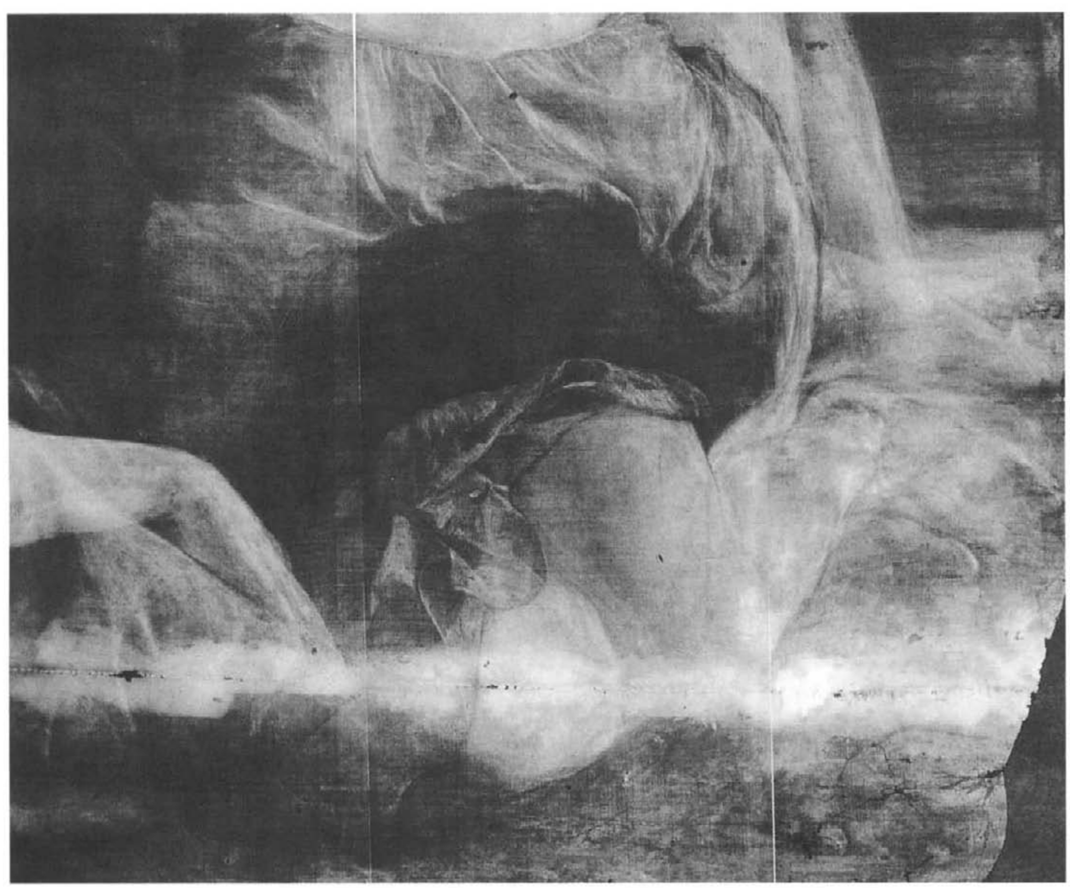




Figure 15. X radiograph of autograph replica of *Lot and His Daughters* in The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (cat. 42)



Figure 14. X radiograph of lower-right quadrant of workshop replica of *Lot and His Daughters* in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (fig. 72)



Figure 16. Superimposed tracings of the Virgin and Child from the two versions of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt:* in Birmingham (cat. 34), shown in red, and in Vienna (cat. 45), shown in black. The Birmingham picture is earlier in date and based on direct studies from posed models, and must have provided the matrix for the design of the Vienna painting. The principal contours are in register, but the individualized faces of the Virgin and Child have been changed; the position of the child's right leg was raised, and that of the Virgin's right hand rotated. Only the right side of the tracings is in register, but as figure 17 shows, by shifting one of the tracings, the left side of the composition can also be brought into register.



Figure 17. Superimposed tracings of the figure of Joseph from the two versions of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt:* in Birmingham (cat. 34), shown in red, and in Vienna (cat. 45), shown in black. The major contours for the figure of Joseph are in register, as is the extended foot of the Virgin. Note, however, that the Virgin's bent knee is now out of register—an indication of the way in which Gentileschi shifted the tracing/cartoon to adapt the composition to a different format.

part a workshop production, though this is a matter that is obviously subject to individual interpretation.

The process is repeated in the two versions of *Lot and His Daughters,* in the J. Paul Getty Museum (cat. 37) and the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (fig. 72).[74] The X ray of the Getty picture—unquestionably that done for Giovan Antonio Sauli in Genoa—reveals considerable changes in the composition as well as, possibly, evidence of an abandoned composition (figs. 12, 13). A comparison with the X rays of the Berlin picture (fig. 14) together with superimposed tracings of both paintings definitively establishes their relationship: the Berlin version was laid in from a tracing of the Getty picture. As in the other examples already cited, this tracing—and that it was a tracing rather than a cartoon may be deduced from the simple fact that the changes in the Getty picture revealed in the X ray are so extensive—was shifted in the course of laying in the design (in this case, alignment is obtained for each quadrant of the figure group). In the X ray of the Berlin painting, there is evidence of a hard contour such as one would expect from a mechanical transfer of a design. The execution of the Berlin painting is very much below Orazio's standards, and I have no doubt that we are dealing in this case with a workshop replica.

A tracing of the ex-Sauli/Getty picture was also used to produce the version of the composition now in Ottawa (cat. 42).[75] However, the X ray of that picture (fig. 15) shows a greater subtlety in the modeling, and there is every reason to accept this picture as an autograph work—probably the one Orazio sent to Carlo Emanuele in Turin.

This use of tracings to replicate and/or copy pictures is recorded by Vincenzo Giustiniani as well as by such compilers of artists' treatises as Richard Symonds (1617–1660).[76] It has, moreover, a long history, stretching back at least to the fifteenth century. The key point to be made here is that what must have been a widespread practice—both by copyists and by artists replicating their own work—also had a creative side.[77] This emerges most clearly in a comparison of a tracing taken from the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* now in Birmingham (cat. 34) with one taken from the later version, in Vienna (cat. 45).[78] In this case, we are dealing not with a replica but with a revised version. We might have supposed that the composition of the Vienna picture was generated from a small record drawing, so different does it appear in the details. Yet the tracings (figs. 16, 17) reveal that the scale of the figures is virtually the same, and their silhouettes match up surprisingly well (always allowing for a slight shift in the position of the tracing). To take just one detail: the right arm of the Virgin is identically placed and the position of the hand merely shifted. The child—that part of the composition that has been most thoroughly rethought—remains quite close, with the head and right leg repositioned. It would seem that the composition of the Vienna painting represents a rethinking of the Birmingham picture, for which a tracing served as the point of departure. Whether the Vienna picture is the first revised composition is more difficult to ascertain. The X ray (fig. 18) reveals a hardness in the contours that certainly suggests a transferred composition, and the very existence of so many other versions (for which, see cat. 45) suggests the difficulties of reaching a definitive solution.

Curiously, the figures in the versions of the related composition in the Louvre and in a private collection in Mantua are slightly smaller in scale.[79] Yet, at least in the case of the version at Mantua (formerly in the J. Paul Getty Museum), there is evidence that, once again, a tracing may have been used (see figs. 19, 20). Here, it would seem that Orazio employed a tracing from the Vienna composition to obtain the upper silhouette of the Virgin and Child, and then slipped it upward to obtain the lower portion. The figure of Joseph was shifted to the right so that the bundle on which he rests disappears behind the Virgin's right leg. In the process, the proportions of the figures have been changed to fit a smaller picture field. X rays (fig. 21) reveal that throughout the composition minor changes and adjustments have been made, but in general the handling is harder and the result less satisfactory than what is found in either the beautiful Vienna version, the slightly less fine picture in the Louvre, or that in Milan (compare figs. 22, 23, 24); this is even more true with the visible surface of the pictures. As this examination shows, Orazio used tracings in a creative fashion, and, in fact, any comparison between the various versions of this, his most repeated composition, reveals that he was constantly altering and refining it, rearranging the scarf around the shoulders of the Virgin, changing the color of her dress and the drapery on the ground. In effect, he created two variants, each of which became the matrix for other pictures. What may be one of the latest versions—a fragment showing only the Virgin and Child (fig. 25)—is also the most elegant.

Gentileschi's Formal Imagination

Orazio's use of tracings was both economical and creative, and it would be wrong to assume that simply because a composition was generated mechanically, it is necessarily inferior. Workshop intervention is best deduced from the picture's surface treatment, rather than from the sometimes ambivalent evidence of the X rays and tracings. Perhaps the most significant trait revealed by the tracings is Orazio's attachment to particular formal designs. I have remarked on this in the catalogue entries for the *Judith and Her Maidservant* in Hartford (cat. 39) and the *Young Woman Playing a Violin* (cat. 40), in which similar poses are used for different figures. Another figure with a similar pose appears in the X ray of the Getty *Lot and His Daughters* (fig. 12), suggesting that Orazio may have thought of beginning that picture by incorporating a favorite pose he had recorded in a tracing or drawing. His was a formal imagination, and, like Piero della Francesca almost two centuries earlier, he did not hesitate to re-use a pose or a figure, even at the risk of appearing to repeat himself.[80]

Tracings must have served as an aid to the young Artemisia as she learned her craft, and they became a staple in her own repetitions later in her career. They probably played as important a part in her artistic education in Orazio's house as his collection of prints, with its focus on designs derived from Raphael (that he had an extensive collection of etchings can be deduced from the compositional sources in his work). The resemblance of Artemisia's *Judith and Her Maidservant* in the Pitti (cat. 60) to two earlier compositions by Orazio (cat. 13 and fig. 46) may be explained by the intermediary of a tracing that she



Figure 18. X radiograph of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. 45).

Figure 19. Superimposed tracings of the Virgin and Child from the versions of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt:* in Mantua (see fig. 21), shown in red, and in Vienna (cat. 45), shown in black. The figure scale of the Mantua painting is smaller than that in the Vienna version. Nonetheless, the tracings suggest that Gentileschi generated the design from a tracing/cartoon of the Vienna version, shortening the child's legs and the Virgin's arm. This may have been done on the canvas by creatively shifting the cartoon. The X radiograph (fig. 21) demonstrates that Gentileschi made minor adjustments as he painted.



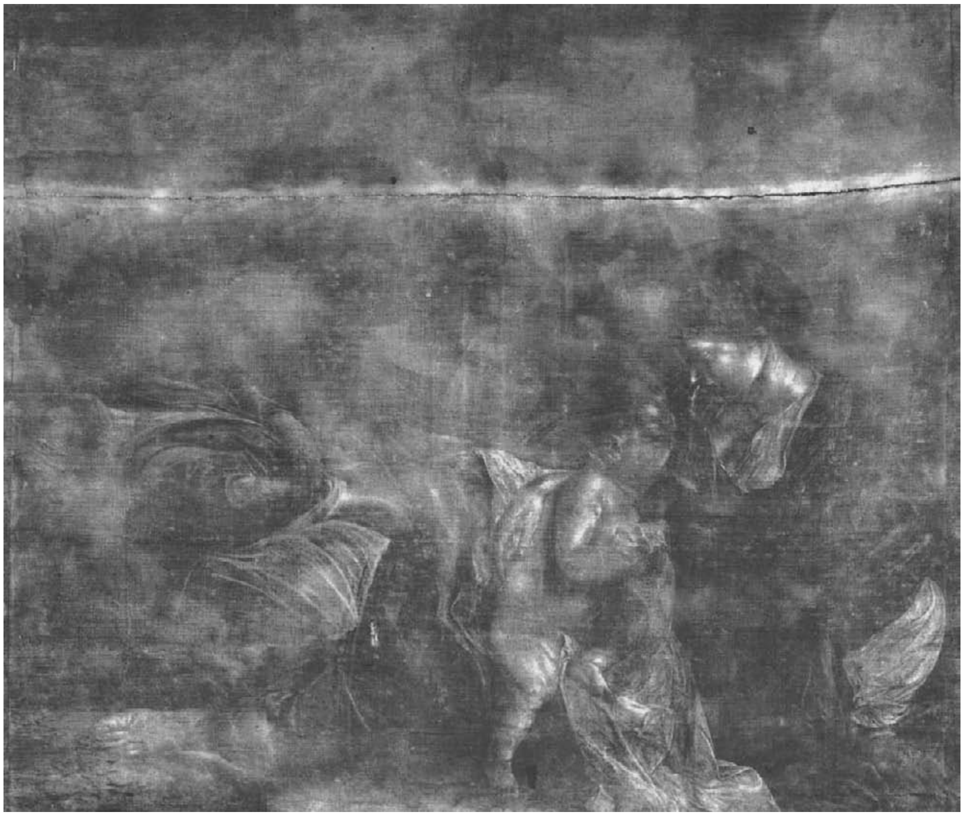


Figure 21. X radiograph of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Private collection, Mantua

Figure 20. Superimposed tracings of the figure of Joseph in the versions of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt:* in Mantua, shown in red, and in Vienna (cat. 45), shown in black. The necessary adjustments for the reduction of the figure scale are evident. The Mantua picture was made by overlapping two parts of the original, Vienna, design; note how the Virgin's bent knee now cuts off Joseph's right knee and the bundle on which he sleeps. The tracing/cartoon must have been in two sections.





Figure 22. Detail of figure 18



Figure 23. X radiograph of Virgin's head in the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Musée du Louvre, Paris

adapted to her own purposes. The same may be true of her *Madonna and Child* in the Galleria Spada (cat. 52). Orazio himself was not beyond isolating a feature in a composition and using it as the point of departure for something else. The Virgin in the Fogg *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* (cat. 28) could, with alterations, become a Saint Catherine (fig. 59). One wonders what use Francesco Gentileschi may have made of his father's tracings and, possibly, cartoons. Too lacking in talent to map out for himself an independent career, did he resort to pastiching his father's work?[81]

Perhaps the most interesting example of the nature of Orazio's fascination with formal designs occurs in the paired female figures of Danaë and the Magdalene that he painted around 1621–22 for Giovan Antonio Sauli (cat. nos. 35, 36). In the entries for these pictures, I suggest that the poses were intended to point up the contrast between the penitential, religious theme of the *Magdalene* and the erotic, pagan theme of the *Danaë*. Just how closely related in his mind these two figures were is revealed by the X ray not of the ex-Sauli *Magdalene* (fig. 28), but of the version of the picture in Vienna (figs. 26, 27). X rays of that work, always considered—with good reason—the later of the two, reveal it to have, by far, the most significant and extensive changes. Indeed, based on the X ray alone, there would be every reason to believe this to be the prime version of the composition. Most astonishing is the fact that the figure was initially depicted nude. When a tracing of the Danaë is superimposed over the figure of the Magdalene (fig. 29), there can be no doubt that the one was generated from the other, with the position of the upper torso raised to enhance the different expressive content, but the outstretched right foot retained (this last detail was modified in the Sauli version).

What does this say about the dating of the Vienna painting? Does it, in fact, precede the Sauli version? Is it the picture Soprani



Figure 24. X radiograph of Virgin's head in figure 25

refers to as having been sent by Orazio from Genoa to Marie de' Medici and that she, in turn, gave to the duke of Buckingham (on these questions, see cat. 45)? Or does it reveal Orazio employing a tracing he had brought with him from Genoa to Paris as a point of departure for a fresh interpretation of an old composition?[82] Nothing would show less sensitivity to the character of Orazio's art—its "sapere" and its increasingly refined sense of "colorito"—than to force him into an intellectualized schema.[83]

Gentileschi and the Baroque

The interest in subtly varying a single formal design, so remarkably documented in a technical analysis of Orazio's paintings, is perhaps the distinguishing trait of his art—an art that can seem



Figure 25. Fragment of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Formerly Finarte, Milan

Figure 26. Orazio Gentileschi, *Penitent Magdalene*. Oil on canvas. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



Figure 27. X radiograph of figure 26, showing how the figure was laid in nude

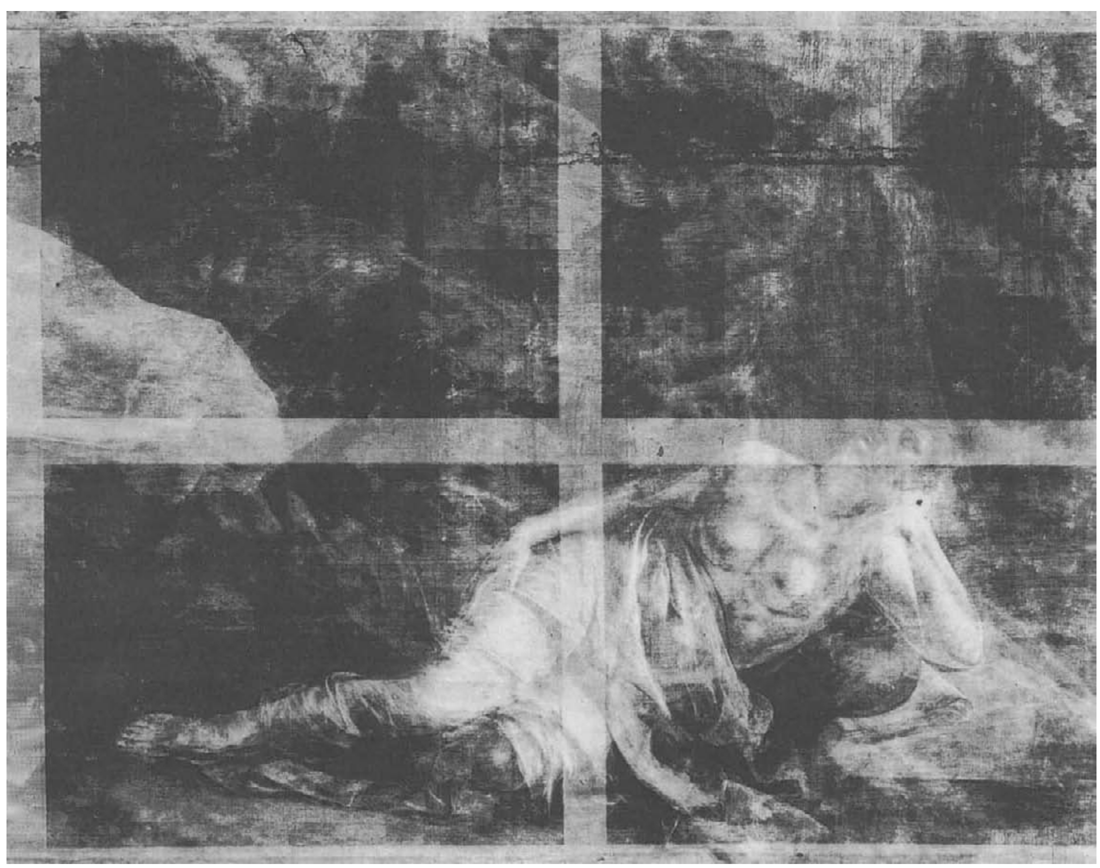
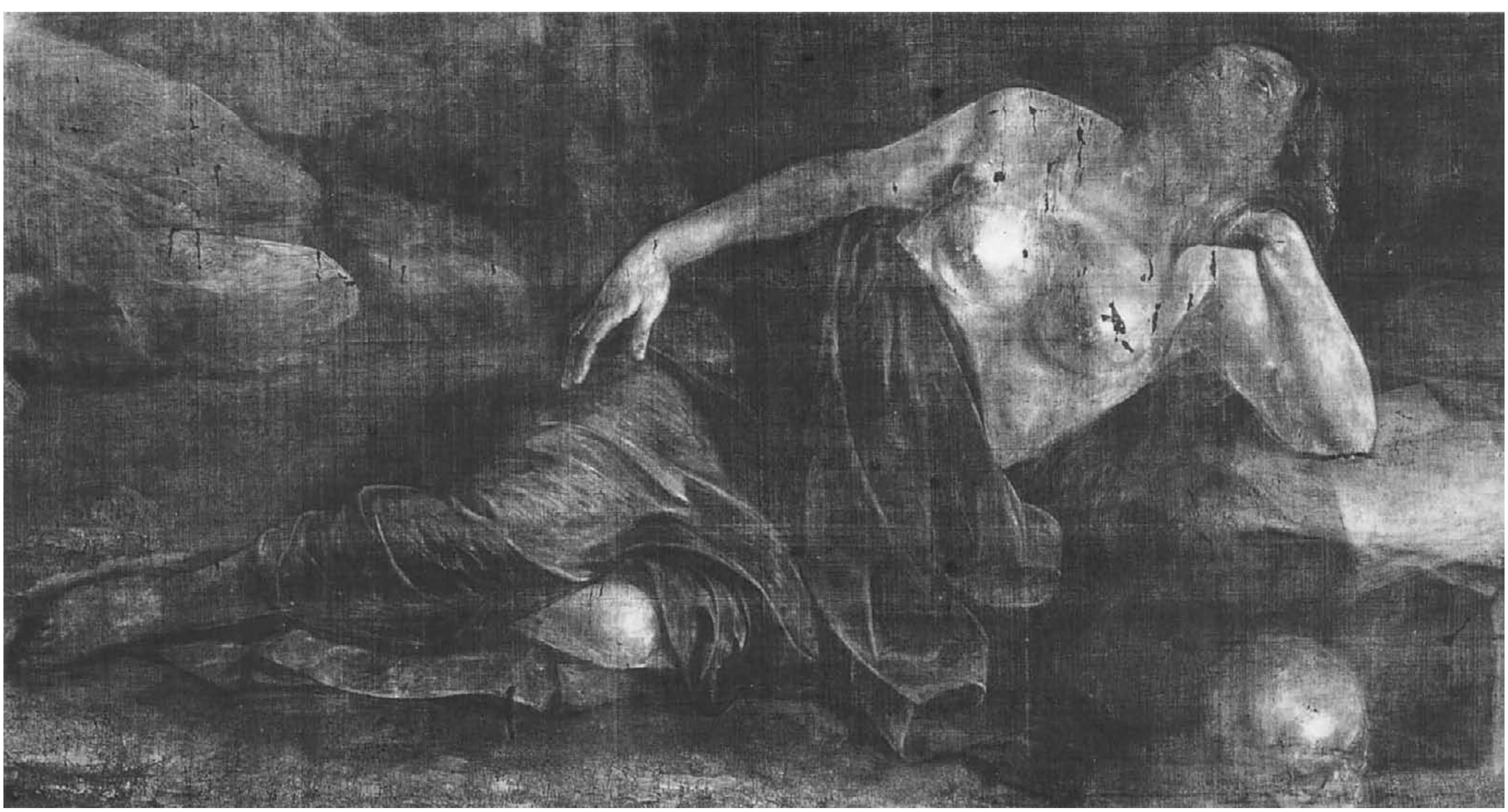




Figure 29. Superimposed tracings of the *Penitent Magdalene* in Vienna (fig. 26), shown in green, and the *Danaë* (cat. 36), shown in red. It is evident that the same cartoon/tracing was used to obtain the lower part of the torso and legs of the Vienna *Magdalene*. The upper torso and the position of the head, shoulders, and arms were altered to suit the different subjects and the required actions.

Figure 28. X radiograph of the *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 35)



strangely out of step with its time even when it responds to those artists who so strongly shaped it. We have constantly to remind ourselves that Orazio was five years older than the Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640), under whom he worked at San Giovanni in Laterano, and eight years older than Caravaggio. He belonged to the generation of Annibale Carracci, Cigoli, and Passignano—the generation of the reformers of Italian art. His fellow Caravaggisti, Orazio Borgianni and Carlo Saraceni, were younger by eleven and sixteen years, respectively; Reni, Domenichino, Adam Elsheimer, and Rubens all belonged to the next generation.

Although Rome was the seat of the Counter-Reformation, there was no reform movement in the arts comparable to those in Florence and Bologna that, in the 1580s, redirected artists to the study of nature and to the great masters of the High Renaissance. (Scipione Pulzone [1544–1598] is the closest equivalent in Rome to the outstanding figures in Florence and Bologna—Cigoli, Passignano, the Carracci.) Orazio's training was in every respect conservative. Watered-down Raphael was the currency of the day. His fascination with the purely formal elements of composition no less than the decorously pure sentiment of his religious paintings are the result of this training, while the modern guise in which they are presented has to do with his association with Caravaggio and his awareness of the most progressive trends in European painting.

He was on hand at the unveiling in 1600 of Caravaggio's paintings in San Luigi dei Francesi, and evidently looked with equal interest at Annibale's frescoes in the gallery of the Palazzo Farnese—those twin events that ushered in the new century and suddenly made everything Orazio and his contemporaries had done seem not simply inconsequential but irrelevant. He began work at the Palazzo del Quirinale just after Reni completed his frescoes of the life of the Virgin for the pope's private chapel—frescoes that established a new standard for beauty and devoutness. One wonders what the young Artemisia made of this spectacular cycle when she was taken to view the progress of her father's work. She was bound to compare Reni's celestial vision of music-making angels, so lavishly praised by the pope, with the more plebeian figures—for one of which she had possibly posed—that her father was painting in Cardinal Borghese's loggia, a five-minute walk away, and to reflect on the very different direction Orazio's art had taken. During the time he was painting those haunting altarpieces for the Marchigian town of Fabriano (cat. 30), with their quality of domestic intimacy, Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647) and Carlo Saraceni were working together with Orazio's former partner, Agostino Tassi, in the Sala Regia of the Quirinale. Lanfranco's work established the basis for Baroque decoration, and it is not surprising that Orazio's bid to fresco the Benediction loggia at Saint Peter's was lost to Lanfranco.

Orazio was in Rome in 1608, when Rubens completed his grandiose paintings in the apse of the Oratorian church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, and he arrived in Genoa in 1621, a year after the installation in San Ambrogio of the Fleming's theatrical altarpiece showing miracles of Saint Ignatius of Loyola. In the catalogue I suggest that the latter work inspired Orazio to one of his greatest achievements, the hushed and precious Turin *Annunciation* (cat. 43). In Paris, he was on hand for the first installment of Rubens's stupendous cycle of the life of Marie de' Medici in the Palais de Luxembourg, and he had hardly begun work on his canvases for the ceiling of the Queen's House in Greenwich (fig. 85) before the arrival in London of Rubens's masterpieces for the ceiling of the Banqueting House, Whitehall (fig. 90). As we have seen, he met Van Dyck in Genoa and sat for him in London —with what mixed feelings we can only guess.

Despite these encounters, Orazio never embraced the all-conquering Baroque idiom, with its emphasis on expressivity and dynamic compositions or its love of the dramatic, as did Artemisia (who, after all, was of the same generation as Jusepe de Ribera, Simon Vouet, and Valentin de Boulogne). Nor did he remain completely unaffected. He expanded his art, notably creating his own formalized code for the rhetorical gestures that were at the heart of Baroque painting. Yet what could be less Baroque in effect than the *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* that he painted in London around 1630–33 (fig. 88)?[84] In it, an erotic story of failed seduction is transformed into a still life of fabrics with incidental figures, the protagonists appearing to be the marvelous crimson curtain and richly tailored jacket that, with apparent regret, the well-dressed courtier seems to leave behind—like Saint Martin—to clothe a half-naked woman. Judged by the narrative standards of Rubens, Reni, or Domenichino, this picture is a travesty. But do not its perverse stillness and its air of detachment subvert the rhetorical language of the Baroque into something else? The action is subordinate to the act of description: "pittura di valori" has supplanted narration, and gesture is reduced to an emblem of a story pointedly not told.

Geography plays an important part in the way Orazio's art was perceived. Out of step with the trends in Rome and Genoa, his work takes on a strangely prescient quality in France, where his narrative reticence and elegant sense of design seem to look forward to aspects of classical painting (see Jean-Pierre Cuzin, pp. 208–12). In some of his religious pictures there is even a foretaste of the sacral naturalism of the early-nineteenth-century Nazarenes, and it is hardly surprising that a number of scholars have tried to demonstrate an antiquarian interest on Orazio's part in quattrocento art (see the discussion in cat. nos. 30, 43).[85]

The thorny issue of Orazio's possible "pan-European" influence has been discussed in detail by Bissell, in his indispensable 1981 monograph on the artist.[86] Orazio's position in the Italian seicento is perhaps even more difficult to define. He has occasionally been compared with Lorenzo Lotto (ca. 1480–1556), a compellingly original artist going his own way. However, Lotto's restless, psychologically probing art found its audience in the peripheral areas of Bergamo, Treviso, and the Marches, not in the cosmopolitan centers of Rome, Genoa, Paris, and London. No one has been more eloquent about the paradox Orazio's art poses than Sydney Freedberg, who, writing about the grandly elegant and hauntingly moving *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* at the Fogg Art Museum (cat. 28), commented on how "Orazio passed beyond dependence on the art of Caravaggio into a powerful and highly personal style, for which the prior assimilation of Caravaggism was a threshold. There is, in the Fogg *Madonna*, a sudden growth to grandeur in the conception of form and theme, an absolute command of the image into unity." Orazio's light—what for Longhi was the artist's greatest contribution to European painting—Freedberg describes as "not just a deviation from Caravaggio's persistently classicizing model, but in a sense a development beyond it, towards a quality of baroqueness."[87] I have tried to suggest that, beyond the label we may decide to append to Orazio's paintings, they leave with us an indelible impression, as though we had encountered something both strange and familiar, at once remotely abstract in its formal language and hauntingly human in its quality of personal revelation: the youthful vigor of seicento naturalism in the hands of an old master of the Renaissance.

1. The trial has become so famous that it is pointless to try to cite the long bibliography dealing with it. An Italian transcription was published by Menzio 1981; Garrard (1989, 409–87) gives an English translation of the main portion. Cohen (2000) puts the trial in its proper historical context. Less well known parts are published here in appendix 1.
2. See appendix 1, under October 2, 1612: Luca fu Carlo Finocchi.
3. Ibid., under August 17, 1612.
4. Ibid., under October 21, 1612.
5. See Bray in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 76. For a reappraisal of the years Gentileschi spent in London, see Wood 2000–2001.
6. Baglione (1642), 1935, 360.
7. Cavazzini (1998, 175) has noted that Orazio waited until he completed his work with Tassi before making his denouncement. She also tentatively suggests that he perhaps hoped to establish a continuing collaboration that would involve Artemisia.
8. See Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 144.
9. Félibien 1705, 237. It is always possible that Félibien's comments derive from Baglione's biography, especially given the similarity of the words *bestiale* and *brutale* to describe Orazio's character.
10. Pollock (1999, 98–103) is particularly eloquent on the problem of reading biography into Artemisia's paintings.
11. The letter was first published by Crinò 1954, 203–4.
12. For the report, see Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 144.
13. On this issue, see the observations of Dempsey 1993, 233–43.
14. Bellori (1672) 1976, 229–30.
15. See Zuccari 1992, 87 n. 41, for a recent survey of the problem.
16. Bissell (1981, 136) notes that in 1598 one of the payments was made in the name of the monastery at Farfa and of the monks of San Paolo. Cardinal Alessandro Montalto, the nephew of Sixtus V, was commendatory abbot of Farfa.
17. The documents are published by Germond (1993), who ascribed all the frescoes in the chapel to Orazio. I questioned this deduction: see Christiansen 1994. Since then, an early guidebook has been published by Dorati da Empoli (2001, 52, 54–55 n. 16) that ascribes the vault frescoes to Orazio. I have reexamined the chapel and find this attribution completely convincing. The fact that the guidebook makes no mention of the large frescoes on the lateral walls strongly suggests that they may not have been painted until after about 1615. Orazio must have abandoned the project or subcontracted it. A drawing related to one of the lateral frescoes is in the British Museum: see Turner 2000, 222–23. The frescoes resemble somewhat the work of Marzio Ganassini.
18. According to Baglione, Orazio painted the apostle Thaddeus "a man dritta vicino all'Organo." This should be the apostle to the right of the organ. Bissell (1981, 136–37) has, however, argued convincingly that the figure of Thaddeus is on the left. See also Freiberg 1995, 301. The question is whether Baglione is more likely to have misidentified the name of the apostle Gentileschi painted or the location of his contribution to the transept decorations, on which he also worked. The fact that the apostles to the left and to the right of the organ—one by Orazio, the other by Ricci—are so lacking in individual style says a great deal about Orazio's place in Roman painting at this date.
19. Baldinucci (1681) 1845–47, vol. 3, 277.
20. The picture is described in these terms in a 1638 inventory of the Giustiniani collection: see Salerno 1960, 135.
21. See Spezzaferro 1975, 53–55.
22. Mancini (1617–21) 1956–57, vol. 1, 110.
23. Baldinucci 1681, 17: "Colorito: Il colorire: fra i Pittori dicesi buon colorito, e cattivo colorito del tal Maestro; ed il tale à buon colorito, o cattivo colorito."
24. See Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 33. Spear (1997, 77) notes the study of the nude female model in the drawing academy of Bologna.
25. See Langdon 1998, 298–99.

26. The practice has been denied by Garrard (1989, 200, 532 n. 37) and Harris (1989, 9). The matter is sensibly discussed by Bissell (1999, 6). See also the comments of Cropper in her catalogue essay. Spear (1997, 77–94) discusses Reni's nudes and issues of viewer perception. It is worth noting that both Orazio and Artemisia later affirm their use of female models.
27. See appendix 1, under June 23, 1612.
28. Here I must record my view that the *Lucretia* dates from about 1611–12. Neither the technique nor the type of composition—with the figure cut off mid-calf in a fashion typical of Orazio's paintings at this period—seems to me to have anything to do with Artemisia's sophisticated work of the 1620s.
29. Malvasia ([1678] 1841, 346) recounts Annibale's description to Albani and Tacconi of how he had gone about creating the nude statues on the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery. His method, which was based on drawing rather than painting from the model, serves as a perfect foil for understanding the differences between the effects of verisimilitude sought in classical painting and the truth, or *vero*, that underlies Caravaggesque practice.
30. See Pedrocchi 2000, 62–65.
31. Mancini (1617–21) 1956–57, vol. 1, 108–9.
32. See Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 144. The letter was written from Rome on March 27, 1615. Guicciardini was not opposed to Caravaggesque painting: he purchased pictures by Gerrit van Honthorst, Bartolomeo Manfredi, and Cecco del Caravaggio for his own collection (the Cecco, painted to decorate his family chapel in Florence, he rejected). See Corti 1989, 108–46.
33. As noted above, at note 17, in the British Museum there is a fully developed compositional drawing, squared for enlargement, for one of the large, lateral scenes in the Fiorenzuola chapel in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. The drawing was tentatively ascribed by Gere and Pouncey to Giovanni de' Vecchi, but in light of the documents published by Germond 1993, Turner (2000, 222–23) has recently reopened discussion of the drawing, which is superior to the actual frescoes.
34. We have no certain information about Manfredi's arrival in Rome, but it is usually thought to have been about 1605. We also know that he studied with Cristoforo Roncalli. Crucial to understanding his possible relationship with Orazio is the date of a work such as the the *Allegory of Four Seasons* at the Dayton Art Institute. Often dated to around 1610, it closely parallels Orazio's experiments at this time. And the *Allegory*, notably, is listed as a work by Gentileschi in an eighteenth-century inventory of the collection of Cardinal Alessandro Albani: "Un quadro in tela simile da Imperatore scarsa rappresentante le quattro staggioni, cioè la primavera con Ghirlanda di fiori, che sona il Liuto, e si abbraccia coll'Autunno, che tiene varj frutti, coll'Estate in forma di donna con spighe di grano, e l'Inverno in forma di Vecchio con berettone di pelle, di mano del Gentileschi...Lasciato a Sua Santità quando era Cardinale dalla bona memoria del Signor Abbate Passarini" (see *Quaderni sul neoclassico*, 5, 31). I do not believe the young Artemisia can have been the catalyst for Orazio's use of the model; a comparison of Orazio's *Madonna and Child* in Bucharest (cat. 15) with the related picture by Artemisia in the Galleria Spada (cat. 52) is enough to settle the direction of influence.
35. The Sannesi's patronage is discussed by Schleier in Florence 1983, 26–30, as well as by Le Pas de Sécheval 1993, 15–19.
36. Luigi Spezzaferro is currently reexamining the Cerasi commission and the issue of the rejected first versions of the pictures.
37. There is common agreement that it is to this work that Orazio referred in 1623, when he wrote the duke that he was sending an *Annunciation* (cat. 43), in recognition of the deep affection he had retained ever since he had served the duke as a young man ("l'antica mia servitù dedicatele fin da giovanetto"). On the original function of the picture, which was later used in the church of the Capuchins as a curtain for a statue, see Arena in Romano 1999, 83.
38. Clement VIII had not favored the Jesuits, who had become the focus of a political tug-of-war. They had been expelled from Venetian territories. The Spanish promoted the Dominicans. On September 4, 1606, Paul V confirmed his faith in the order with his statement *Quantum religio* and cut off debate about them on August 28, 1607. At the center of these issues was Cardinal Claudio Acquaviva, who had played a key role in commissioning Baglione's *Resurrection* for the Gesù in Rome and who likely played a part in the choice of Gentileschi for the Ancona altarpiece (cat. 7). See Carloni, pp. 118–19, in this publication.
39. For these complicated dealings, see esp. Venturi 1882, 16ff.; Marcon, Maddalo, and Marcolini 1983, 93–106; and Carloni in Fossombrone 1997, 22. Paolo Savelli emerges from the correspondence as a somewhat ambiguous figure, since he was advising the agent of Duke Cesare d'Este about Scipione Borghese's schemes.
40. Maniello 1994. On the Olgiati, see esp. Calvi 1884, vol. 3, 1–3.
41. See Hibbard 1971, 206.
42. Orbaan 1920, 177; Waźbiński 1994, vol. 2, 361.
43. See appendix 1, under fol. 433.
44. See Rovi 1992.
45. See Acanfora's (2000, 29–52) comments on Cigoli and Galileo.
46. On Galileo and Elsheimer, see Ottani Cavina 1976, 139–44.
47. See De Rinaldis 1936, 194–206.
48. For the Savelli, see especially Litta 1872, tavole VIII, IX, dispensa 167; and Moroni 1854, 301–4.
49. Soprani 1674, 316.
50. See Gigli 1958, 46, and, most particularly, Orbaan 1920, 32–33.
51. This is explicitly stated in his 1646 will: see Testa 1998, 348.
52. The notice, erroneously interpreted by Bissell (1981, 103), is transcribed by Gallo (1998, 314, 333–34).
53. It is worth noting that in 1620, when Paolo Savelli made his ceremonial entrance into Rome, he was met by, among others, Cardinal Campori, who, as we have seen, may have played a role in commissioning the *Magdalene;* see Orbaan 1920, 32.
54. For the payments, see Testa 1998, 349. Guicciardini's report is published by Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 144.
55. For the letter from the grand duke's secretary, Andrea Cioli, see Crinò 1960, 264. Cioli found Orazio's widespread reputation—"una voce quasi publica"—the more credible in that he knew firsthand the paintings of Artemisia, then in Florence.
56. That Paolo was Orazio's principal patron we learn from the 1646 will of Federico, where he specifies that the paintings by Guido Reni, Caravaggio, and Gentileschi were owned by his brother Paolo; see Testa 1998, 348. The Caravaggio is the *Denial of Saint Peter* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. There are three inventories and several lists of pictures belonging to the Savelli: the 1610 inventory, published by Spezzaferro (1985, 71–72), is of the Monte Savello palace and does not mention artists' names; the 1631 inventory, also published by Spezzaferro (ibid., 72–73), is of the collection at the Palazzo di Ariccia, which Federico and Paolo took possession of only in 1605; a copy of a list compiled by Sig. Pio Domenico Gibellini and sent to Cardinal Fabrizio Savelli, the heir of Federico, is dated 1650 and is published by Testa 1998, 352; a 1650 list of pictures is given by Campori 1870, 161–66; and there is a 1659 inventory that I have transcribed: *Inventarii della robba del Card. Savelli Fabrizio* (Archivo di Stato di Roma, Sforza Cesarini 25). See also p. 128 n. 19. What follows are the pictures ascribed to Gentileschi that appear in these lists. 1-Un quadro del Gentileschi con tre ritratti cornice dorata [1631 inventory]; 2-Un quadro grande con diversi frutti e fiori del Gentileschi con tre putti cornice nera [1631 inventory]; 3-Un s. Fran.co del Gentileschi in cornice dorata [1631 inventory]; 4-Una tobia del Gentileschi in rame con cornice d'ebbano [1631 inventory]; 5-Un s.e Antonino da Padova del Gentileschi con il Christo, et quattro angili con cornice dorata [1631 inventory]; 6-Una d.a (una siblia) del Gentileschi cornice dorata [1631 inventory]; 7-Una Madonna grande con il putto sop.a un coscino del Gentileschi corn.ce dorata [1631 inventory]; Una Madonna col Bambino in braccio, alta p.mi 4 [89.36 cm] largo p.mi 3 [67.02 cm] del Gentileschi [1650]; un quadro della madonna col Bambino in braccio del Gentileschi con cornice negra rabescata d'oro [1659];

8-un Adamo et eva del Gentileschi [1610 inv., without attribution; 1631 inventory]; 9-Un christo penante con doi malandrini del Gentileschi cornice nera et oro [1650]; Coronazione di Christo 3 meze figure, del Gentileschi per traverso p.mi 6 [134.4 cm] in circa, D. 150 [1650]; 10-Un S. giovanni che beve del Gentileschi cornice nera et oro [1650]; 11-Una Giuditta del gentileschi cornice dorata; Giuditta con altra Donna, che taglia la testa ad Oloferne, alto p.mi 7 [156.38 cm] largo 5 [111.7 cm] del Gentilesci, D. 200 [1650]; 12-Un Santo in Ginochioni con un manigoldo in atto di tagliarli il collo, figure intiere alto p.mi 7 [156.38 cm] e 6 [134.04 cm] in circa, del Gentileschi, d. 200 [1650].

57. Pizzorusso (1987, 69–70) speculates on the importance of Giulio's position in Ancona, which, however, postdates Orazio's work there for the church of the Gesù, and Testa (1998, 350) suggests that Orazio transferred his activity to the Marches following Giulio's appointment as bishop of Ancona. It should be noted that, with the exception of the two fresco cycles in Fabriano, Orazio could easily have sent his paintings from Rome. On his activity in Fabriano, see Carloni, pp. 116–29.
58. Mancini mentions that Ferraù Fenzone transformed his color in Faenza, specifically comparing his paintings with the work of the Dossi. He particularly praises Scarsellino's work for its "assai buon colorito," calling the painter one of the finest artists in Italy and noting a "quadretto" by the artist of the *Magdalene* owned by the Savelli.
59. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 28, 2000, lot 132. The inventory notice in this publication (Carloni, p. 127 n. 19) establishes that Orazio's painting was collaborative.
60. Testa 1998, 348.
61. This position has been taken up in modified form by Nicolson (1958, 24–25) and by Bissell (1981, 68).
62. Longhi (1916) 1961, 236.
63. Ibid., 231.
64. Here it should be pointed out that Lanzi (1795–96, vol. 1, 234) seems also to have been struck by Orazio's "nuovo, e pressoche mai non veduto stile" in a painting of David and Goliath he saw in the Cambiaso collection in Genoa.
65. Luzio (1913) 1974, 61 n.
66. See Maccherini 1997, 74–76.
67. See Giustiniani 1981, 42.
68. See Weston-Lewis in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 42–44.
69. See Millar 1958–60, 176, item 31.
70. Ibid., 126, item 49.
71. See London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 99.
72. Mancini (1617–21) 1956–57, vol. 1, 327. Mancini's text is perhaps the most eloquent testimony to the discriminating judgments of seventeenth-century amateurs.
73. I am deeply grateful to Andrea Rothe, of the conservation staff at The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, for kindly performing this operation for me and documenting it in photographs.
74. My thanks to Gisela Helmkampf, at the Gemäldegalerie, for facilitating my examination of the Berlin picture and discussing the findings. She most generously provided the print of the X radiograph reproduced here.
75. Here I wish to thank Mark Leonard, at The J. Paul Getty Museum, who kindly passed on this information to me. He also helped to answer my numerous queries and made the tracing of the ex-Sauli *Danaë* when it was sent to the Getty for restoration.
76. See Beal (1984, 198–202), who gives a survey of copying techniques.
77. Here, I should note the article by Bauer and Colton (2000, 434–36), in which an attempt is made to ascribe to Caravaggio the practice investigated in these pages. I can only say that the article is, to my mind, based on a serious confusion between copies and autograph variants. I would also like to state my personal opinion that Caravaggio did not produce replicas of his work, though we can point to one case in which he used the copyist technique of a tracing as the starting point for a variant composition; see Christiansen 1988, 26–27. The article seems to me to show a curious disregard for the issue of quality, which is all-important in discussions of this kind.
78. For the tracing of the Birmingham painting, I am indebted to Gabriele Finaldi; for that of the Vienna paintings—both the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* and the *Penitent Magdalene*—my debt is to Elke Oberthaler at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and to a student in a seminar I taught, Sandhya Jain.
79. I wish to thank Stephane Loire at the Louvre for kindly comparing tracings of both the Vienna painting and the Mantua painting with X rays of the Louvre's picture and for answering numerous queries. For the examination of the Mantua painting and a discussion of its technical features, I am indebted to Mario Amedeo Lazzari, who kindly furnished me with a detailed report of his findings as well as photographs of the X rays. I am indebted to Dorothy Mahon and Charlotte Hale at the Metropolitan Museum for discussing possible interpretations of this technical material.
80. I am here referring to Piero's well-known habit of reversing cartoons to create compositional echoes or to underscore thematic analogies—as in the identical heads of God the Father and Chosroes. This use of cartoons became a commonplace in the work of Perugino.
81. A prime candidate for this would be a *Madonna Adoring the Christ Child* in a private collection (Bissell 1981, 204 no. X-13). The Madonna is adapted from the Turin *Annunciation*, while the Vouet-like child is a feeble interpolation. Bissell and Strinati (2001) propose it as an autograph work, in part based on the X rays, but its flaccid execution makes this unlikely. Francesco may also have had a hand in the painting of the version of the Turin *Annunciation* in San Siro, Genoa.
82. The difficulty of this position seems to me to be the fact that the drapery of the figure in the Vienna painting so closely repeats the folds in the ex-Sauli picture. And, of course, there is the matter of its pendant, the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. In the end, I feel that on purely stylistic grounds these two pictures are more likely to have been painted in France than in Genoa. But so much in Orazio's chronology rests on supposition that the matter should be left open. See now, also, Wood 2000–2001.
83. We should perhaps modify the conclusions reached by Weston-Lewis in his analysis of the relationship of the two versions of the *Finding of Moses*. He excluded tracings as a means of transferring the design from the one picture to the other on the basis of a lack of total agreement in the size and details. As we have seen, Orazio was more creative in his use of tracings than Weston-Lewis's analysis allows.
84. On this picture and its installation in the Queen's House, see Weston-Lewis and Bray in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 45, 72.
85. The most eloquent proponent of this is Bissell (1981, 32–38).
86. Ibid., 63–79. This remains a nebulous subject.
87. Freedberg 1976, 733.



The Rome of Orazio Gentileschi

ALESSANDRO ZUCCARI

Rome "is the most cosmopolitan city in the world and one where they could care less if someone is a foreigner and from another country. On the other hand, the city is in part made up of foreigners and everyone feels at home here." Michel de Montaigne noted both the sophisticated and the familiar nature of the city in 1581, and this description most likely corresponds to the experience of many of the "foreign" artists who went to the papal city.[1] Among them was the Pisan painter Orazio Gentileschi, who arrived in Rome a few years before Montaigne; he too must have felt "at home" there, since he decided to make the city his place of residence for several decades. For a young artist, whether from another Italian city or from north of the Alps, Rome was an extraordinary place both because it provided an ideal location for him to finish his studies and because it offered ample opportunity for professional success and recognition.[2]

The pope at the time, Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r. 1572–85), favored artists from his native Bologna, commissioning them to decorate the new wing of the Vatican palace.[3] Yet artists from other regions—including those who, like Gentileschi, came from Tuscany—also found opportunities in Rome. Giovanni de' Vecchi, for example, oversaw the sophisticated and refined programs commissioned by Alessandro Farnese, the "Gran Cardinale," and Nicolò Circignani filled Jesuit churches with scenes of martyrdom.[4] Such painters as Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630) and Cristoforo Roncalli (1552–1626), who had just arrived in Rome, were hired to work on the pictorial cycles at the Vatican and the Oratory of the Crucifix.[5] Young talents who had not yet established their own reputations spent their time studying ancient art as well as works by the great masters of earlier generations, and as they waited for the chance to prove themselves independent masters, they took on marginal tasks. Such was the case with Gentileschi, who spent years establishing himself in the art world. Orazio arrived in Rome between 1576 and 1578, but began to receive important commissions only a decade later, during the pontificate of Sixtus V Peretti (r. 1585–90), when he painted "in the lovely Vatican library and in other places."[6]

Thus Rome, a city receptive to artists of different cultural backgrounds, was a large artistic laboratory that encouraged the development and exchange of both old-fashioned and more current styles.[7] Sixtus V was especially active as a patron of architectural and decorative projects; his master plan for the city and the administrative reforms he sponsored made Rome a religious center and a modern capital where the art of painting thrived.[8] His activity also spurred a number of large pictorial cycles. These were promoted by the pope, the new religious orders—the Jesuits, Oratorians, and Theatines, for example[9]—and lay confraternities as well as by members of the Roman Curia and aristocracy who not only decorated their own palaces but financed a large number of altars, chapels, and oratories.

As Sixtus proceeded with his public-works projects, opening up more than six miles of new, straight streets, erecting ancient obelisks at key intersections, and restoring the Acqua Felice aqueduct, he was also mandating the decoration of buildings. Whole squadrons of fresco painters ascended scaffolding in the Sistine chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore, the Lateran loggia, the Scala Santa, the Vatican library, and the new papal palaces at the Lateran and on the Quirinal hill, their participation determined by a defined hierarchy of tasks and a logical distribution of assignments according to each artist's special skill.[10] Indeed, the increased value placed on individual specialties (narrative themes, landscapes, grotesques, and compositional motifs that look ahead to still-life painting) provided the basis upon which pictorial genres developed over the course of the seventeenth century. Sixtus's decorative projects were directed by two artists, Giovanni Guerra

Opposite: Detail of the *Vision of Saint Cecilia* (cat. 9)



Figure 30. Cesare Nebbia (ca. 1536–1614), preparatory drawing for the *Nicene Council* (fig. 31). Pen and ink. Paul Prouté, Paris

(1544–1618) from Modena and Cesare Nebbia (ca. 1536–1614) from Orvieto. Guerra was an exponent of the sophisticated "international Mannerist" school and a versatile illustrator; he designed figurative and emblematic allegories and was in charge of distributing jobs among the artists who worked for the pope. Nebbia was a more measured artist and was influenced by the new, synthetic style of Girolamo Muziano (1532–1592). He was also responsible for all the historical-religious scenes executed in fresco. (It is with Nebbia that we find Orazio associated in the 1590s.)

While the content of every work was carefully monitored (each drawing was reviewed by the pope's team of learned advisers), artists did have a certain freedom, at least in terms of composition. The vast decorative cycles in the Vatican library (1588–89) are a good example (figs. 30, 31). There is no single style that unifies them; instead, they resemble a babel of languages, in which we find the confluence of a variety of regional schools as well as indications of the influence that Rome had on each artist who worked there.[11] Giovan Battista Ricci (ca. 1540–1627) of Novara and the Flemish painter Hendrick van den Broeck (ca. 1519–1597) stand out among the artists who came to work in the Vatican library with already established reputations in the art world. A far from secondary task was given to Orazio Gentileschi, who was probably responsible for the scene of the Third Lateran Council: one finds in it a style strongly rooted in Tuscan painting—lively but not yet mature, and deriving from his formative work with his brother Aurelio Lomi.[12] Among the crowd of as yet little-known artists painting there are the Emilian painter Ferraù Fenzone (1562–1645), Andrea Lilio (ca. 1570–after 1635) from the Marches, and the Lombard Giovan Battista Pozzo (1561–1591), each of whom, in his own way, was working toward a revival of both the grand style of Raphael and a latent naturalism. Their very rapid success notwithstanding, these artists would never achieve Gentileschi's later international fame, when his style approached that of Caravaggio.

Sixtus V's large pictorial cycles indicate that he was most interested in the expeditious completion of his commissions, and thus he and his officials encouraged the practice of large numbers of artists working together but orchestrated according to their own specialties. They were less concerned with the quality of the resulting artistic creation. This situation also reflects the obsessive concern about the content of religious paintings according to the broad outlines of the Council of Trent, which were set forth in a variety of treatises (the first editions of Johannes Molanus and Gabriele Paleotti were published in 1570 and 1582, respectively) that attempted to codify the rules of a "correct" iconography according to the dictates of the Counter-Reformation.[13] These required that paintings be easily understood even by the uneducated and that images be purged of the "profane" and eccentric virtuoso passages which marked a Mannerist style, as well as of any iconography that was historically inaccurate. These rules combined the demands for an art that was both didactic and edifying with the need to respond to the often repeated criticisms leveled by Protestant reformers.[14] The theorists of the second half of the sixteenth century posited, furthermore, that in order to be a good painter it was not enough simply to imitate the great masters but that it was necessary "to follow nature" and to conform

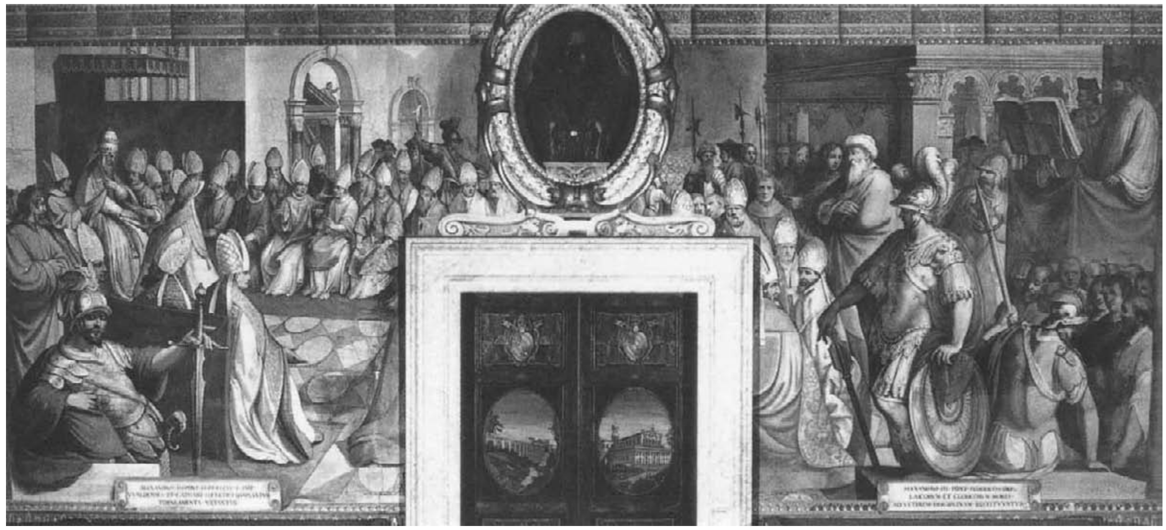


Figure 31. Hendrick van den Broeck (ca. 1519–1597), *Nicene Council*. Fresco. Biblioteca Apostolica, Salone Sistino, Vatican

to "historical" truth; indeed, they were supporting the development of a new naturalism without being completely aware of it.

The interest during Sixtus's reign in painting that was both attentive to nature and bound by truth laid the foundation for the coming naturalism of the Carracci and the realism of Caravaggio. This was not so much the case, however, in the papal workshops, where, for example, the anatomical studies of the ironic Fenzone were an isolated instance and derived, perhaps, from the artist's sojourn at the Carracci Academy in Bologna. Instead, it was private commissions that encouraged the new tendencies in representation. The works of the three major protagonists of painting in the late sixteenth century—Federico Barocci (ca. 1535–1612), Scipione Pulzone (1561–1598), and Jacopo Zucchi (ca. 1541–1596)—stand as a good example of this diversity.[15] The first was a serene poet whose spiritual sensibility was mirrored in the personality of Saint Philip Neri (1515–1595). The second was a refined portraitist whom the Jesuits and Oratorians in particular valued for his faithful and solid "realism." The third—in his works for Ferdinando de' Medici and in the gallery of Orazio Rucellai—was a tormented and aristocratic interpreter of a mythical golden age. Although each painter took a different road in his art, they all contributed to preparing the ground for a new sensibility that no longer saw faith to nature as one possible component of painting but rather as its quintessential element. This attitude developed slowly, however, and it was only during the papacy of Clement VIII Aldobrandini (r. 1592–1605) that it fully flowered.

Ippolito Aldobrandini came to the papal throne in 1592 after a rapid succession of three popes in a little more than a year. He began his pontificate by announcing an Apostolic Visit to reform religious life, to revise divine offices, and to beautify the churches of Rome, all with an eye on the Jubilee of 1600.[16] Clement also worked, through deft negotiations, to increase the prestige of the papacy within the larger and complicated context of European affairs of state. Cardinal Bentivoglio noted that the pope had, in the short span of a few years, "achieved widespread fame through three events in particular. The first was to reconcile France and the Holy See. The second was to reconcile the two crowns [France and Spain]. And the third was to bring Ferrara back into the Papal States."[17] Having overcome Spanish domination of papal politics and reduced the fear of an unstoppable advance of the Turks, Clement created a sense that the Church had triumphed over Protestantism as well as heresy within the institution itself (Giordano Bruno was burned at the stake in Rome at the Campo de' Fiori in 1600). More important, perhaps, he also made the papacy once again an important player on the international stage. The notion of the Church Triumphant was reinforced by the conversion to Catholicism in 1593 of Henry IV of France (r. 1589–1610) and his reconciliation with Spain in 1598, the peaceful conquest of the duchy of Ferrara, and other successes (such as the conversion of a part of the Russian Orthodox Church to Rome through the Union of Brest). This idea was also destined to be celebrated in the arts.[18]

Unlike Sixtus V, Clement VIII did not concentrate on transforming the urban landscape; instead, he limited himself to finishing projects already under way, such as the Capitoline, Quirinal, and Vatican palaces, and the dome of Saint Peter's. It took the devastating flood of the Tiber in December 1598 to force



Figure 32. Interior of Santi Nereo e Achilleo, Rome

him to attend to streets, squares, bridges, and other damaged public works. His greatest interest, however, was in presenting a renovated splendor in the many churches of Rome, both inside and beyond its walls, to the pilgrims who would come for the Jubilee of 1600. This meant finishing and decorating new buildings and restoring old ones that languished in a state of deplorable ruin.[19] The investments required were huge and could not, furthermore, be supplied by the papal treasury. Instead, it was the confraternaties, cardinals, and aristocrats, both old and new, who took on these extensive and expensive projects. Indeed, in these years the number of private commissions increased dramatically, intended not only to bring glory to the patron but also to reinforce the authority of the Roman Church and its teachings.[20]

These initiatives were further encouraged by the revival of interest in early Christianity and the cult of the martyrs, which was promoted by erudite historians dedicated to the study of ancient Christian sources, the Oratorian Cesare Baronio and other learned men, such as the Dominican Alfonso Chacon (see fig. 38) and Cardinal Federico Borromeo.[21] This fervent interest in the first centuries of Christianity was especially favored by the Oratorians of Philip Neri, who advocated a return to a purer spirituality and a direct faith even in popular ambients.[22] One consequence of this spirituality, encouraged by Saint Charles Borromeo and other influential people, was a concern for the poor and an emphasis on acts of charity; the impulse received its most exalted interpretation in the work of Caravaggio.[23]

This interest in the early Christian period also involved the systematic exploration of the catacombs by such talented scholars as Antonio Bosio, who sought the "live image" of the apostolic Church.[24] This same sensibility encouraged a revaluation of the basilican form of churches and a desire to recover ancient frescoed and mosaic figural cycles among a group of cardinals who wanted to imitate the restorations of their colleagues Alessandro de' Medici and Cesare Baronio. Baronio's renovation of his titular church, Santi Nereo e Achilleo (fig. 32), provided a model of respect for ancient remains and a reverence for the relics of martyrs and early Christian iconography.[25] Gentileschi himself participated in a task of this sort: for Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini he painted the apse of San Nicola in Carcere. Burzio has left a description of the destroyed frescoes that leads one to think that they were arranged in an archaic, symmetrical scheme: "Above, Our Lord surrounded by some angels who adored Him, and below, kneeling, Saints Nicholas, Mark, Marcellus, and Beatrice."[26]

Emblematic of this cultural climate is the general excitement created by the discovery in 1599 of the remains of Saint Cecilia in the church of Santa Cecilia, then being renovated under the supervision of Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato. The extensive restorations, which create a dialogue with the pre-existing medieval

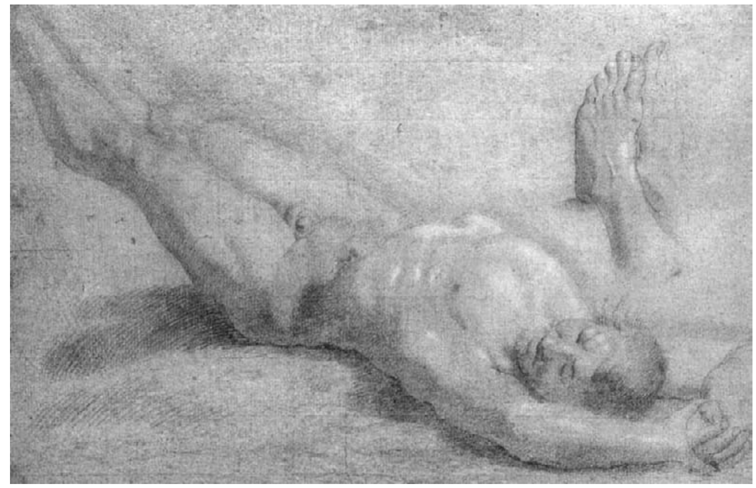


Figure 33. Paul Bril (1554–1626), *Saint Paul the Hermit*. Fresco. Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, capella del Bagno, Rome



Figure 34. Giovanni Battista Pozzo (1561–1591), *Martyrdom of Saint Eleutherius.* Fresco. Chapel of Saint Lawrence, Santa Susanna, Rome

Figure 35. Giovanni Battista Pozzo, preparatory drawing for the *Martyrdom of Saint Eleutherius.* Galleria Marcello Aldelga, Rome



fabric of the building, included Paul Bril's (1554–1626) hermetic landscapes (fig. 33) and two canvases by the young Guido Reni (1575–1642) in the Martirio chapel, as well as Stefano Maderno's (1575–1636) sculpture of the body of Saint Cecilia on the high altar, placed in a sort of burial niche intended to suggest the tombs of the catacombs.[27] Particularly in the paintings by Reni and Francesco Vanni (1560/61–1610), there is evident a preference for a kind of protoclassicism that blended well with the archaic style of early Christian painting. As an ensemble, the interventions at Santa Cecilia reveal a plurality of tendencies that characterizes the art in the later years of Clement's pontificate.

This was not yet the case at Santa Prassede (1594–96), where Alessandro de' Medici—among the first cardinals to preserve the ancient arrangement of his titular church—commissioned a cycle of the Passion of Christ painted in a style typical of that during the pontificates of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V. However, Cardinal de' Medici's patronage of the arts was vast. Beyond his involvement in churches under his direct jurisdiction, he participated in the work undertaken at San Giovanni in Laterano and other important sites.[28] His preference for a classicism permeated with a historical sensibility is nowhere more evident than in the fresco he commissioned in the apse of Santa Maria in Trastevere in 1600 from the Florentine artist Agostino Ciampelli (1565–1630), who painted a sweet procession of angels carrying symbols of the Virgin against a gold ground to match Pietro Cavallini's thirteenth-century mosaics above.[29]

Cardinal Domenico Pinelli's commission to decorate the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore around 1593 was more ambitious, although not entirely original. The large scenes from the life of the Virgin executed above the restored fifth-century mosaic cycle presented a difficult challenge for the artists who had been active under Sixtus V.[30] Lilio and Fenzone did their best to strengthen the dynamism and foreshortening of their figural representations; and the Bolognese artist Baldassarre Croce (1553/8–1628) tried to emulate the more poetic style of the new star in Clementine Rome, the Cavaliere d'Arpino (Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino; 1568–1640). Ricci's traditional compositions are not unlike Gentileschi's still immature scene of the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple.*[31]

Cardinal Girolamo Rusticucci's campaign to decorate the church of Santa Susanna at the end of the sixteenth century offers an example of the abilities of Sixtus V's painters carried to their fullest extent. Nearly all the most important artists in Rome worked there for at least a brief period. Pozzo painted his masterwork in Camilla Peretti's chapel before his untimely death in 1591 (figs. 34, 35); Croce executed scenes from the story of Susanna in the nave and, together with Nebbia and Paris Nogari (ca. 1536–1601), worked in the presbytery.[32] These frescoes show a naturalistic tension that seems to open the door to Caravaggio's revolutionary



Figure 36. Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640), *Ascension of Christ*. Fresco. San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome

style and makes it possible to talk about "a real relationship between Tommaso Laureti's powerful altarpiece the *Martyrdom of Saint Susanna*, painted in 1598, and the Contarelli chapel, which Caravaggio undertook in the Jubilee Year of 1600."[33]

The decoration of Santa Susanna provides but an indication of the changes that occurred in Rome in the space of a few years. Indeed, there was not simply an evolution of established styles but also a simultaneous and fruitful exploration of innovative avenues of representation. It was a period of extraordinary artistic production, and it involved perhaps even more artists than had worked during the pontificates of Leo X and Clement VII prior to the Sack of Rome, in 1527.[34] It is enough to note that in 1600, when Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) was finishing his work on the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery and Caravaggio was causing a sensation with his canvases for San Luigi dei Francesi (fig. 4), five first-rate artists were at work in Rome. The Cavaliere d'Arpino and the brothers Cherubino and Giovanni Alberti were occupied with vast papal commissions. Federico Zuccari was finishing his very carefully thought-out decoration in the chapel of San Giacinto in Santa Sabina. And Cristoforo Roncalli was just beginning the mosaic decoration in the Clementina chapel in Saint Peter's and painting his masterpiece of classical monumentality, the *Death of Ananias and Sapphira*, now in Santa Maria degli Angeli.[35]

Immediately after, between 1601 and 1602, the future protagonists of European painting were to arrive in Rome. (The Venetian Carlo Saraceni had come to the city in 1598, and the German painter Adam Elsheimer in 1600.) These included the Emilian artists Francesco Albani, Domenichino, Giovanni Lanfranco, and Guido Reni; the Fleming Peter Paul Rubens, who joined his compatriots Paul Bril and Wenzel Cobergher; and Passignano, who became part of the large contingent of Tuscan artists that included Anastasio Fontebuoni, Andrea Commodi, and Antonio Tempesta. They were followed in 1604 by the Florentine Cigoli (fig. 102) and the Genovese Bernardo Castello, who came to execute two of the six enormous altarpieces for Saint Peter's, where Roncalli, Vanni, Passignano, and Giovanni Baglione were already at work on the other four.[36]

The number of Italian and foreign artists in Rome continued to grow over the succeeding years, attracted by the international art market and the great collectors of the time—the refined Cardinal del Monte, the rapacious Cardinal Borghese, and members of such families as the Aldobrandini, Farnese, Giustiniani, and Mattei.[37] Rome in the early seventeenth century saw a fortuitous conjunction of a taste for art and sumptuous lifestyles, "which in other periods had been restricted to only a few, especially cardinals and barons, and is now enjoyed by so many that it is truly a wonder."[38]

The oldest of the great masters in Rome was Federico Zuccari (1540/2–1609), who, in 1593, under the patronage of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, had reestablished the Accademia di San Luca. The academy's mission was, in part, to reaffirm the intellectual autonomy of painters and to defend their professional prerogatives. Zuccari did not receive any of the large papal commissions, and he spent most of his time on his theoretical writings and building his house on via Gregoriana, a sort of "Temple of the Virtues," which celebrated the artistic and familial dignity of its owner. At the time he finished his frescoes in Santa Sabina, he was writing his *L'idea de' pittori, scultori et architetti* (published in Turin in 1607), in which he proposed a close connection between metaphysical thought and the artistic process based on the concept of *disegno*.[39]

On the other hand, the Cavaliere d'Arpino and the Alberti brothers (Cherubino, 1553–1615; Giovanni, 1558–1601), from Borgo San Sepolcro, held official positions in the Roman art world. The latter two were especially sought after for the decorative system they created, with its extraordinary spatial effects and carefully calibrated architectural perspectives.[40] Clement VIII commissioned them to decorate rooms in the Palazzo Nuovo at the Vatican while they were still working on the ceiling of the Canons' sacristy at the Lateran; he later asked them to decorate the Aldobrandini chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (for which he also wanted an altarpiece by Barocci). In the complex illusionism of the Sala Clementina (1596–1602), in which the painted architectural structure opens up to allow a view of the expanse of sky across the entire vault, the Alberti anticipate a perspective system that would be more fully developed in the Baroque period.[41]

The Cavaliere d'Arpino received the most prestigious commissions of this period. Entrusted with the frescoes in the Palazzo dei Conservatori as well as the cartoons for the mosaics on the interior of the dome at Saint Peter's, he also directed the decoration of the transept of San Giovanni in Laterano.[42] The Sala degli Orazi e Curiazi, a project he began in 1596, occupied him, on and off, until he was an old man. These scenes from the early history of Rome are masterpieces of narrative painting. Reflections of the work of Raphael in the Sala di Costantino gain poetic intonations—arcadian in the *Discovery of the She-Wolf* and epic in the two enormous battle scenes (against the Veii and Fidenae and between the Horatii and Curiatii). For the Jubilee, Arpino executed the iconic *Ascension of Christ* over the altar of the Sacrament in San Giovanni in Laterano (fig. 36), and he coordinated the efforts of a number of artists working on the *Scenes from the Life of Constantine*, including Cristoforo Roncalli (fig. 37) and Giovan Battista Ricci, who represented the extremes of innovation and tradition.[43] The result is a surprisingly unified decorative cycle. Nogari, Baglione, and the Cavaliere's brother Bernardino Cesari (1571–1622), as well as Orazio—who painted one of the imposing figures of the Apostles—fit between these two extremes.

The Cavaliere d'Arpino's workshop was, in the last decade of the sixteenth century, an important training ground for young artists. Even Caravaggio spent some time there shortly after he arrived in Rome. Arpino employed him "to paint flowers and fruit so well imitated that he showed that extraordinary beauty that everyone today admires."[44] This early period of Caravaggio's Roman career marked the beginning of his contribution to still-life painting, a genre brought to fruition by the Lombard painter in his *Basket of Fruit* (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan).[45] One of the centers of still-life painting in Rome was to be the academy of the aristocratic painter Giovanni Battista Crescenzi (1577–1635), who would be an artistic consultant to both Pope Paul V and King Philip IV of Spain.

The path to success for Caravaggio came in about 1595, when he joined the household of Cardinal del Monte, ambassador of the grand duke of Tuscany and a passionate student of art and science.[46] Just at the time that Caravaggio began to paint "with a vehemence of light and shadow," the artist obtained, through the offices of the cardinal, the commission to decorate the side walls of the Contarelli chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi (1599–1600). The

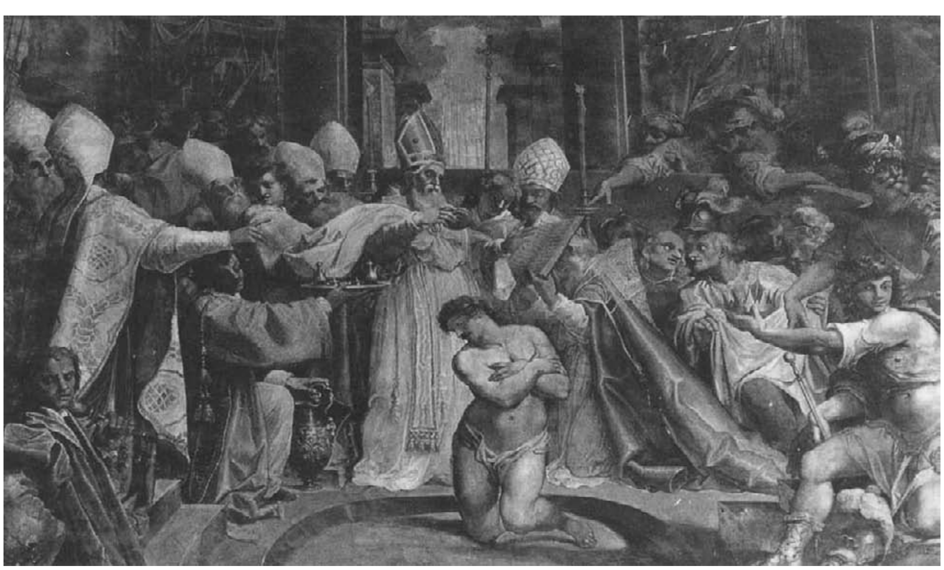


Figure 37. Cristoforo Roncalli (1552–1626), *Baptism of Constantine*. Fresco. San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome

real protagonist both in the quiet *Calling of Saint Matthew* and the tumultuous *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (fig. 4) is the powerful light that is a symbol of the grace of salvation as it bursts into the darkness of human existence.[47] This first public example of Caravaggio's exciting realism, which was both lauded and criticized, was followed by a number of masterpieces that hung in churches and private collections; together they mark an extraordinary turning point in style and taste. The impact of Caravaggio's work was disconcerting, "so much so that the painters of the day in Rome were taken by its novelty, and the young ones in particular flocked to him and praised him as the only imitator of nature, and, admiring his works as if they were miracles, competed with one another to follow his style."[48]

The Roman painter Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566–1643), one of Caravaggio's rivals, was among the first to be influenced by the novelty of his style (fig. 39); he painted two lovely versions of *Sacred and Profane Love* (1602) for Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani.[49] Nevertheless, these two pictures (one in Rome, the other in Berlin) could not compete with Caravaggio's recently completed *Amor Vincit Omnia* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), which its owner, Vincenzo Giustiniani, kept covered with a curtain so that it would not diminish the rest of the paintings in his collection.[50] Many painters followed Caravaggio's lead, although with varying results, and many were influenced by him, including Reni and Rubens. Among his Italian followers were Carlo Saraceni, Orazio Borgianni, Antiveduto Gramatica (fig. 120), Giovanni Serodine, and Bartolomeo Manfredi. Caravaggio's French imitators included Valentin de Boulogne and Nicolas Régnier, his Dutch followers Gerrit van Honthorst and Dirck van Baburen, and Jusepe de Ribera from Spain; these artists were in turn followed by a flood of painters working in a Caravaggesque manner, spreading it very quickly throughout Europe.[51] After having spent more than a decade trying to create his own style, Orazio too gradually became an adherent of his friend Caravaggio's revolutionary pictorial language. Nonetheless, as Giulio Mancini noted, Gentileschi should be placed with those artists "who have worked in their own manner and particularly without following in the footsteps of anyone."[52] In fact, his poetic naturalism and steely lighting reveal, among other things, a continual dialogue with the most refined products of "reformed" Tuscan painting.

The "school" of the Carracci brothers flourished in Rome alongside Caravaggio and his followers. Combining a lively naturalism with the ideal forms of a Raphaelesque classicism (fig. 43), it established another foundation for modern painting.[53] Leaving his cousin Ludovico in Bologna, Annibale Carracci, in 1595, had gone to Rome, where he was joined by his brother Agostino (1557–1602), to decorate the study of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1596–97) and then to paint the ceiling of the Farnese palace gallery (1598–1601). Annibale painted the vault of the gallery with "various emblems representing war and peace between sacred and profane love as described by Plato," in honor of the marriage between Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma, and the pope's niece Margherita Aldobrandini.[54] Mythological scenes were inserted into a fictive architectural framework that combines marvelously sculptural and naturalistic elements, medallions, and framed pictures that represent a joyful series of stories about the loves of the gods, culminating in the nuptial scene the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*.[55] Ingeniously inspired by Michelangelo's ceiling in the Sistine chapel, Carracci's vault is a festive counterpoint, and with its luminous colors and the naturalistic handling of fleshy figures and airy horizons, it points to the exuberant expressivity of the Baroque. The frescoes on the gallery walls (1602–3), which are connected thematically to the ceiling, were painted by Carracci's excellent students, including Domenichino and Lanfranco. These and the other Bolognese artists who came to Rome to study with Annibale and to work in his shop achieved what was almost a monopoly on all the large-scale fresco commissions in Roman villas, palaces, and churches in the first decades of the seventeenth century. (By contrast, Caravaggio's followers, like their master, painted mostly in oil.)[56]

The rich artistic heritage of Clement VIII's pontificate developed even further when Paul V Borghese (r. 1605–21) ascended the papal throne. It is at this time that the young Rubens was commissioned by the Oratorians to decorate the apse of the Chiesa Nuova (1606–8)—"the most beautiful and superb opportunity that there is in Rome."[57] These were also the years when the intelligent and open-minded policies of the powerful cardinal-nephew, Scipione Borghese, were predominant. Like the other great patrons of his time, Borghese knew how to choose the best painters both when he wanted to add to his collection and to decorate, so splendidly, the pavilions of his garden on the Quirinal hill (figs. 6, 7) and his famous villa at Porta Pinciana.[58]

After Caravaggio fled Rome in 1606 (he was accused of committing a murder during a street brawl), and following the

deaths of Annibale Carracci and Federico Zuccari in 1609 and of Caravaggio himself in 1610, and the fading of the grand manner of the Cavaliere and Roncalli, the art world came slowly to be dominated by new players. The Bolognese artists, led first by Reni (fig. 49), who, in 1610, decorated the chapel of the Annunciation in the Palazzo del Quirinale,[59] emerged as the strongest artistic presence in Rome, although they were flanked by the great Florentine artists Cigoli (1559–1613) and Passignano (1559–1638)—who in 1610 received the lion's share of commissions for Paul V's project to decorate his chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore—and by the numerous followers of Caravaggio, including Gentileschi, who was to enjoy an enviable success.[60] The wealth and variety of artistic expression was so great in Rome that a connoisseur of art such as Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani could, in 1610, distinguish at least twelve modes or styles of painting in his *Discorso sopra la pittura* to classify the works of these diverse masters.[61] The first decade of the seventeenth century also witnessed great innovations in the music of Emilio de' Cavalieri (ca. 1550–1602) and Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643).[62] And the new scientific method was marked by the founding, in 1603, of the Accademia dei Lincei, of which Galileo was a member. This vitality affirmed the possibility of a progressive blending of all fields of knowledge and the arts. Rome was a formidable arena, in which anyone might compete and which itself had much to offer.

1. Montaigne 1991, 211.
2. See Brussels–Rome 1995 for the important presence of Flemish painters in Rome in the sixteenth century.
3. Cornini, De Strobel, and Serlupi Crescenzi 1992, 151–67.
4. For Alessandro Farnese's patronage of the arts, see Robertson 1992.
5. For the work of these four and other Tuscan artists in Rome in the late sixteenth century, see Zuccari 2000, 137–66.
6. Baglione 1642, 359; Bissell 1981, 2.
7. For a general discussion of painting in the second half of the sixteenth century in Rome, see Freedberg 1975, 642–67, and Hall 1999, 189–214, 257–91.
8. For the reforms of Sixtus V and other aspects of his papacy, see Fagiolo and Madonna 1992; for an exhaustive discussion of the artistic production in Rome at that time, see Madonna in Rome 1993.
9. Haskell 1963, 63–72; Hibbard 1972, 29–49; Zuccari 1981b, 171–93.
10. Bevilacqua 1993, 35–46.
11. Zuccari 1992, 100, 139.
12. See Zuccari 1993, 71.
13. Prodi 1965, 123–88.
14. Scavizzi 1974, 171–212.
15. Zeri 1970, 82–97; Bologna 1975, 146–49; Morel 1999, 115–22.
16. Zuccari 1984, 9–13.
17. Bentivoglio 1807, 52.
18. For a general picture of Clement's pontificate, see Spezzaferro 1981, 185–200; for a comprehensive treatment of the period, see Puglisi 1998, 43–52.
19. See Abromson 1981 and Macioce 1990 for painting in Rome in the period of Clement VIII.
20. Spezzaferro 1981, 195.
21. Calvesi 1990, 294–95, 383–95; Jones 1992, 138–40, 152–62.
22. Zuccari 1995, 340–54.
23. Calvesi 1971, 123, 133–35.
24. Fiocchi Nicolai 2000, 105–30.
25. Zuccari 1981b, 171–93; Herz 1988, 590–620.
26. Zuccari 1984, 91.
27. Nava Cellini 1969, 18–41.
28. Zuccari 1984, 94–97, 109–26; Freiberg 1995, 38–41, 274, 285.
29. Prosperi Valenti Rodinò 1985, 519–21.
30. Barroero 1988, 224.
31. Zuccari 2000, 152; see ibid., fig.122, for Gentileschi's *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* after its recent restoration.
32. Strinati 1980, 26–28; Spezzaferro 1981, 234–36.
33. Strinati 2000, 61. For more general information on Laureti, see Spezzaferro 1981, 247–52.
34. Schleier 1989, 399–421; and, for the same period, see London–Rome 2001, esp. 16–41.
35. Chiappini di Sorio 1983, 112–13, 117–18.
36. Chappell and Kirwin 1974, 125–47.
37. For Cardinal del Monte's collection, see Frommel 1971, 5–55; for Scipione Borghese as a patron of the arts, see Coliva 2000, 16–24. For the Aldobrandini, Farnese, Giustiniani, and Mattei collections, see Cappelletti and Testa 1994; Parma–Munich–Naples 1995; Testa 2000; and Rome–Berlin 2001.
38. Paruta in Spezzaferro 1981, 186.
39. Strinati 1974, 104–11; Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, 234–36, 278–80.
40. Rome 1983, 7–12, and passim.
41. Macioce 1999, 133–41.
42. Rome 1973, 28–42.
43. Abromson 1981, 55–62; Freiberg 1995, 300–302.
44. Bellori 1976, 213.
45. See Rome 1995–96 for a recent acknowledgment of this argument.
46. Ważbiński 1994, 185–217, 409–91.
47. Calvesi 1990, 293–301.
48. Bellori 1976, 217.
49. Martinelli 1959, 82–96; Rome–Berlin 2001, 298–301.
50. Marini 1987, 459–61.
51. Nicolson 1979; Nicolson 1990.
52. Mancini (1617–21) 1956–57, vol. 1, 110–11; Marini 1981a, 385–87.
53. Bologna–Washington–New York 1986–87, 213–542.
54. Bellori 1976, 60.
55. Calvesi 1999, 127–31.
56. Schleier 1989, 435.
57. Letter from Rubens to Chieppo, published in Jaffé 1977, 88, 119.
58. Calvesi 1996, 13–42; Coliva 1998, 391–420.
59. Barroero 1988, 236–40; Ostrow 1996, 202–10. Cigoli painted the moon in the dome of the Pauline chapel according to Galileo's observations .
60. Pepper 1984b, 24–25, 224–25.
61. Giustiniani 1981, 41–45.
62. For these innovations in music and their relationship to the visual arts, see the essays by Strinati and Vodret and Macioce in Rome–Siena 2000–2001, 17–30, 95–104.

1.

Madonna and Child with Saints Sebastian and Francis

Oil on canvas, 30¾ × 31¼ in. (78 × 79.5 cm)

Private collection, loan arranged courtesy of Matthiesen Fine Art Ltd., London

ca. 1597–1600

Sold in Rome in 1984 with an implausible attribution to Orazio Borgianni, the picture was ascribed to Orazio Gentileschi by Schleier and Todini and exhibited as such at Matthiesen Fine Art Ltd., London, in 1985. As possibly the earliest known easel painting by Orazio and his first devotional painting of the Madonna and Child, the picture is key to understanding the pre-Caravaggesque phase of his art.

A note of informal domesticity is struck by the seated pose and contemporary dress of the Virgin and the affectionate caress of the child, who extends his hands toward the veiled head of his mother. The latter motif was perhaps inspired by Raphael's much copied composition known as the *Madonna di Loreto* (Musée Condé, Chantilly), the original of which was acquired by Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato in 1591, and it reminds us of the importance Raphael had as a reference point for the generation of Mannerist painters with whom Orazio worked in the 1590s.[1] This attempt at a warmly human depiction is somewhat compromised by the incongruously formal attitudes of the two flanking saints. Especially the Saint Sebastian, on the left, reads as an insertion, and we are left to infer how his foreshortened right arm behind the Virgin's shoulder might connect to the arrow (his attribute of martyrdom) behind her head. As often happens in Orazio's early work, space has not been resolved. The insistently isocephalic composition seems distinctly archaic: the two saints would indeed be more at home behind a strictly frontal image of the Virgin, as might be found in medieval paintings. Is this effect coincidental, or is Orazio's composition motivated by the antiquarian interests espoused by the circle of the great Oratorian Cesare Baronio (1538–1607)—the kind of image, for example, that one finds in Baldassarre Croce's frescoed "icon" of Saint Gabinio between Saints Susanna and Felicità in the crypt of the church of Santa Susanna, Rome?

That the effect was intentional is suggested by the appearance of Sebastian: with a mustache and incipient beard instead of clean-shaven, as he is most frequently shown; decorously draped rather than nude; and with a single arrow piercing his neck. Interestingly, these features reappear—with the exception that the saint is fully bearded—in a medieval painting formerly in San Pietro in Vincoli that is recorded in a drawing (fig. 38) by the Dominican antiquarian Alfonso Chacon (1530–1599).[2] In the same church is a seventh-century mosaic showing the saint, aged and clothed, that was singled out by Baronio in his *Martyrologium romanum* (Rome, 1586) as a model contemporary artists should emulate.[3] Gentileschi's saint is young, not old, but there seems a real possibility that the archaizing touches were a response to an individual in Baronio's circle.

As might be expected from someone with Gentileschi's late-Mannerist training, the figures are



Figure 38. Alfonso Chacon (1530–1599), *Saint Sebastian*. Pen, ink on paper, and gray wash, after an icon in San Pietro in Vincoli. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5408, f. 24r, Vatican City

PROVENANCE: Private collection (sale, Christie's, Rome, December 4, 1984, lot 178, attributed to Orazio Borgianni); Matthiesen Fine Art Ltd., London (1985); private collection.

REFERENCES: London 1985, 36–38, no. 8; Schleier 1993, 196.



strikingly conventional in their generalized treatment and there is no hint of the use of posed models. But in the emphasis given to the coarse texture and sewn seam of the Virgin's dress, the coral-colored lace at the top of the sleeve, and the elegant description of Saint Francis's beard, there are clear signs of the direction Orazio's art will take under the aegis of Caravaggio.

Schleier has dated the picture to about 1601–2 and relates its style to Giovanni Baglione. My feeling is that the work may be even earlier. In the catalogue accompanying the Matthiesen exhibition, its style is compared with that of Gentileschi's work in the Benedictine abbey at Santa Maria, Farfa, contracted in February 1597 and completed two years later.[4] The style of the Farfa decorations is disparate, both because of Orazio's use of an équipe of assistants to speed work along and because at this date he adapted his style to circumstance. It is especially with the altarpiece of Saint Ursula, Farfa (fig. 2)—which is certainly autograph despite its rather disappointing quality and unappealing character—that the present picture bears comparison, the Saint Sebastian having the same morphological features as some of the kneeling figures in that work. At the same time, the Madonna and Saint Francis have a bulk not unlike that of the enormous figure of an apostle that Orazio frescoed under the direction of the Cavaliere d'Arpino in the transept of San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, as part of the decorations for the Jubilee year of 1600.[5] There is no hint of an awareness of the art of Caravaggio, with whom Orazio became associated about 1600. Paradoxically, the novelty of the picture resides not in an incipient naturalism but in its rejection of the stylishly Mannerist art of Cristoforo Roncalli and Arpino and its emphasis on plain—almost artless—figure types.

1. Sfondrato sold the picture to Scipione Borghese in 1608; the original is in the Musée Condé, Chantilly; see Gould in Chantilly 1979–80, 8–11.
2. *Vat. lat.* 5408, fol. 24r; see Herklotz 1985, figs. 16, 17, where the captions have inadvertently been reversed.
3. See Herklotz 1985, 69–72.
4. For a review of the documents and a proposal of the division of hands, see Bissell 1981, 135–37.
5. Which of two figures of apostles Gentileschi frescoed is not altogether clear; see p. 35 n. 18 in this publication.

2.

Saint Francis Supported by an Angel

Oil on canvas, 54⅞ × 39¾ in. (139.5 × 101 cm)

Private collection, New York

ca. 1600

New York, Saint Louis

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York (from 1987).

REFERENCES: Nicolson 1979, 53; Nicolson 1990, 115, fig. 197; Schleier 1993.

In accordance with the renewed spirituality of the sixteenth century and, in particular, the reforming zeal of the Capuchin order (an independent branch of the Franciscans approved by Pope Paul III in 1536), the cult of Saint Francis enjoyed revived popularity.[1] The thirteenth-century saint became an exemplar of devotional practice, with emphasis placed on his conformity to Christ through his visionary and mystical experiences. He was now shown in ecstasy, consoled by an angel who either supports him or, flying aloft, plays a violin. Even in depictions of Saint Francis receiving the stigmata, one or more angels are frequently included. In her seminal study of 1969, Askew demonstrates that these images owe much to paintings of the dead Christ supported by angels or of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane consoled by an angel (as in Paolo Veronese's painting in the Brera, Milan, of about 1580). Among the earliest treatments of this new iconography is a lost altarpiece by Francesco Vanni reported to have been painted for the Capizucchi chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, in 1592,[2] but unquestionably the most influential painting was Caravaggio's *Ecstasy of Saint Francis*, painted about 1594 (fig. 40). Rather than treat the stigmatization in its conventional form, as a dramatic miracle in which the saint, with arms outspread, is imprinted by a small seraph with the wounds of Christ, Caravaggio envisaged the event as a mystical occurrence—much as he was



later to do in the Cerasi chapel (Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome) with the *Conversion of Saint Paul.*

Gentileschi treated the subject of Saint Francis consoled by an angel no less than four times (see cat. nos. 3, 6, 21). His growing ability to probe the theme and suggest the interior life of the saint is directly related to his grasp of one of the fundamental paradoxes of Caravaggesque painting: that far from being dependent on elaborate poses and expressive gestures, psychological intensity is actually increased by treating the figure in terms of still life and concentrating on the effect of real, physical presence. This, his earliest depiction, takes a first step in that direction. Saint Francis is shown full length, his body collapsing, his head cradled by a youthful angel, who looks intently at the blood-drained face. Perhaps not coincidentally, the saint's pose recalls that of the swooning Virgin at the foot of the cross; indeed, the Virgin's sorrow over Christ's Passion was associated by Saint Francis of Sales with the stigmatization of Saint Francis.[3]

The active pose of the angel is perhaps meant to offer a visual contrast—a contrapposto—to the limp body of the saint, but there is no denying that the splayed pose is both distracting and implausible. It would seem to derive by way of still unidentified intermediary sources from a sarcophagus relief of the abduction of the daughters of Leucippus (examples are in the Uffizi, Florence, and in the Vatican).[4] The strong, planar quality of the pose and the emphasis on fluttering, varicolored drapery are typically Mannerist. By contrast, the pose of Saint Francis seems to have been studied from a model, though Gentileschi has been content with a generalized description of the habit, elaborating the folds with a view to conventional standards of *bellezza*. Light, too, is treated referentially rather than specifically described. It is worth comparing the delicately highlighted beard with that of the Saint Francis in the *Madonna and Child* (cat. 1). The fact that the saint is shown wearing sandals rather than barefoot probably indicates that the painting was not destined for a Capuchin establishment or a patron with Capuchin ties.

The picture must be slightly earlier than the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* (cat. 3), in which the configuration of the drapery of the saint is closely similar but the poses of the figures and the treatment of light have been conceived along strictly Caravaggesque lines. Schleier has proposed dating the present painting to about 1601–3, and he has noted an affinity with the work of Giovanni Baglione. Like Bissell, I would place the picture earlier, and I would also note the importance of Cesare Nebbia as an influence.[5] It was in Gentileschi's four documented angels in the cupola of the Madonna dei Monti, Rome—a commission of 1599 that he shared with Nebbia—that he made the first move to shed his Mannerist chrysalis.[6] The angel can be compared with some of the sibyls at Farfa, and I do not believe the picture can be much later than that cycle of frescoes.

1. The classic study is Askew 1969. For a survey of Capuchin spirituality, see Petrocchi 1984, 195–201, 265–72.
2. Romagnoli 1976, vol. 8, 529.
3. Noted by Askew 1969, 290.
4. See Bober and Rubinstein 1991, 161 no. 126.
5. Bissell, in a lengthy analysis of March 25, 1989, originally suggested a date of about 1600–1601. In a letter of October 19, 2000, he has informed me that he is now inclined to place it about 1598–99—always allowing for the lack of firm points of reference.
6. See Barroero 1981.

3.

Stigmatization of Saint Francis

Oil on canvas, 64 × 45⅝ in. (162.5 × 116 cm)

Private collection

ca. 1600–1601

Gentileschi here shows the moment after Saint Francis received the stigmata on Mount La Verna. A wooden cross is propped on a rocky ledge while, above, the rays of a miraculous light illuminate the figures. Tears course down the saint's cheeks, attesting to his sorrow for the suffering of Christ but also alluding, more generally, to what sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious writers referred to as the gift of tears. In his treatise *Delli dolori di Christo Signor Nostro*, published in Bergamo in 1598, the Capuchin friar Mattia da Salò wrote of "sweet and bitter tears that, washing the face, leave the interior like fire."[1] Ignatius of Loyola distinguished three kinds of tears: those arising from the thoughts of one's own or other's sins, those arising—as here—from contemplation of the life of Christ, and those flowing from the love of divine persons.[2] Wings extended, an angel struggles visibly to support the saint's collapsing body. Francis's companion, Brother Leo, is normally included in representations of the stigmatization, but here the saint's steadfast gaze toward the rays of light and the presence of the stigmata on his hand and foot alone indicate the narrative moment.

Catalogue nos. 2 and 3 are closely related in theme and composition. It is indeed possible that Gentileschi laid in the initial pose of the figure of Saint Francis using a tracing from the other picture. Yet for all the similarity in the saint's pose and in the arrangement of his habit, there is a profound shift in mood and style. What in catalogue no. 2 is apprehended as an interior experience is here externalized, and the approach is far more descriptive. The way the angel, his leg bent and his head thrown back, grips the cord of the saint's habit with his left hand while with the right he supports Francis beneath his right arm suggests that Gentileschi studied the mechanics of the pose from a model. The same realistic intent is evident in the depiction of the coarse weave, patches, and tattered edges of the saint's habit (traits that associate the picture with the reforming zeal of the Capuchins), in the sheen and texture of the angel's wings, and in the various plants. A dandelion (with one bloom and a flower gone to seed), clover, and a fig can be identified. The fig commonly refers to the Resurrection and is a motif underscoring the analogy of the Stigmatization with Christ's Passion.

There can be little doubt that Orazio was responding directly to the descriptive character of Caravaggio's painting of the same subject (fig. 40), then in the collection of the banker Ottavio Costa. But he has seen that early masterpiece through the lens of Caravaggio's more focused and dramatically lit paintings of about 1600–1601—not only the *Calling of Saint Matthew* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (fig. 4), in the Contarelli chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome, but also the canvases in the Cerasi chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo. Only later was he to grasp the refined poetics of the Lombard painter's early work. Like many of his contemporaries, Gentileschi was overwhelmed by Caravaggio's first public commissions, which had an immediate and far-reaching impact. In 1601, just a year after the unveiling of the Contarelli canvases, Giovanni Baglione painted a *Saint Francis with Two Angels*, and it is with that picture (fig. 39)—Baglione's first and most impressive response to Caravaggio—that Orazio's picture should be compared.[3] Baglione's is a more successful work of art, seamlessly grafting onto an accomplished Mannerist style the dramatic lighting and realistic intent of Caravaggio's work. By comparison, Orazio's painting is awkward (the foreshortened face of the angel is especially unsuccessful) and even unappealing. The contradiction between the angel's agitated drapery, with its sharp colors, and the naturalistic rendering of the saint is unresolved. Yet Gentileschi's painting demonstrates a desire to press beyond Baglione's superficial Caravaggism and to treat Caravaggesque naturalism not as a veneer but as a basis of style. Here, that naturalism is restricted to details: the wings of the angel, the plants, the head of Saint Francis, all of which are treated in an almost overly emphatic way.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Chile (sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 3, 1988, lot 72, as Roman school); Richard L. Feigen & Co., New York (1988–2000; exh., New York 1990b, no. 8); private collection.

REFERENCES: Nicolson 1990, 115; Papi in Florence 1991, 36; Schleier 1993, 196.



Figure 39. Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566–1643), *Saint Francis with Two Angels.* Oil on canvas. Private collection

I see no reason why the painting should not be more or less contemporary with Baglione's. Certainly Papi's suggestion that the picture dates to as late as 1611 is unacceptable, for by that date Orazio was an artist of incomparable accomplishment. There is a temptation to identify the habit of Saint Francis and the wings of the angel with the props—"una veste da cappuccino" and "un par d'ale"—that Caravaggio borrowed from Gentileschi in 1603 (the former perhaps for Caravaggio's *Saint Francis in Meditation*, two versions of which are known [San Pietro, Carpineto Romano, and church of the Cappuccini, Rome]; the latter possibly already used in the *Love Triumphant* [Gemäldegalerie, Berlin]).

When the *Saint Francis* first appeared at auction in 1988, it was catalogued as "Roman School, circa 1610." Spike's attribution to Artemisia Gentileschi and an alternative one to Baglione are recorded. Nicolson points out its relationship to catalogue no. 2 but lists it with a question mark. The painting cannot be the one Clelia del Palaggio lent in 1703 to the annual exhibition held in San Salvatore in Lauro, Rome, since that *Saint Francis* measured approximately 132 centimeters.[4] The picture has not been cut (stretch marks are visible along the edges). Aside from abrasion in the angel's garments, especially in the darks, the picture is in good condition.

1. ". . . dolci et amare lagrime, le quali, bagnando il viso lasciano l'interiore tutto quanto fuoco" (Mattia da Salò 1598, 233, cited in Petrocchi 1984, 266).
2. Expressed in a letter written by Ignatius to Saint Francis Borgia, quoted in Meissner 1999, 559.
3. In a letter of October 19, 2000, Bissell underscores the comparison with Baglione's painting. He too sees this as a work of about 1601.
4. See Bissell 1981, 220–21, and De Marchi 1987, 176.



Figure 40. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610), *Ecstasy of Saint Francis.* Oil on canvas. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection Fund



4.

FOLLOWER OF CARAVAGGIO, POSSIBLY ORAZIO GENTILESCHI

Madonna and Child

Oil on canvas, 51 5/8 × 35 7/8 in. (131 × 91 cm)

Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini, Rome (inv. 261)

ca. 1603–5(?)

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Lorenzo Corsini, Rome (before 1730); Corsini collection, Rome (inv. 1750, no. 140, as by Caravaggio); Prince Tommaso Corsini, Palazzo Corsini, Rome (until 1856; inv. 1808, as by Caravaggio); Princes Tommaso and Andrea Corsini, Rome (1856–83; sold to the Italian state in 1883); Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini, Rome.

RELATED PICTURES: Villa Poggio Imperiale, Florence (noted by Marangoni); private collections, Rome and Bergamo (cited by Longhi, 1916); Sotheby's, New York, April 7, 1988, lot 192 (reduced at left, bottom, and right).

REFERENCES: Burckhardt 1855, 1027; Longhi (1916) 1961, 230–31; Gamba 1922–23, 246; Marangoni 1922–23, 220–21; Longhi 1951, 26–27; Milan 1951, 36 no. 46; Longhi 1952, 31; Mahon 1952, 19; Baumgart 1955, 111 no. 7; Wagner 1958, 228–29; Berne Joffroy 1959, 162; Jullian 1961, 143–44; Kitson 1967, 91–92 no. 33; Moir 1967, 19 n. 27, 39 n. 70; Ottino della Chiesa 1967, 86 no. 9; Longhi (1968) 1999, 264; Cinotti in Dell'Acqua and Cinotti 1971, 124, 193–94 n. 415; Marini 1974, 467–68

That there remain significant gaps in our knowledge about even Caravaggio's best followers is demonstrated by the problematic status of this alluringly intimate depiction of the Madonna and Child. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was ascribed to the Lombard master,[1] and as such it was exhibited in the "Mostra del Caravaggio," held in Rome in 1914. This truly untenable attribution was rightly dismissed by Longhi (1916) in favor of one to Gentileschi, and it is Orazio who has gained the widest acceptance, having been taken up with various degrees of conviction by Gamba, Jullian, Baumgart, Ottino della Chiesa, Kitson, Marini, and Cinotti.[2] Surprisingly, Longhi (1951; 1952; 1968) later returned to Caravaggio and was followed in this by Berne Joffroy, Nicolson, and, briefly, Mahon. Marangoni proposes that the picture is a copy after a lost work by the Lombard master, and this opinion has also found a few supporters, most notably Bissell. When the picture was shown at the Artemisia exhibition held in Florence in 1991, Papi noted its problematic status, cataloguing it as Caravaggesque, about 1610. He cautiously introduced the name of Spadarino for consideration (I personally see no grounds for this speculation) but rightly emphasized the picture's Gentileschian character and did not exclude the possibility that it was by the young Artemisia, to whom Hermanin had ascribed it in the 1924 catalogue of the Corsini collection.[3]

As this brief survey makes clear, we are dealing with a picture of exceptional quality and individual character—one based on a close study of the work of Caravaggio but that in many respects approaches the aesthetic of Gentileschi. There is an echo—in the turn of the Virgin's head, the elegant line of her halo, the firm grasp of her right hand, the chipped stone block on which she sits, and the oversized infant—of Caravaggio's *Madonna di Loreto* (Sant'Agostino, Rome), a work of 1604–6. At the same time, the diffuse rather than strongly raking light, the densely modeled drapery, and the mood of tenderness recall Caravaggio's paintings of the previous decade—the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* and the *Penitent Magdalene* (both Doria Pamphili, Rome). It is as though the artist had experienced the mature Caravaggio but was drawn ineluctably to an earlier moment. To a degree, this is the trajectory of Orazio's career up to about 1610–13. Bissell found the "rusticity" of the image troublesome but recognized the affinity with Gentileschi's later treatment of the theme in Bucharest (cat. 15). Another, earlier image (cat. 1) underscores the persistence of this trait in Orazio's devotional imagery. Equally, Caravaggio's only easel-sized painting of the Madonna and Child—the so-called Aquavella *Holy Family*, recently recovered—demonstrates how fundamentally foreign this sort of domesticity is to his art.[4]

The genrelike quality of the image was noted by viewers, as indicated by the entry in the 1808 Corsini inventory, which describes the Virgin as "dressed as a country maiden."[5] Similarly, Gamba singled out the "military greatcoat" (*casacca alla moschettiera*) worn by the child. It was Longhi (1951), with his tendency to read Caravaggio's work in terms of realism, who first described the Virgin as "weaning her child," whence the title *Madonna dello svezzamento*, by which the painting is sometimes known. But it is important to remember that the child's gesture is no mere genre motif. It occurs in several of Raphael's devotional paintings (Musée Condé, Chantilly; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) and is meant to emphasize the Virgin's role as nurturer: she is, by implication, a "Madonna lactans."

The planar quality of the composition and the raspberry to olive-ochre palette suggest an artist who, like Gentileschi, was trained in a Mannerist mode. If this *Madonna and Child* is, in fact, by Orazio, as I am inclined to believe, it must predate circa 1605 and, like the *Way to Calvary* (cat. 5), it represents an extreme experiment in Caravaggesque imagery. (Berne Joffroy's comment on the picture was, "I don't believe Gentileschi was



no. R-10; Nicolson 1979, 32; Magnanimi 1980, 95, 104, nos. 7, 8; Bissell 1981, 144, 204 no. x-14; Cinotti and Dell'Acqua 1983, 563 no. 83; Gash 1985, 255–56; Nicolson 1990, 79; Papi in Florence 1991, 90–93 no. 1.

ever this close to Caravaggio . . . that he ever understood as well the role of Caravaggesque light and dark"—a position that today we might wish to modify.) If, on the other hand, it is dated later, it cannot be by Orazio. Nor, I think, can it be by the young Artemisia. Although her images of the Madonna and Child certainly develop this domestic slant, there are simply too few connections with the Spada *Madonna and Child* (cat. 52).

1. For the inventory references, see Magnanimi 1980.
2. For a full account of the extensive bibliography, see Cinotti and Dell'Acqua 1983, and Papi in Florence 1991, 90–93 no. 1.
3. The picture is reported to have been ascribed for a time to Saraceni, though this attribution never had a following.
4. See Christiansen 1999.
5. Magnanimi 1980.

5. *Way to Calvary*

Oil on canvas, 54½ × 68⅛ in. (138.5 × 173 cm)

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (inv. 1553)

ca. 1605–7

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Alessandro Albani, Rome (d. 1779; his estate, until 1800); Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

REFERENCES: Engerth 1881, vol. 1, 318–19 no. 447; Glück and Schaeffer 1907, 109; Voss 1912, 62; Longhi 1915, 66; Longhi 1943, 11–13; Longhi 1951, 28; Longhi 1952, 24; Baumgart 1955, 113 no. 12; Berne Joffroy 1959, 97–98; Ottino della Chiesa 1967, 96 no. 48; Longhi (1968) 1999, 256; Fagiolo dell'Arco and Marini 1970, 118; Cinotti in Dell'Acqua and Cinotti 1971, 124; Pepper 1971, 343 n. 47; Pepper 1972, 178 n. 4; Marini 1974, 467 no. R-9; Moir 1976, 119 no. 121,

The subject of this haunting picture derives not from the Gospels, which are notably cryptic about the *via crucis*, but from medieval devotional literature. The thirteenth-century *Meditationes vitae Christi* describes Christ's encounter with his mother, his admonition to a group of women (based on Luke 23:28), and his collapse beneath the weight of the cross. The last event, which frequently includes Veronica offering Christ a cloth on which his face will be imprinted, is shown in depictions of the fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary. All three incidents became part of the devotion popularized by the Franciscans of the Stations of the Cross, in which, in its final form, Christ falls three times.[1] Gentileschi's picture differs from the more elaborate representations of the subject found in altarpieces such as Raphael's *Spasimo di Sicilia* (Prado, Madrid), of about 1516, and Federico Zuccari's *Way to Calvary* (Olgiati chapel, Santa Prassede, Rome), of 1595, in its reduction of the number of figures and its emphasis on the moving exchange between Christ and the holy woman, most likely Mary Magdalene. His approach, in which the elaborate narrative drama of Renaissance practice is transformed into a scene in which the action is frozen and attention is concentrated on the protagonists, captured in a moment of decision or revelation, derives directly from Caravaggio's work of 1600–1603. Also Caravaggesque is the choice of a half-length format (actually, three-quarter length in the Gentileschi), which increases the psychological concentration; indeed, as in Caravaggio's most novel paintings, the viewer has the impression of being a participant in the event. I don't think there can be any doubt that Gentileschi took inspiration from Sebastiano del

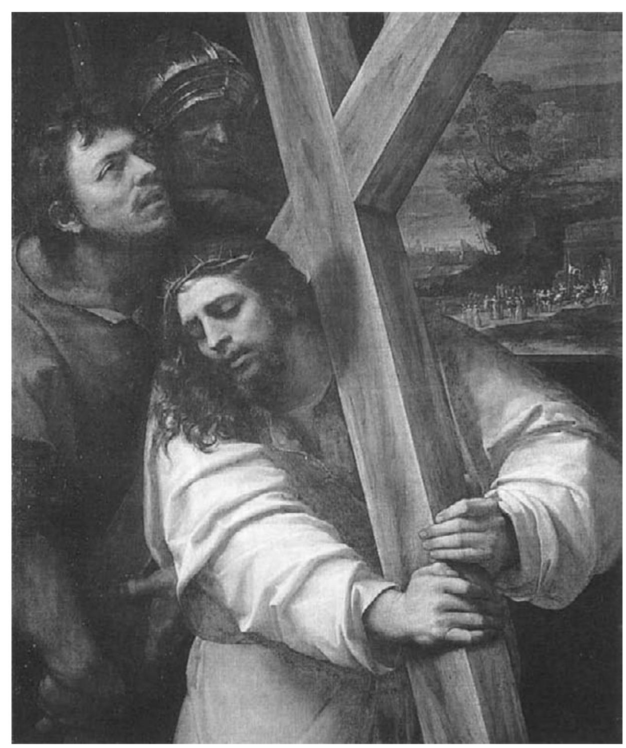


Figure 41. Sebastiano del Piombo (ca. 1485–1547), *Christ Bearing the Cross*. Oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



161 n. 287; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 209 no. X-25; Cinotti 1983, 566 no. 90; Nicolson 1990, 114; Vienna 1991, 61; Bologna 1992, 348 no. 105; Bissell 1999, 201, 311, 346.

Piombo's powerful and enormously influential painting of Christ carrying the cross (fig. 41),[2] in which a half-length figure of Christ moves tragically but ineluctably toward the viewer (Orazio probably knew a copy of one of the three autograph variants).

Remarkably, only in the last thirty years has the *Way to Calvary* been recognized as a keystone in Orazio's career, marking his transformation into one of the most intelligent and personal followers of Caravaggio. Its early history is unknown, but it was among thirty-one paintings acquired by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in 1800 from the estate of Cardinal Alessandro Albani in Rome.[3] At the museum it was ascribed to the Bolognese painter Alessandro Tiarini until, in 1912, Voss argued that it was by a follower of Caravaggio active in Rome. In 1943, Longhi proposed that the picture was either by Caravaggio (in 1915, he had suggested Givanni Battista Caracciolo [1578–1635] as its author) or a copy of a lost work by the artist. Surprisingly, this improbable idea—the palette alone should have eliminated Caravaggio's name from consideration—enjoyed a certain critical fortune.[4] The value of Longhi's contribution lay not in the erroneous attribution (which strangely he continued to maintain), but in his acute characterization of the picture's style. The *Way to Calvary* could, he asserted, be associated with Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* in San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (fig. 4), and belonged to a group of half-length compositions that were the products of an "intermezzo 'classicistico'" inspired by contact with Annibale Carracci.[5] Yet, with what now seems prescient qualifications, he remarked that the folds of Christ's drapery might be thought too self-consciously arranged for Caravaggio, "quasi Gentileschiane," and the head of Christ was perhaps "un po' troppo bella." But, he maintained, these were merely the indications on which Orazio and Caracciolo would build. That the picture is, in fact, by Orazio was first asserted by Pepper in 1971. This attribution has been accepted by Marini, Nicolson, Bissell, and Bologna,[6] and is the current designation at the Kunsthistorisches Museum.

The picture is closely related in style to Gentileschi's three great altarpieces—the *Circumcision*, the *Vision of Saint Cecilia*, and the *Baptism of Christ* (cat. nos. 7, 9, 11). Marini places it somewhat later than the *Baptism*, which was contracted in March 1607, while Bissell (1981) notes similarities with the *Circumcision*, installed in the church of the Gesù in Ancona in June of that year but perhaps commissioned at Rome a year or two earlier. The background figure of a gesturing man wearing a striped turban in that work offers an analogy to the youth wearing a red cap in the *Way to Calvary*. However, in none of the three altarpieces does Orazio come so close to achieving the Caravaggesque effect of a tableau vivant—of figures in arrested movement. To an even greater degree than is found in the *Circumcision* and the *Vision of Saint Cecilia*, the composition of the *Way to Calvary* gives the impression of having been collaged together from individual studies.

Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* clearly provided the model for the interlocked figures, with Christ moving out of the picture plane and the youth in contemporary dress striding across the canvas. On the other hand, the open-armed gesture of the Magdalene must derive from Caravaggio's electrifying *Supper at Emmaus* (National Gallery, London). Typically, Gentileschi reduced the foreshortening to create a quieter, more meditative mood; the gesture is affective rather than demonstrative and does not break the picture plane. (The same decision to maintain the integrity of the picture plane, and thus the world of the pictorial fiction, is found in the *Vision of Saint Cecilia*.) The dense shadows and the pools of light are no less indebted to this and related works by Caravaggio, but the effect is very different: less dramatic and instantaneous, and the contradiction between the sharp, "cellar lighting" and the outdoor setting has not yet been resolved. (Note how Orazio uses a continuous cloud formation to bind the friezelike composition together.) The contrast between the grotesque face of Christ's tormentor and the shadowed visage of the Magdalene is not only a leitmotif of Caravaggesque painting but a device of classical painting. The emphasis on the noble aspect of Christ, shown with luxuriant locks of hair falling on his shoulder, points to Orazio's study of the art of Annibale Carracci, which was to be crucial to his mature style. Indeed, Gentileschi's concern for elegance and decorum marks the limits

of his Caravaggism and looks to his future, highly personal achievement.

X radiographs show no significant compositional changes, and there are only minor pentimenti. The fingers of the Magdalene's left hand, for example, are painted over the sleeve and her hair over her blouse. Similarly, the fingers of Christ's tormentor are painted over the cross. The picture is generally in good condition but has suffered somewhat from an early harsh cleaning. This is especially apparent in the sky, which is underpainted in black. Christ's robe is notably faded; the highlights alone have retained their hue, because of the presence of lead white. The edges of the canvas, which is made up of three pieces stitched together, are intact.[7] The picture was cleaned for the exhibition.

1. For a concise history of the development of the theme, see Schiller 1971–72, vol. 2, 78–82.
2. Hirst 1981, 80–82, 133–36.
3. I have been unable to trace Orazio's picture in the published inventory of the Albani collection of 1798; see Albani 1980.
4. See Marini 1974 and Cinotti and Dell'Acqua 1983 for an account of the extensive bibliography Longhi's conjecture elicited.
5. This group comprised the *Supper at Emmaus* (National Gallery, London), the *Doubting Thomas* (Potsdam), the *Calling of the Disciples* (known from a copy at Hampton Court), and the *Holy Family* (the original on loan to the Metropolitan Museum; Longhi knew the composition from copies. See Christiansen 1999).
6. Bologna intriguingly compares the picture to a half-length composition of Saint Francis in the Johnson collection, a work he ascribes to Caravaggio but which I believe to be by Gentileschi and to date to about 1605.
7. The canvas consists of one large piece and a narrower, horizontal strip made up of two pieces. The large piece retains its selvage along the top and bottom edges. The narrower strip also has a selvage along the top edge. My thanks to Robert Wald.

6.

Saint Francis Supported by an Angel

Oil on canvas, 49 5/8 × 38 5/8 in. (126 × 98 cm)

Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

ca. 1607

Saint Francis is shown in a swoon, after having received the stigmata. The dark background and strips of white in the upper left are the only allusions to the night sky, recently illuminated by the saint's vision. Of Orazio's known depictions of the theme (cat. nos. 2, 3, 21), this one holds a special place by virtue of the atmosphere of hushed quiet. As in certain paintings by Francisco de Zurbarán—the *Saint Serapion* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford), for example—spiritual drama is interpreted in terms akin to those of still-life painting, with a suppression of action or rhetorical gesture. The loving description of the angel's wings; the wounded hand and shadowed face of the saint (whose eyelids are slightly open to underscore a state of unconsciousness); the fall of light over the heavy folds of the Capuchin habit—these are Orazio's means of asserting poverty and humility as central to spiritual revelation, in conformity with Capuchin ideals. There are remnants of Orazio's Mannerist training in the choice of colors (especially the angel's orange-red-tinted tunic and golden puffed sleeves), in the S-like curve formed by the two figures, and in the bit of fluttering drapery to the left of Saint Francis (an emblem of spiritual stimulation, as well as of *bellezza*), but in all other respects this is an image of remarkable modernity.

Askew has emphasized the importance of Caravaggio's early *Ecstasy of Saint Francis* (fig. 40), painted for the Genoese banker Ottavio Costa. But the vertical format of the Prado canvas, with the

PROVENANCE: Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (cat. 1849–58, no. 810, cat. 1876, no. 96, as school of the Carracci; on deposit at the Museo de Gerona, 1882–1966); Museo Nacional del Prado.

REFERENCES: Pérez Sánchez 1965, 504; Askew 1969, 295, note; Madrid 1970, 278–79 no. 85; Milicua 1970, 6–7; Schleier 1970b, 342; Madrid 1972, addenda, 871 no. 3122; Previtali 1973, 360 n. 17; Röttgen in Rome 1973, 101; Seville 1973, no. 24; Moir 1976, 62, 122 n. 180 iv, 124; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 141–42 no. 9, 144; Schleier in New York–Naples 1985, 148–50; Nicolson 1990, 115; Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 54; Mena Marqués in Segovia 2000, 201; London–Rome 2001, 269, 379.

figure shown cut off at the knees, relates it as well to a print by Francesco Vanni that in 1595 was copied by Agostino Carracci. Vanni shows the ecstatic Francis propped against a rocky bluff embracing a crucifix and consoled by a music-making angel. He does not draw the analogy with images of the dead Christ supported by one or more angels by which Orazio underscores the theme of Francis as a second Christ, transformed through spiritual revelation. Yet the intimacy and emotional tenor of Vanni's print must surely have been significant for him.

Orazio's compositional audacity is especially evident in the pronounced asymmetrical placement of the tightly knit figure group against a dark background relieved by the great expanse of the angel's wing. He used the same set of wings—obviously a studio prop—in his other depictions of Saint Francis (though with a change in the colors). He also lent them to Caravaggio. Yet nothing could be further from the agitated, ruffled wings in Caravaggio's *Love Triumphant* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). Orazio's approach is, by contrast, one of placid description.

The picture is usually thought to be slightly later than the *Saint Francis* in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome (cat. 21), but I believe that visitors to the exhibition will agree that these two works—never before shown together—are very different. As Schleier has noted, the closest stylistic analogies to the Prado picture are in the Ancona *Circumcision* (cat. 7), a work that was installed in 1607. Indeed, it seems likely that Orazio employed the same model for one of the angels in the upper register of that work. The understated handling of light and shade in the Prado *Saint Francis* is also close to what is found in the *Circumcision*. Thanks to the documents relating to the Rome *Saint Francis*, both that painting and the Prado version can be seen to bracket the years of intense experimentation, 1609 to 1612, when Orazio made the Caravaggesque practice of working directly from the posed model (*dal naturale*) the centerpiece of his art.

Pérez Sánchez, the first to recognize the picture as a work by Gentileschi, has suggested identifying it with a *Saint Francis* ascribed to Domenichino that was among the paintings purchased by Philip V in 1722 from the collection of the Roman painter Carlo Maratta.[1] Although this identification has been widely followed, it cannot be sustained, and we thus have no information about when and how the picture entered the royal collections.[2]

1. See Pérez Sánchez 1965, 504, and Mena Marqués in Segovia 2000, 201. The inventory entry, republished by Bershad 1985, 75, reads: "un quadro d'un s. Fran.co che stà in deliquio con un angiolo che lo sostiene, figure al naturale le carnigioni sono del Domenichino, il resto è copiato."
2. Spear (1982, 281–82 no. 105) demonstrates that the entry refers to a painting Maratta obtained from Raspantino that is, in fact, a copy retouched by Domenichino. It is in the Palacio Riofrío, Segovia.



7.
Circumcision

Oil on canvas, 153½ × 99¼ in. (390 × 252 cm)

Church of the Gesù, Ancona (on deposit in the Pinacoteca Comunale)

ca. 1605–7

Rome, New York

The Feast of the Circumcision is celebrated on January 1, eight days after Christmas. It is the day Christ manifested his humanity by shedding blood for the first time, and it is the day he was given the name foretold by the angel: Jesus. Given its destination for the high altar of a Jesuit church dedicated to il Gesù, it is not surprising that Orazio has conceived the subject so as to emphasize the three meditations on the subject recommended by Ignatius of Loyola in his *Spiritual Exercises*. The first meditation is on the act of circumcising, which Orazio shows aligned with the vertical axis of the painting, with the turbaned priest performing his task, his instruments forming a beautiful still life, and the child, supported on a pillow, looking expectantly toward his mother. The second meditation—"His name was called Jesus, the name given him by the angel before he was conceived in the womb"—is indicated by the initials of Christ's name, IHS, that appear in a radiance, adored by cherubs. Above, God the Father, his head framed by a triangular halo standing for the Trinity, raises one hand toward an angel who, his left hand placed over his heart and his right extended toward Jesus' name, gazes tenderly at the child. This part of the composition recalls medieval altarpieces in which God charges Gabriel with the mission of the Annunciation. As for the third meditation, Saint Ignatius remarks, "They return the child to his mother, who felt compassion at the blood shed by her son." Mary is shown at the right, her hands joined devoutly as she looks lovingly at her son. To her right is Joseph, who was charged by the angel to name the child Jesus. Around this compact group, which includes a second priest and two acolytes, are additional figures—to the left, an old and a young man who, with demonstrative gestures, dispute the meaning of the event, and, to the right, an old and a young woman. The devout Simeon and the prophetess Anna, both of whom kept vigil in the Temple for the Messiah, may be intended. Simeon and Anna witnessed Christ at the time of the Virgin's Purification (celebrated on February 2), but since in the Gospel of Saint Luke this event is recounted immediately after the Circumcision and has to do with the recognition of Christ's divinity, Orazio (or his adviser) may have included them to further enrich the theme of the Circumcision (Simeon and Anna are the focus of the second and third meditations on the Purification of the Virgin).

The circumstances surrounding the commissioning of the picture can now be established with a fair degree of certainty. Construction of the church of the Gesù in Ancona began on April 14, 1605, under the patronage of Giovanni Nappi. According to a document first published by Pirri in 1952 and reintroduced into the literature by Carloni, Nappi was also responsible for commissioning Orazio's altarpiece, which was installed on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist—June 24, 1607. Maggiori, quoting from a manuscript since destroyed, records that the price paid was the considerable sum of 303 scudi (Caravaggio received 400 scudi for the *Conversion of Saint Paul* and the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* in the Cerasi chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, and 270 scudi for the *Death of the Virgin* [Louvre, Paris]). Clearly, this was an important commission and testifies to Orazio's artistic stature in Rome.

The Nappi were highly respected figures in the Marches. Giovanni's son Filippo was rector of the Gesù, while his brother Monsignor Francesco Nappi resided in Rome; in 1615, Francesco was appointed governor of Camerino. The commission could have been placed through Cardinal Claudio Acquaviva, the general of the Jesuit order in Rome (he would also have advised Orazio on the theological issues of the subject).[1] With the election of Pope Paul V Borghese in 1605, Acquaviva had regained papal support, and the commission may well be related to the bull of September 1606 (*Quantum Religio*) reaffirming the pope's faith in the Jesuits. On the other hand, Francesco Nappi was in an ideal position to inform himself

PROVENANCE: Church of the Gesù, Ancona (on deposit in the Pinacoteca).

REFERENCES: Oretti 1777, vol. 1, 11 (cited in Ancona 1985, 213); Maggiori 1821, 21, 66; Peruzzi 1845, 238, 240; Santoni 1884, 17; Voss 1925, 460; Mezzetti 1930, 551; Pevsner 1930, 274; Molajoli 1930–31, 100; Molajoli 1936, 34; Pirri 1952, 13; Bologna 1953, 44 n. 3; Zampetti in Urbino 1953, 35–36; Emiliani 1958a, 21; Emiliani 1958b, 40–42; Schleier 1962, 435; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 38; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 20–21, 144–45; Zampetti in Ancona 1985, 212–13; Pizzorusso 1987, 57–59; Nicolson 1990, 113; Zampetti 1990, 296–97; Carloni and Caldari in Fossombrone 1997, 22–23, 86; Costanzi 1999, 7.


IHS

about the leading artists of the day. During 1607, Francesco lobbied Paul V on behalf of both his brother and Enzo Bentivoglio, who had agricultural investments in Ferrara. To facilitate matters, the Nappi involved themselves with Scipione Borghese's rapacious schemes to obtain paintings (see pp. 13, 15, 120–21). This activity also put them in touch with Paolo Savelli, who was associate to the vice legate to Ferrara (Scipione Borghese especially had his eyes on some cycles of paintings by Dosso Dossi in the castle of Ferrara).[2] Thus, Francesco Nappi was in contact with the two people who were to be Orazio's most important Roman patrons.[3] At the very least, this string of connections served to put Orazio at the center of the Roman scene.

In the *Circumcision*, Orazio makes a bold and remarkable move to adapt the populist realism of Caravaggio's art that had shocked so many critics and churchmen to the devotional requisites of traditional religious painting. It was an endeavor to which he would dedicate much of his career in Rome and to which we owe such extraordinary paintings as the *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana* (cat. 30) and the deeply moving *Crucifixion* (cat. 29). But the first successes in this vein are the trio of paintings documented to the years 1605–8: the *Circumcision*, the *Vision of Saint Cecilia* (cat. 9), and the *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 11). In each, Orazio experiments with a slightly different balance. In the *Saint Cecilia*, he stresses elegance in the figure types and an abstract, planar composition. In the *Baptism*, elegance is sacrificed to naturalistic effects and to an emphasis on believable figures taken from everyday life. In both cases, he is responding to the nature of the subject matter—the visionary aspect of the *Saint Cecilia*; the demonstration of Christ's humanity in the *Baptism*. Bissell has rightly remarked that "scholars have simply given insufficient attention to the connection between form and content in Orazio's art."

As we have seen, in the *Circumcision* Orazio seems to have responded to specifically Jesuit devotional practices, perhaps at the instigation of Cardinal Acquaviva. Caravaggio's focused lighting, used to achieve an effect of dramatic immediacy, is transformed by Orazio into a means of suggesting actual experience—a tempered realism. The play of light on the neck, ear, and cheek of the woman at the far right is a tour de force of observation and signals the degree to which Orazio relied on the use of individual models to achieve this effect (the passage looks forward to the completely naturalistic style of the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* [cat. 15]). We recognize the same model who posed for Joseph in the God the Father and, possibly, in the figure of Simeon. The acolyte holding a silver vessel and the gesturing figure in a turban are, again, taken from the same model, and the two right-hand angels in the clouds seem to have the same features as the young woman at the far right. Within a few years, this practice of painting from the model was to become the focus of Orazio's art (cat. nos. 15–20), but here it is tempered by his desire to maintain a separation between the viewer/worshiper and the event depicted, so that the fiction, or poetic truth, of the religious story is retained (the Aristotelian distinction between poetic and historic truth, *verisimile* and *vero,* was very much a part of current artistic theory).[4]

By the same token, Orazio has been unable to fully free himself from late-Mannerist compositional formulas. The figural arrangement is almost pedantically symmetrical (as had been true of his fresco of the Presentation in the Temple in Santa Maria Maggiore of about 1593), and the horizontal division between the earthly and the heavenly realms is no less artificial. Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri's treatment of the subject for a church in Sassoferrato, painted in 1614–15 (fig. 55), reads as a critique on the claustrophobic, compressed, and old-fashioned composition of Orazio's altarpiece. The elaborately described costumes—something foreign to Caravaggio's work after about 1600—have affinities with the work of such Florentine artists as Andrea Commodi and Agostino Ciampelli, as noted by Pizzorusso.[5]

The transformation that Orazio has worked upon Caravaggio's realism is the more notable in view of those passages that are demonstrably inspired by the Lombard artist. The seated priest recalls the youth counting money in Caravaggio's *Calling of Saint Matthew* (Contarelli chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi)—the picture that first converted Orazio to a Caravaggesque style. The composition as a whole, with its

row of figures behind the Christ child and the diagonal placement of the infant, seems to pay homage to the *Death of the Virgin*. Bellori later criticized those followers of Caravaggio who "never went into the light of the sun" but preferred "the brown air of a closed room."[6] More than any other artist, it was Gentileschi who adapted the artifice of Caravaggesque lighting to the open air.

Though less striking than the *Vision of Saint Cecilia*—the masterpiece of these years—the *Circumcision* is perhaps the most pregnant work of Orazio's first formulation of an independent Caravaggesque style. In it are the seeds for the simplicity and purity of expression that characterize his later religious paintings. It is also a work that had a formative impact on the young Artemisia—not for its exploration of a style at once real and devotional, but for the way it attempts to construct a narrative out of pieces of observed reality. Especially such figures as the angel playing the organ or the two men in heated argument—so like the conspiring elders in Artemisia's *Susanna* (cat. 51)—are fundamental to her conception of painting.

Following the remodeling of the Gesù by Luigi Vanvitelli, a semicircular lunette was added to the top of the altarpiece. This was removed when, under the superintendency of Pietro Zampetti, the picture was restored after World War II.[7] Aside from local damage, clearly visible where the inpainting has been carried out in *trateggio,* the picture is in good condition.

1. In 1605, Acquaviva promised the services of a Jesuit woodworker, Francesco Brunelli, to Filippo Nappi; see Pirri 1952, 13. For much of this information, I am indebted to a seminar paper by Claude Dickerson; see also Carloni's essay, pp. 117–21.
2. Pizzorusso (1987, 69) has investigated the Savelli's ties to the Marches. Giulio was governor of Ancona from 1608 to 1610.
3. For these complicated dealings, see especially Venturi 1882, 16 ff.; Marcon, Maddalo, and Marcolini in Ferrara 1983; and Carloni in Fossombrone 1997, 22. Paolo Savelli emerges from the correspondence as a somewhat ambivalent figure, since he was advising the agent of Duke Cesare d'Este about Scipione Borghese's schemes.
4. See, for example, Gilio da Fabriano in Barocchi 1960–62, vol. 2, 15–29, passim. Paleotti (in ibid., 364–70) touches on the matter in his discussion of *verisimile.* Of course, the key issue for the formulation of the classical-idealist point of view was Aristotle's distinction between those who imitated reality and those who improved on it. See the classic discussion by Mahon (1947) 1971, 124–43.
5. As Pizzorusso points out, the comparison with Commodi's *Consecration of the Church of the Santissimo Salvatore* (Cathedral, Cortona), which was painted in Rome beginning in 1603, is particularly striking. Ciampelli was, like Pomarancio and Giuseppe Valeriano, regularly employed by the Jesuits; see Hibbard in Wittkower and Jaffe 1972, 40–41.
6. Bellori (1672) 1976, 217.
7. See Urbino 1953, 35–36.

8.

Madonna and Child

Oil on wood, 36 × 28¾ in. (91.5 × 73 cm)

The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Foundation

ca. 1607

This touching, intimate depiction of the Madonna and Child must have been destined for a special patron. Its refined execution and rich use of color single it out as much as the panel support (it is one of only three works by Orazio on panel).[1] The yellow of the child's robe is particularly notable and recalls the uncharacteristically yellow dress reportedly worn by the Virgin in the lost *Madonna and Child* painted by Orazio for Vincenzo I Gonzaga, fourth duke of Mantua, in 1609 (see cat. 15). The figure types are close to those in Orazio's altarpiece of the Circumcision, installed on the high altar of the church of the Gesù in Ancona in 1607 (cat. 77). Indeed, it is worth considering whether the same models were used. As in that work, the bulk of the figures is thwarted by an emphasis on surface pattern and by the minimal space that surrounds them. Orazio was never a painter of space, and his understanding of perspective seems to have been rudimentary; even in his most ambitious compositions, the figures are placed against a rocky mass, a clump of trees, a curtain, or a nondescript, dark background. Only through the study of artfully posed models viewed in a raking light was he able, like Caravaggio, to give his pictures what contemporaries

would have called a sense of relief, or *relievo*. The most significant difference from the figures in the *Circumcision* is in the handling of light, which in the *Madonna and Child* is luminous and plays on the forms with a delicacy that more closely approximates observed reality. Indeed, the transparency of the shadows looks forward to Orazio's work of the next decade. (This delicacy in the handling of light and shadows, as much as the figure types, makes the attribution to Artemisia, advanced by Garrard, unconvincing.)

Throughout the first decade of the seventeenth century, Orazio's work shows a persistent conflict between his ingrained habits of painting *di maniera*—falling back on conventions of representation and composition—and the new, Caravaggesque practice of working from posed models *dal naturale*. Inevitably, it was in his more informal easel paintings that Orazio best resolved this dilemma. But if we compare the Johnson *Madonna and Child* with the work in Bucharest (cat. 15), it will be seen how much the painting owes to pictorial conventions as opposed to observed reality. The delicate placement of the Virgin's dimpled hands, her pensively lowered eyelids, the artful arrangement of the child's drapery so as to expose his genitals (a reference to Christ's human nature), and his wide-eyed stare—these are devices intended as devotional cues for the viewer and are far removed from the everyday world so successfully counterfeited in the Bucharest *Madonna*. The close cropping of the figures at once avoids any awkwardness Orazio may have encountered in elaborating their poses and enhances the effect of intimacy and informality.

Bissell has suggested that in conceiving this picture Orazio turned to quattrocento Florentine models, urged by his Tuscan heritage and a "nostalgia for what might have seemed to him a less complicated, more sincere age." In many ways this is an attractive suggestion, though less because of Orazio's Tuscan birth—he was, after all, trained in Rome and his experience of Florentine art was dependent on what he saw in the papal city—than because a number of Counter-Reformation writers, including Giovanni Andrea Gilio da Fabriano and Gabriele Paleotti, considered simplicity and purity more important than a demonstration of style and even went so far as to laud the purity of art



Figure 42. Scipione Pulzone (1544–1598), *Madonna and Child*. Oil on canvas. Galleria Borghese, Rome

from before the time of Michelangelo.[2] By the 1590s, Scipione Pulzone had already explored a type of Madonna and Child composition (fig. 42) that combined Raphaelesque compositional models with a Northern emphasis on surface description to produce images possessing a sweet, and intentionally bland, domestic intimacy—what Zeri, in his groundbreaking book on Counter-Reformation art, terms "pittura senza tempo."[3] The degree to which this kind of image was fostered by Jesuit teachings remains ambiguous, but it is an important issue, since the Johnson painting is so closely related to Orazio's *Circumcision*, destined for a Jesuit church.[4] It is, in any event, to this tradition that Orazio's painting belongs, a tradition that is also reflected in the depiction of the Madonna and Child that Domenichino includes in his fresco at Grottaferrata showing Saint Nilo exorcising a possessed youth and that was to receive its definitive, seicento expression in the vast production of Sassoferrato. Given the demand for these images, it is hardly surprising that we know of two copies of the Johnson

PROVENANCE: Possibly Marchese Clemente and Cardinal Giacomo Sannesi, Rome (until 1621); by descent, Anna Maria Sannesi, Rome (until 1724; postmortem inv. as by Gentileschi); Matthiesen Fine Art Ltd., London (1978–81); Barbara Piasecka Johnson Foundation, Princeton.

RELATED PICTURES: Vincenzo Bonello, Valletta, Malta (copy);[6] Finarte, Milan (copy).[7]

REFERENCES: Bissell 1981, 143–44 no. 12, 147; London 1981, 10–11 no. 1; Garrard 1989, 25–26, 32, 493 nn. 21, 22; Prohaska in Warsaw 1990, 180–83 no. 30; Bissell 1999, 326–27 no. X-18, 333.



Madonna and Child (see under related pictures). It is important to emphasize that an image of this sort represents a specific moment in Orazio's career. In the Corsini *Madonna and Child* (cat. 4)—if indeed it is by Orazio—and the Bucharest *Madonna,* Orazio experiments with a more full-blooded Caravaggism, while in the later *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* in Cambridge (cat. 28), he aims at the world of formal, Baroque artifice.

There is no certain record of the picture prior to 1978. However, a *Madonna and Child* by Orazio belonged to the Olgiati family in 1713 (it is listed as hanging over a door). In 1607, Settimio Olgiati commissioned from Orazio a *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 11) for his chapel in Santa Maria della Pace. His interest in Orazio's work continued until at least 1612, when he is known to have visited the artist's workshop and was taken to see the frescoes then under way in the casino of Scipione Borghese. The Savelli also owned a *Madonna and Child* by Orazio of similar dimensions (88 × 66 cm). Their patronage of Orazio from before 1613 is not known. Much the most fascinating possibility is a *Madonna and Child* listed in the postmortem inventory of Anna Maria Sannesi, the last heir of Cardinal Giacomo Sannesi (1551–1621). That picture was on panel and measured 5 × 3 *palmi* (about 111 × 67 cm).[5] Cardinal Sannesi and his brother Clemente were major collectors in Rome and evidently owned three works by the artist: a *Madonna and Child,* a *David with the Head of Goliath* (see cat. 20), and a *Saint George,* the last on copper (see also p. 13).

1. The other two are cat. nos. 20 and 50.
2. See Gilio da Fabriano in Barocchi 1960–62, vol. 2, 55: "E mi pare che i pittori che furono avanti Michelagnolo più a la verità et a la devozione attendessero, che a la pompa." Elsewhere Gilio urges a return of art to "la sua purità primiera."
3. Zeri 1957, 76–77. For Pulzone's pictures in the Galleria Borghese, Rome, and San Carlo ai Catinari, Rome, see Vaudo 1976, 36.
4. Pulzone, of course, was intimately involved in the decoration of the Gesù in Rome and associated with the Jesuit painter Giuseppe Valeriano. Vaudo (1976, 39 n. 27) prints one of Pulzone's poems, in which, in a Michelangelesque vein, he laments blind affections and the inability to see his errors: "e non vede ne l'error." This type of sentiment certainly accords with his devotional paintings, which consciously avoid the "vanities" of style.
5. ASR, 39 notai Capitolini Joseph Paulinus Officio 13, vol. 502, f. 262: "Altro Quadro simile [in tavola] di pmi tre, e mezzo, e tre, con cornice nera filettata d'oro rappresentante la Madonna, ed il Bambino opera del Gentileschi." I owe this reference to Erich Schleier.
6. See Valletta 1949, 24, where it is ascribed to Artemisia.
7. See Bissell 1999, 327. Sold 1986, as school of Artemisia.

9.

Vision of Saint Cecilia

Oil on canvas, 137¾ × 85⅞ in. (350 × 218 cm)

Signed (on organ): HORATIVS GENTILESC[HVS] / FLORENTINVS FECIT

Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (inv. 588)

ca. 1606–7

Rome, New York

According to Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* (ca. 1260), Cecilia, born of a noble Roman family, made a secret vow of chastity. This she confided to her pagan husband, Valerian, in their bridal chamber, saying that an angel of God kept watch over her. Only after he was baptized was Valerian granted the vision of the angel, who appeared bearing two garlands and telling of their future martyrdom (in the painting, symbolized by the palm held by the angel). The fragrance of the garlands caught the attention of Valerian's brother Tibertius, who, after Cecilia's exhortations, was also converted. The organ on a table in the right background is Cecilia's emblem as patroness of music.

Pandakovic definitively established that the picture was painted for the high altar of Santa Cecilia, Como, a prestigious Augustinian convent that attracted daughters of leading aristocratic families. An inscription on the original frame, still in the church, reads: ANGELVS DOMINI / DESCENDIT DE COELO / ET LVMEN REFVLSIT IN / HABITACVLO (An angel of the Lord descended from



Provenance: Church of Santa Cecilia, Como (by 1607–1798); Accademia di Belle Arte and Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (from 1801).

References: Longhi (1916) 1961, 235–36; Gamba 1922–23, 252; Voss 1925, 459; Wittkower 1958, 338 n. 2; Schleier 1962, 435–36; Pandakovic 1966, 161, 162 n. 15; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 74–75, 124–25, 134, 257, vol. 2, 77 no. 2; Bissell 1971, 278–79; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 40–41, 170–72 no. 42; Nicolson 1990, 114; Papi 1992, 183; Rovi 1992, 107–9; Rovi in Pinacoteca di Brera 1992, 56–59, no. 22; Pescarmona in Gregori 1994, 46, 303.

heaven and light shone in the chamber). What remained uncertain was the date of the picture and, hence, an understanding of its stylistic traits. For a time, it was believed to date to the years 1617–20, when Orazio was in the Marches. Longhi placed it among Orazio's last Roman paintings, and Bissell (1981) argued for a date as late as 1621, suggesting the possibility that the picture was sent to Como from Genoa. While noting the strong Caravaggesque character of the painting—especially the spot-lighted figures—he found the blend of "the religious and the secular/ aristocratic" similar to that in the Turin *Annunciation* (cat. 43). By contrast, Schleier insisted on the picture's Caravaggesque features and placed it prior to 1610. A firm basis for resolving this confusion emerged in 1992, when Rovi published the record of a visit to the church on November 25, 1607, by Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, who had been invited by the nuns to perform Mass. In a lengthy description of the highly decorated altar is noted "a new picture by the Florentine Gentileschi, who, with his valor, walks in step with any of the more illustrious and famous painters in Rome." The characterization of the painting as "new" suggests that it had been installed only recently.[1]

With the critical perspective offered by this document, it is now possible to appreciate just how well the Brera altarpiece fits into Orazio's career in the years 1605–7. Its use of a focused (rather than dispersed) lighting with dense shadows, its quality of suspended action, and the dependence on a number of motifs seen in Caravaggio's work situate it in the same time frame as the Vienna *Way to Calvary* (cat. 5) and the Ancona *Circumcision* (cat. 7). So also do the muted colors: periwinkle to a saturated blue, deep green, coral, ochre, silver gray. There is none of the silken quality found in Orazio's work after about 1610. The flying angel, with his homely, twelve-year-old face and elegantly fluttering drapery, was clearly indebted to Caravaggio's *Calling of Saint Matthew,* completed in 1602 for the altar of the Contarelli chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi, while Valerian's outflung arms just as clearly derive from the Lombard painter's contemporaneous *Supper at Emmaus* (National Gallery, London). As he had done with the figure of the Magdalene in the *Way to Calvary,* Orazio lowers the position of Valerian's right hand so as not to break through the picture plane—a detail that we may take as emblematic of his less assertive approach to Caravaggio's realism. Rovi believes that the magnificent green curtain which so effectively sets off the angel was inspired by the example of Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* (Louvre, Paris). As he remarks, the comparison serves to underscore Orazio's transformation of a dramatic motif (in Caravaggio's painting, the red cloth suspended from the ceiling serves as a canopy over the dead Virgin) into an elegant appointment—*arredo "borghese."*

What is remarkable is the way these Caravaggesque features have been incorporated into a late-Mannerist approach to composition that in certain respects recalls Orazio's work at the abbey of Farfa and at San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, where he decorated the vault of the Fiorenzuola chapel. For all his attention to the description of an interior, the room, with its steeply inclined floor, is curiously lacking in depth. The doorframe, table, floor, and the step on which Cecilia kneels serve as a geometric grid for the elegant collage of individual figures, whose studiously choreographed poses generate a surface pattern dominated by a large zigzag. The attitudes they strike are at once emblematically expressive and ornamental (Cecilia's outstretched hand, in a gesture denoting welcome or acceptance, reappears a decade and a half later in the *Danaë* [cat. 36]).

It took Orazio the better part of a decade to fully absorb the implications of Caravaggio's revolutionary naturalism; one need look no further than the *Madonna in Glory with the Holy Trinity* (fig. 5), of about 1605, to see how difficult he found the task of applying the practice of painting from the model to the execution of a complex, multifigure composition. Even Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* offered no real model for painting a complex interior space or of creating the visionary effect of the everyday infused by the divine (something Orazio was to make his specialty). The Brera altarpiece, like the Ancona *Circumcision* and the Santa Maria della Pace *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 11), belongs to a crucial, still experimental phase in Orazio's career, during which he sought by various strategies to balance his keen formal sense

with Caravaggesque realism. In the *Saint Cecilia*, it is his formal sense that predominates, and it is this which led earlier scholars to relate its style to the sophisticated language of the late Roman and Marchigian paintings; in fact, though, nothing could be further removed from the naturalistic terms of the Turin *Annunciation* (cat. 43) in which the loving act of description transmutes familiar experience into something profoundly religious.

It is interesting to speculate on Cardinal Sfondrato's response to the altarpiece, as reflected in the comment that Orazio was able to keep step with the most celebrated masters of the day. The cardinal's titular church in Rome was Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, where in 1599 the body of the saint had been discovered. In 1601, he hired Guido Reni to decorate a commemorative chapel, the Cappella del Bagno, with, among other things, the very scene illustrated by Orazio, and five years later he commissioned from the artist a much admired devotional image of the saint (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena). Reni's first work for Sfondrato was carried out in a neo-Raphaelesque style with references to early Christian art, as was popular in the circle of the great Oratorian church historian Cesare Baronio (to which Sfondrato belonged). However, his devotional image was painted in a reformed Caravaggesque style that was to exert a powerful influence on Orazio (see cat. 12). To a degree, the Brera altarpiece strikes an analogous balance between elegance and naturalism. Yet the concern for fabrics and costumes, the tempered naturalism, and the ornamental artifice of the composition recall aspects of late-sixteenth-century Roman and, more particularly, Florentine art rather than Reni's brand of Caravaggism, with its more idealizing orientation. It is passages such as the angel—so obviously studied from a posed model—that reveal Orazio at his most modern. As Papi has rightly noted, such passages seem to forecast the aggressively realist art of the Spaniard Juan Bautista Maino (1581–1641), who was working in Rome during these years and who was, according to his early biographer, associated with Reni. The eccentrically foreshortened figure of Tibertius peering through the door evidently left an enduring impression on the young Artemisia, who introduced a similar figure in her painting *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 51). He is indeed memorable and leads to one of the figures in Orazio's *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (cat. 23). In these ways the *Saint Cecilia* marks the threshold of Orazio's mature style.

Rovi speculates that perhaps Cardinal Sfondrato, the Como prelate Ulpiano Volpi, or Cardinal Tolomeo Gallio played a part in commissioning the altarpiece (Gallio died on February 4, 1607), which as a matter of course would have been painted in Rome and sent to Como. Another possibility is Settimio Olgiati, who in 1607 would commission the *Baptism of Christ* for his chapel in Santa Maria della Pace in Rome (cat. 11) and who continued to be interested in Orazio's work until at least 1612. The Olgiati hailed from Como, where they maintained a family chapel in the church of San Giovanni fuori le Mura. Settimio would have been an obvious conduit for someone in Como seeking to arrange for an altarpiece from a major Roman painter.

1. Rovi (in Pinacoteca di Brera 1992, 56) notes that in 1578 the congregation had been encouraged to commission a painting for the high altar but that by 1598 no action had been taken.

10.

Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist

Oil on copper, $22\frac{1}{4} \times 16\frac{3}{4}$ in. (56.7 × 42.6 cm)

Inscribed (on reverse): 3 (?) 16 / G. Sassoferrato

Private collection

ca. 1607–8

New York

Unquestionably the most important recent addition to Gentileschi's oeuvre, this radiant and enchanting picture first came to public attention when it was sold at Sotheby's, London, on July 6, 2000 (lot 28). Its early history can be conjectured only on the basis of an old inscription on the support indicating that prior to its sale in Dublin, in 1912, it belonged to Viscount Powerscourt in County Wicklow, Ireland. In the Sotheby's sale catalogue, it was noted that the two members of the family most likely to have purchased it were Richard, the sixth viscount (1815–1844), who traveled to Italy and bought a number of Italian paintings, or his son Mervyn Wingfield, seventh viscount Powerscourt (1836–1904), who was also an avid collector. A further inscription on the reverse ascribes the painting to Sassoferrato, and, in fact, a *Holy Family* attributed to that artist was lent by the seventh viscount to the Irish Institution, Dublin, in 1858 and again in 1859.

The attribution to Sassoferrato (a pupil of Domenichino), while clearly incorrect, has the virtue of underscoring the classical character of the composition: the compact, pyramidal arrangement of the figures and the use of an anecdotal action as the expressive focus. Saint John has gently set aside his reed cross and offers the Christ child a nosegay of roses, usually associated with the Virgin. Beyond the obvious reference to High Renaissance models, there is an analogy with the work of Annibale Carracci and his revival of Raphaelesque classicism. During the first decade of the seventeenth century the Carracci pupils Francesco Albani, Domenichino, and Guido Reni all investigated similar, small-scale figurative compositions with a landscape setting, while about 1615–16 Giovanni Lanfranco made a free copy of one of Raphael's most celebrated images, the so-called *Madonna del Passeggio* (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh), then owned by Pietro Aldobrandini.[1] A remarkably close analogy for the lively pose of the Christ child in Orazio's painting can be found, in reverse, in Carracci's *Madonna and Child with Saint Francis* (fig. 43), which was painted in Rome about 1595–96. Interestingly, in 1606 Orazio and Annibale co-witnessed the will of the sculptor Tommaso della Porta and thus were evidently in touch with each other.

The Baptist was traditionally thought to be six months older than Christ and, according to the thirteenth-century *Meditationes vitae Christi*, met the Holy Family after the Purification of the Virgin and before the Flight into Egypt. Orazio has given him a beautifully articulated pose that combines an almost neoclassical clarity and expressive elegance with a muted naturalism that looks forward both to Sassoferrato and to Nazarene painting of the early nineteenth century. Descriptive details, such as Saint John's golden locks and ruddy cheeks, the chinked stone stairs and pitted plaster of the brick wall, and



Figure 43. Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), *Madonna and Child with Saint Francis*. Oil on copper. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

PROVENANCE: Possibly Richard, sixth viscount Powerscourt, Powerscourt, County Wicklow, Ireland (until 1844); probably Mervyn Wingfield, seventh viscount Powerscourt (until 1904, as by Sassoferrato); (sale, Bennetts, Dublin, April 25, 1912, lot 33); private collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2000, lot 28, as by Orazio Gentileschi); private collection.



the plain clothes worn by Joseph and Mary, further enhance the interpretation of the scene as an extension of everyday life.

Given the absence of firm reference points, there is bound to be disagreement about the date of the picture and its relation to the three other paintings with landscape backgrounds in the exhibition (cat. nos. 19, 27, 38). The Sotheby's sale catalogue cites two contrasting views: one, put forward by Bissell, dates the painting to about 1605–10; the other, espoused by Schleier, sees it as a work of the second decade of the century and more or less contemporary with such pictures as the *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana* (cat. 30). A case can be made for either position, but I believe the balance of probability is that we are dealing here with Orazio's earliest surviving painting on copper and his first experiment in landscape. Not only does the figurative composition reflect Bolognese models in a more direct fashion than is found in his later paintings, but the landscape, with its stage-flat-like arrangement, formulaic clumps of trees, and generalized lighting, relates directly to the work of Carlo Saraceni around 1606–8, the date of the Venetian artist's four landscapes with subjects taken from Ovid (Capodimonte, Naples). Evidently painted for the Farnese family in Rome, Saraceni's landscapes are patterned directly on the example of Adam Elsheimer, whose work was to be so important to Orazio's landscape style.[2] Indeed, it may be that it was through Saraceni that Orazio first came in contact with the German artist (on this, see cat. 19).

In this catalogue, it is argued that the dating of Orazio's paintings with landscapes is best established by their reflection of the progressive innovations not only of Elsheimer and Saraceni, but of Goffredo Wals (see especially cat. 27). Orazio's mastery reaches a climax in the *Saint Christopher* (cat. 27), a tour de force of observation, with its astonishing atmospheric verity and attention to foliage (often dated to about 1610 but here placed about 1615–20). Over the years, his brushwork becomes more impressionistic and the shadows more transparent, animated by the play of reflected light, as demonstrated by the sparkling Burghley House *Madonna and Child in a Landscape* (cat. 38), of about 1621–22. By contrast, in the *Holy Family* the shadows are as deep as the colors are saturated, and there is an overall physical density to the composition that is especially characteristic of Orazio's work before about 1610. The closest analogy for this treatment is perhaps the Ancona *Circumcision* (cat. 7), in which the large, static forms of the figures are nonetheless animated by a beautiful study of light. In the *Holy Family,* an effect of heaviness is replaced by delicacy and luminosity. It is also worth mentioning the roughly contemporary Dublin *David Slaying Goliath* (cat. 12), in which we find a similar blend of Bolognese elegance (in this case derived, it would seem, from Guido Reni) and a naturalism based on the study of Caravaggio.

Despite the fundamental and striking differences between his various small-scale paintings with landscape backgrounds, we may note how, even in the *Saint Christopher,* Orazio consistently employs a background element to set off the figures in the foreground. There, it is a copse of trees arbitrarily enlarged; here, it is a cloud bank behind the heads of the Virgin and Saint Joseph. As sensitive as he was to developments in landscape painting and as responsive as he became to nature, Orazio remained principally a figurative artist, using landscape as a poetic adjunct.

1. See Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1994, 92.
2. See Ottani Cavina 1968, 13–22, for a discussion of the circle of artists around Elsheimer; see also New York–Naples 1985, 192–94.

11.

Baptism of Christ

Oil on canvas, 118⅛ × 94⅞ in. (300 × 241 cm)

Santa Maria della Pace, Rome

1607

PROVENANCE: Santa Maria della Pace, Rome.

REFERENCES: Mancini (1617–21) 1956–57, vol. 1, 285; Celio (1638) 1967, 20; Baglione (1642) 1935, 359; Titi 1675, 253; Da Morrona (1789–93) 1812, vol. 2, 257; Longhi (1916) 1961, 225–26, 273; Voss 1925, 461; Orbaan 1927, 284; Brandi 1930, 339; Pevsner 1930, 257; Crinò 1960, 264; Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 144; Griseri 1961, 26–28; Chiarini 1962, 26–28; Moir 1967, 37–38; Nicolson 1979, 52; Barroero 1981, 169; Bissell 1981, 12, 14–17, 21, 139–140 no. 7; Nicolson 1990, 113; Papi in Florence 1991, 33–34; Maniello 1992, 155–160.

The painting was commissioned by Marchese Settimio Olgiati as part of the decorations for his chapel, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, in the church of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome (for Olgiati, see pp. 13–15). From a document drawn up by the notary Gargario on November 19, 1612, we learn that Olgiati was ceded patronal rights to the chapel by the abbot Girolamo, prior of the Canons Regular of San Giovanni Laterano at Santa Maria della Pace.[1] Olgiati wished to replace an earlier image of Saint John ("Beati Giov. Battista imago in muro depicta stis modesta existebat nec manu eccell pictoris facta") with Orazio's *Baptism of Christ* both to express his veneration for Saint John and to make reparations for his family's destruction of an ancient oratory dedicated to the saint in the church of Santa Prassede, to make way for their own burial chapel. Through a representative, the marchese drew up a contract with the artist on March 23, 1607, stipulating with scrupulous precision the obligations of both parties. Orazio agreed to make "a painting of Saint John the Baptist when he baptizes Our Lord . . . in the church of the Madonna della Pace in Rome, in conformity with the height and width of said chapel . . . [and] to do it well and with fine colors . . . [with] the figures, that is, Christ, Saint John, God the Father, the Holy Spirit, with a glory of other angels and figures, designed in conformity with the drawing he has done . . . and to deliver it finished within six months of today."[2] For his part, the patron was to furnish the stretcher and canvas and the necessary ultramarine blue in addition to paying the agreed-upon price of 150 scudi, of which 60 were given as an advance. The discovery of this document has pushed the date of the painting forward to 1607 from the date of about 1600–1605 previously assigned on the basis of Giovanni Baglione's biographical account. It has also reignited discussion of this key phase of the artist's career, during which he sought to define his artistic identity.

It was in the early years of the century that Orazio began to give the first hints of his response to the dominant Mannerist style. The stimulus was provided by the paintings of Caravaggio in the Contarelli chapel of San Luigi dei Francesi and in Santa Maria del Popolo, which were the subject of much discussion and even scandal. As Bissell has noted, these works must have provoked a veritable crisis in Orazio's mind as he compared them with his own work of a few years earlier (in particular, the *Conversion of Saint Paul* in San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome [destroyed]). Here, he seems to recant his former "unnatural" style, or *maniera*, and to adopt a more congenial, more "natural" manner. The *Baptism of Christ* seems to be the result of a synthesis between a traditional idiom and the Caravaggesque revolution; in it he has "already partly understood the open, lucid vision of the young Caravaggio."[3]

The compositional and iconographic scheme is traditional, despite the unusual placement of the Baptist on the left side. Marco Pino's painting in the oratory of San Giovanni Decollato, Rome, of about 1541, may be cited as a precedent. Although Orazio still employs multiple sources of illumination—three of them—the novelty of the picture resides in his identification of light as the *al naturale* means of conferring material density on the bodies. The angel at the left is particularly indicative of his use of a posed model, in the fashion of Caravaggio. Also noteworthy is the group of God the Father and the angels, who share physiognomic traits with the figures in the *Madonna in Glory* in Turin (fig. 5) and the *Circumcision* in Ancona (cat. 7). The golden radiance—symbolizing Paradise—with which they are lighted contrasts with the clear, cold terrestrial light. A sacred illumination emanating from the Holy Spirit, and directed downward by the hand of God, falls on Christ, underscoring the unity of the Trinity. The angel at the right is less successful than its companion, but it is also in



poorer condition; the face in particular has suffered. (When old repaints in the area around the left eye and forehead were removed, it was decided to employ glazes to reconstruct the missing parts in such a way that the reconstruction is visible on close inspection.)

In his 1642 biography of Orazio, Baglione remarks that "he similarly painted for the Olgiati a small chapel on the right side of the church of [Santa Maria della] Pace, where, above the altar, is shown Saint John the Baptist who baptizes Christ. And there is God the Father and angels, painted in oils with great love and diligence; the remaining stories of the saint were painted by him in fresco." On this basis the three small scenes on the vault of the chapel with stories from the life of the saint have been thought to be works by Orazio or his workshop. These modest frescoes, however, are by an assistant of Pietro da Cortona—someone who probably worked with the great painter-architect between 1656 and 1658, when Pietro directed a vast restoration project of the church financed by Pope Alexander VII Chigi. At this time, the Olgiati chapel was transferred from its original position beneath the octagonal crossing, becoming the third rather than the first chapel, where a secondary entrance (referred to in the documents as the "porta piccola") was opened. The original position of the chapel is indicated in earlier plans of the crossing by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Jacopo Meleghino, and Francesco Torriani, as well as in the 1612 document mentioned above.

As part of the research on the chapel sponsored by the Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma, the walls of the original site are being studied in the hope of finding some trace of Orazio's frescoes.

MPdO

1. Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai, Capitolini Uff.9 b 94. I would like to thank Livia Carloni for calling my attention to this citation.
2. ". . . un quadro di San Giovanni Battista quando batteza Nostro Signore . . . nella chiesa della Madonna della Pace di Roma conforme alla grandezza et larghezza che è in d[et]ta cappella . . . di farlo bene con colori fini . . . le figure disegnate cioè Christo S Giovanni B, Dio Padre Spirito Santo con gloria di altri angeli et figure conforme al disegno fatto . . . e darlo finito fra sei mesi prossimi da oggi."
3. Chiarini 1962, 26.

12.

David Slaying Goliath

Oil on canvas, 73¼ × 53⅛ in. (186 × 135 cm)

National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (inv. 980)

ca. 1607–9

Rome, New York

Having felled the giant Goliath with his slingshot, which lies in studied disarray in the foreground, the young David now uses the Philistine's sword to cut off his head (1 Sam. 17:50–51). The story is one of the most celebrated in the Old Testament and inspired a long line of distinguished paintings and sculpture. Key to Orazio's painting, which treats the story in narrative rather than emblematic terms—that is, David actively slaying Goliath rather than holding or contemplating his head—is Michelangelo's fresco for a lunette of the Sistine chapel (fig. 44). There the scene is paired with Judith and Holofernes, as it is again in the Della Rovere chapel in Trinità dei Monti, Rome, frescoed by Marco Pino and Pellegrino Tibaldi in 1548–50. Both Old Testament scenes were commonly understood as symbolizing the triumph of godliness over corruption and of virtue over vice.

Orazio's remarkable depiction differs from other Michelangelo-inspired examples—for instance, Daniele da Volterra's painting in the château de Fontainebleau and Orazio Borgianni's in the Academia de San Fernando, Madrid—in adopting a vertical rather than horizontal format and in showing Goliath twisting around and raising his enormous hand to ward off David's blow. This device considerably increases the psychological tension, enabling the two opponents to make eye contact and further accentuating the differences in their size and physical strength. The

motif of eye contact may have been inspired by Caravaggio's celebrated picture of Judith beheading Holofernes (Palazzo Barberini, Rome; fig. 109), in which the Assyrian general rolls back his eyes toward his murderer as she severs his head. Similarly, the idea of showing Goliath's body foreshortened along a diagonal with the head placed close to the picture plane may derive from Caravaggio's *Conversion of Saint Paul* (Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome). What cannot be doubted is that the pose and gesture of Goliath were important to Artemisia when she painted her *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (cat. 55). The shallow, tilted space suggests that Orazio's picture may have been conceived as an overdoor.

Yet to discuss this picture exclusively in terms of Caravaggesque realism scarcely does it justice, for in it two aesthetics compete for attention: Caravaggesque naturalism and a Mannerist-derived emphasis on the beauty of formal invention. The contrapposto attitude of David conveys a quality less of urgency than of studied *bellezza*. Garrard has identified the source of the pose as that of a figure of Orestes in a Roman sarcophagus relief then in the collection of Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani. This was a celebrated ancient sculpture that had influenced a large number of works of art. Indeed, by the early seventeenth century, the pose—extracted from its narrative context and developed in isolation for its inherent serpentine beauty—had become something of a topos. Titian had famously exploited it in his *Bacchus and Ariadne* (National Gallery, London), which in Gentileschi's day was in the Aldobrandini collection in Rome, as did Tiziano Aspetti in his figure of the giant for the entrance portal to the Libreria Marciana in Venice.[1] Michelangelo's *Apollo* (Bargello, Florence) and El Greco's figure of Christ in his various pictures of the Purification of the Temple belong to this same tradition. In the sarcophagus and in Titian's painting, the pose is dynamic and conveys movement. By contrast, in Orazio's painting the *serpentinata* features have been accentuated—the left foot raised, the right shoulder lowered, the left arm extended in balletic fashion. These changes are the more notable in that David's action is so akin to that of Orestes, who on the sarcophagus is shown

Figure 44. Marcantonio Raimondi (ca. 1470/82–1527/34?), *David Cutting off the Head of Goliath*. Engraving after Michelangelo's fresco in the Sistine chapel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York





PROVENANCE: Confectioner's shop, Limehouse, East London (until 1935); Tomàs Harris, London (1935–36); National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

REFERENCES: Longhi 1943, 22; Milan 1951, 65 no. 107; Emiliani 1958b, 43; Wittkower 1958, 43; Schleier 1962, 435; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 70–71, vol. 2, 75 no. B.1; Pepper 1971, 337; Bissell 1981, 23–27, 146 no. 15, 148, 206; Garrard 1989, 16, 31, 184, 198; Nicolson 1990, 113; Papi in Florence 1991, 36, 59 n. 16, 110; Benedetti in Dublin 1992, no. 4; Schleier 1993, 196; Bissell 1999, 4–5, 12, 43, 193, 195–96, 201; Bray in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 56 no. 2.

slaying Aegisthus. The impression is of an elegant statue that can be rotated in space, and it is worth noting that Orazio was friends with the Mannerist sculptor Tommaso della Porta, whose will he witnessed in 1606.

The issue of whether Gentileschi's point of departure was the sarcophagus rather than an intermediary source is of some interest. Did he intend the pose as an antiquarian allusion—a statement about classical *bellezza* rendered in naturalistic terms? Ought the picture be seen as part of the debate surrounding the emerging classical aesthetic? There is no written evidence that Gentileschi had a theoretical bent, and I am inclined to think that antiquarianism played no significant role in his art. However, it is surely not coincidental that in the years 1604–7 Guido Reni was experimenting with Caravaggesque realism in a similar fashion. In works such as Reni's *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* (Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome), *David with the Head of Goliath* (fig. 49), and, perhaps most pertinently, the *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* (Museo Diocesano, Albenga) and a *David Slaying Goliath* (Fondation Rau, Marseilles),[2] the realism of Caravaggio's art is recast in terms of *grazia*, *bellezza*, and decorum. Which is to say, Reni treated Caravaggism not as a pictorial revolution but as an alternative style whose elements were susceptible to personal interpretation and manipulation. His example may have been important to Orazio as the latter moved toward his own naturalistic *maniera*.

With the exception of Papi, who unconvincingly places the picture in the second decade of the century, scholars have dated the *David Slaying Goliath* to about 1605–8. Its style has been compared with that of the *Saint Michael and the Devil* (cat. 14) and the *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. 18). The densely modeled shadows, without passages of reflected light, are characteristic of the three documented altarpieces of 1607, as well as of the *Way to Calvary* (cat. 5) and, especially, the Oslo *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 13).

The picture was discovered in a confectioner's shop in East London in 1935. Nothing is known of its earlier provenance, and its tentative identification (most recently by Bray) with an overdoor in the Palazzo Cambiaso, Genoa, mentioned by Ratti, or with another painting mentioned by Ticozzi as in the Palazzo Doria, Genoa, cannot be demonstrated. The Cambiaso provenance is especially tantalizing.[3] The picture has lost some of its crispness due to abrasion; the blue of Goliath's cloak has altered.

1. Leandro Bassano portrays Tiziano Aspetti with a model of this statue; see Kryza-Gersch 1998.
2. In addition to Bologna–Los Angeles–Fort Worth 1988–89, 188–90, see Spear 1989b, 371 no. 16.
3. Ratti (1780) 1976, 264–65: "Un'altra pur sopraporta con Davidde trionfante di Golia, d'Orazio Gentileschi, è di migliori di questo arteficie." Lanzi (1795–96, vol. 1, 233–34) described the same painting as follows: "Presso gli Ecc. Cambiasi è un Davide che sovrasta al morto Golia, cosi staccato dal fondo, con tinte si vivide e si ben contrapposte, che potria dare idea di un nuovo, a pressochè mai non veduto stile." This reference was associated by Gamba (1922–23, 256) with the Spada *David* (cat. 18). Bissell (1981, 146, 149) feels that these references are better applied to the Spada picture than to the Dublin *David*, but I confess I don't see why this should be so. The Cambiaso also owned a *Judith and Her Maidservant* and a *Woman Playing the Violin*, for which, see cat. nos. 39 and 40.

13.
Judith and Her Maidservant

Oil on canvas, 53½ × 63 in. (136 × 160 cm)

Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo (NG.M.02073)

ca. 1608–9

The story of the Jewish widow Judith and her heroic act to save her people from the Assyrians is told in the Apocrypha. The city of Bethulia is on the verge of surrendering to the Assyrians when Judith proposes a subterfuge. Decked out in her finery, she and her servant Abra go unaccompanied to the enemy's camp, where she is seized and taken to their commander, Holofernes, whom she offers to help. Captivated by Judith's beauty, Holofernes invites her to feast in his tent at night. When he drinks himself into a stupor, Judith cuts off his head with his own sword and carries it back to Bethulia in triumph. The deed turns the tide of the battle.



PROVENANCE: Scarpa collection, Motta di Livenza (sale, Giulio Sambon, Milan, November 14, 1895, lot 67, as by Caravaggio; evidently bought in and donated by Sambon to a sale benefiting war veterans arranged by the Syndicat de la Presse, Petit Palais, Paris, June 13–23, 1917, lot 46, as by Caravaggio); Wangs Kunst og Antikvitetshandel, Oslo (1917); Urban Jacob Rasmus Børresen, Oslo (1918–1943; his estate, 1943–45); Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo.

RELATED PICTURE: Helsingen Kaupunginmuseo, Helsinki (copy; noted in Bissell 1999, 320).

REFERENCES: De Witt 1939, 51–53; Longhi 1943, 46 n. 38; Emiliani 1958b, 43; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 71 n. 10; Borea in Florence 1970, 77; Oslo 1973, 346–47; Nicolson 1979, 51; Bissell 1981, 63–64, 155–56 no. 27; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, 147; Pepper 1984a, 316; Garrard 1989, 39–40, 497–98 n. 56; Nicolson 1990, 111; Palmer 1991, 28; Papi in Florence 1991, 96–99 no. 3; Spike 1991b, 733; Stolzenwald 1991, 22; Lerberg 1993, 182–90; Bissell 1999, 12, 13, 124, 198, 201–2, 311, 318–20 no. X-13; Boccardo 2000, 205.



Figure 45. Enea Vico (1523–1567), *Judith and Her Maidservant*. Engraving after Michelangelo's fresco in the Sistine chapel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Orazio depicts Judith and Abra leaving Holofernes' tent with the general's head packed in their food basket. (The Apocrypha mentions a meat sack rather than a basket, but in his Uffizi panel Botticelli shows Abra carrying the head in a basket and in the Sistine chapel, Michelangelo places it on a charger. Antiveduto Gramatica also shows a basket in his painting in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; fig. 120.) As the two women pause to glance back at the body of Holofernes, Judith places a reassuring hand on Abra's shoulder, while, grasping his sword, she stands ready to defend them in the enemy camp they must pass through.

Orazio's point of departure for this grand picture must have been Michelangelo's fresco in the Sistine chapel or one of the engravings after it (fig. 45).[1] Vasari had admired Michelangelo's scene for, among other things, the psychological slant he gave the story: "While putting her hands to the burden, [Judith] seeks to cover it, and, turning her head toward [Holofernes], who, having been killed while raising an arm and a leg, makes a noise in the tent, she shows by her attitude fear of the [military] camp and terror at the sight of the dead body." Michelangelo's inclusion of Holofernes' corpse within a pavilion, a guard asleep outside, and his depiction of Judith performing an action were more in line with the Renaissance notion of a narrative—*un azione*—than is Orazio's painting. But Michelangelo's identification of the psychologically complex moment when the horrific deed has been accomplished but the escape not yet made served as the basis for Orazio's three treatments of the theme (cat. 39 and fig. 46).

In the Oslo picture, the effect is of a pause pervaded by reflection and stillness. Orazio employs the Caravaggesque device of arrested action not to create a sense of immediacy but as an occasion for lingering over details, almost as though he were painting a still life. In his hands even the drips of clotted blood and the stains on the towel acquire a macabre beauty. In a fashion typical of Baroque poetry—particularly that of Giambattista Marino—formal devices are employed as narrative strategies. The comradeship of the two women is underscored by their echoing profiles and the bunched folds of their dresses, while

the contrast between Judith's rich, wine-colored silk brocade dress and Abra's simpler but no less elegantly colored costume reminds us of their very different social status. The comparison between the immaculately white scarf trailing over Abra's shoulder and the blood-stained towel hanging from the basket is a comment on the theme of purity and evil. And the repeated diagonals of the fringed hem of the tent, Abra's blue sleeve, the soft flesh of Judith's arm and shoulder, and the edge of the sword serve, like rhymes, to highlight the conflicts inherent in the story. This insistence on formal devices rather than dramatic gestures is very unlike Artemisia's approach to narrative, and it is surprising that several scholars have ascribed the picture to her. Perhaps the only feature it shares with Artemisia's work is the careful rendering of jewelry, as described in the Book of Judith (10:4): "And she put sandals upon her feet, and put about her her bracelets, and her chains, and her rings, and her earrings, and all her ornaments, and decked herself bravely, to allure the eyes of all men that should see her." Within Orazio's production, the Oslo picture marks a move away from his earlier, more tense interpretation of the theme (fig. 46), and it looks ahead to the Hartford painting (cat. 39), in which the psychological moment has been further abstracted from its narrative context.



Figure 46. Orazio Gentileschi, *Judith and Her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes.* Oil on canvas. Private collection

Although Longhi's attribution of the picture to Orazio has been widely followed, Nicolson, Spike, and Palmer have all leaned toward an ascription to Artemisia, and Papi (who, however, like many others, had not seen the picture prior to its exhibition in Florence in 1991) does not exclude this possibility. By contrast, Garrard rejects the idea of Artemisia's authorship and accepts Orazio's because of what she sees as a "fussy confusion of drapery and detail" and a "dramatic disjunction between the figures' movements." Her characterization of Judith as "a languid, conventionally attractive female character who does not summon the energy required by the event" stems from her gendered approach to interpretation. While Garrard's description might be fine as an attempt to characterize Artemisia's response to her father's picture, as exemplified by her painting in the Pitti (cat. 60), it shows a total misunderstanding of the subtle poetry of Orazio's nondramatic art. No less dogmatic is her attempt to date the picture to about 1616, thereby making the Oslo painting dependent on Artemisia's canvas in Florence. The picture simply cannot have been painted that late.

In his monograph of 1981, Bissell proposes the identification of the picture with the painting by Orazio that was sequestered by the court during Artemisia's rape trial in 1612. A more likely candidate for that painting has since emerged (fig. 46), but Bissell continues to advocate a date of about 1611. It is my belief that the picture belongs to an earlier moment in Orazio's career. The focused light, still manifestly derived from the work of Caravaggio, does not set into play the brilliant reflections found, for example, in the Spada *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. 18). It is a static light, which seems to fix the forms within the picture field rather than to suggest transient effects. The rich palette and fused modeling further emphasize physical weight and density.

Although Orazio has clearly based the composition on posed models, he has generalized their features so that they do not convey individual identity in the same way as the above-mentioned *David*, the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* (cat. 15), and the Turin *Saint Jerome* (cat. 16). An analogy to the arresting of the action and the aestheticizing of the dramatic moment seen in the Oslo painting can be found in the *David Slaying Goliath* (cat. 12). Like that work, the picture probably dates to about 1608–9.

1. The engraving by Giulio Bonasone dates to 1544–47; that of Enea Vico is dated 1546.

14.
Saint Michael and the Devil

Oil on canvas, 109½ × 75⅝ in. (278 × 192 cm)

Parish church of Santissimo Salvatore, Farnese (Viterbo)

ca. 1607–8

PROVENANCE: Chapel of the Sacrament, Santissimo Salvatore, Farnese (Viterbo).

REFERENCES: Schleier 1962, 432–35; Longhi 1963, 25, 27–28; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 30–31; Schleier 1970a, 172–73; Bissell 1974, 114–17 nn. 5–14; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 26, 145–46 n. 14; Gregori and Schleier 1989, vol. 1, 420, 425; Nicolson 1990, 115; Papi in Florence 1991, 36; Röttgen 1992, 20; Germond 1993, 754; Arcangeli in Fossombrone 1997, 39, fig. 38; Papi in Salonika 1997, 190; Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 56.

Saint Michael the Archangel, the standard-bearer of the battalions of angels, expelled the devil from heaven to the depths of hell (Rev. 12:7–9). It is not known why the Confraternity of the Disciplinati—also known as the Flagellants—in Farnese chose this particular patron saint. The confraternity, by the middle of the sixteenth century, had already achieved a certain status, as well as a presence in the city's churches. The confraternity traced its roots to the medieval period and, like all the various groups of Disciplinati throughout central Italy, was founded as a pietistic society. In Farnese, which, with nearby Latera, was the seat in the sixteenth century of a collateral branch of the powerful Farnese family, the Disciplinati took on the more modern and charitable role of hospitalers.[1] They enjoyed the protection of Duke Mario Farnese, who must have been among the confraternity's most important members, since he had already acquired an altar for the Disciplinati in the renovated church of Santissimo Salvatore.[2] It was Schleier who first asked how and why a painting by Orazio Gentileschi came to grace an altar in a relatively small center, and how the confraternity would have gained access to such an élite figure in the art world. Schleier discovered the *Saint Michael and the Devil* when, following a notice by Bellori concerning a painting by Giovanni Lanfranco executed for the same church, he recognized this masterpiece by Gentileschi, about which he then published two important articles, in 1962 and 1970. Schleier also undertook a detailed reconstruction of the decorative phases of the church, the original interior of which had been obscured by an injudicious restoration in 1900–1901 under the direction of Don Pietro Benigni, the parish priest. In an attempt to prevent their theft, the paintings were removed from their frames and glued or nailed to the walls. In some cases, as with the Gentileschi, the paintings were given newly made-up edges, which also changed their original dimensions; these interventions have been reversed in a recent restoration.[3]

The former Castro diocese's records of the pastoral visits indicate that during the dukedom of Mario Farnese (he died in 1619), four altars—besides the altar with the lost picture by Lanfranco—were constructed at Santissimo Salvatore. Two altarpieces were executed by the Bolognese painter Antonio Panico: the *Rosary* for the chapel of the Confraternity of the Rosary, to which Mario's wife, Camilla Lupi di Soragna, belonged (the frescoes there were probably already under way in 1596), and the *Mass of Saint Bonaventure,* completed in 1603, for the chapel of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament and the Body of Christ. Another altar, dedicated to Saint Anthony Abbot, had a painting (now restored) that has been attributed to the circle of Palma il Giovane; the altarpiece was commissioned privately, by the doctor Antonio Abbati, though its execution was overseen by Duke Mario. Gentileschi's *Saint Michael* altarpiece was finished by May 31, 1608. Schleier correctly proposed this date as a terminus ad quem for the painting.[4]



Little is known about Mario Farnese as a patron of the arts. He was a capable member of a collateral branch of the family, loyal first to Alessandro and then Ranuccio Farnese of Parma, a city where Mario also had a palace. His skills, which were very different from those of his brother, Ferrante, the bishop of Parma, led him to the post of lieutenant general of the papal armies. He also had close ties to the Aldobrandini family, in particular Cardinal Pietro, who was one of Gentileschi's patrons early in the century. Aldobrandini may well have suggested Orazio to Duke Mario as a candidate to execute the altarpiece for the Farnese.

Mario tried to improve the economy in his small duchy by creating a grain reserve, an aqueduct, and a printing shop, and as evidence of his piety he founded two Franciscan monasteries. In his political and military career, he steered a careful course between his allegiance to his family and his service to the Church. After living for several years in Parma, he purchased in 1606 the Palazzo Odescalchi (later Lancelloti) on the via Giulia in Rome. The duke was patron to several important artists; in Parma they included Francesco Mochi and the young Jusepe de Ribera (as attested in a letter from Ludovico Carracci to Ferrante Carlo), and in Rome he was in contact with Panico, Lanfranco, Antonio Carracci, and Orazio Gentileschi.[5]

In 1962, Schleier dated the *Saint Michael* to 1607–8. At the time, the dating was necessarily based primarily on style, on Schleier's recognition of the profound influence of Caravaggio; indeed, the gentle, measured light derives from the dreamy atmosphere of Caravaggio's early work, as does the lovely shaded, frowning face of the archangel. Certainly studied from life, the figure closely resembles that in the Dublin *David* (cat. 12) and the slightly earlier angel in the Brera, the *Vision of Saint Cecilia* (cat. 9). The affinity between the *Saint Michael* and the Brera altarpiece is especially evident in the rendering of the feathers of the wings and in the skillful contrasts in the shadows of the changeable whites; more broadly, the two works are characterized by the same softness in the skin and by the same treatment of the flesh tones and textiles. As always in Gentileschi's work, there is a sense of his Mannerist inheritance directly below the surface, like an underground river. It does not, in itself, offer any evidence of the picture's date.[6] The painting is skillfully constructed on contrasts, most blatantly on that between a figurative style still indebted to Mannerism—as in the figure of Michael, which, with a somewhat forced pose, occupies all the available space, or as in the devil's profile—and the naturalistic rendering of the whole.

Other than a little-noticed suggestion by Longhi in 1963, the dating of the work has never been questioned. Documents recently discovered in the archive of the confraternity of the Gonfalone of Rome offer additional evidence that the painting was in fact in place at the time of the bishop's visit on May 31, 1608. These indicate that the Disciplinati of Farnese were first associated with the Roman Archconfraternity of the Gonfalone—the so-called Raccomandati della Madonna—not in 1616, as has been suggested, but on September 4, 1608, and again on May 19, 1610.[7] An association such as this, which could be repeated to allow the organization to receive a large number of indulgences,[8] undoubtedly signified an important change in status for the Farnese confraternity, one marked by the decision, made most likely by Mario Farnese himself, to commission an altarpiece from an important Roman artist. And, indeed, Saint Michael's shield bears the red cross of the Roman Raccomandati della Madonna; the motif also appears in the red and white feathers that decorate his small parade helmet.

Longhi had tried to suggest that the Farnese picture, despite its dimensions and apparent later date, was the same *Saint Michael* about which Orazio testified on September 14, 1603, during the libel suit brought against him by Giovanni Baglione. That work was painted by Orazio between 1601 and 1602 and exhibited in the cloister of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome. Longhi's hypothesis for the date is therefore unlikely, as the Farnese *Saint Michael* is much more evolved than Orazio's other paintings of that early date. However, it is interesting to note that the motif of the devil seen from the back is related to a figure in Baglione's *Divine Love Overcoming the World, the Flesh, and the Devil* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), which was, in

part, the focus of the libel suit of 1603. It is possible that Baglione took this figure from a similar one in Orazio's 1601–2 *Saint Michael.*[9]

In the present painting, Saint Michael is shown standing on a large cloud as if he had just landed, his wings spread but not yet still, his blue cloth still fluttering in the breeze. X rays and infrared reflectographs show that the wings were repositioned along the axis of the shoulders to achieve this effect; originally, they were slightly folded. A sense of instability is also created by the position of the body, which is twisted with respect to the decidedly frontal position of the right leg and is bent to one side, following the example of the *Gladiator Battling a Lion,* an ancient sculpture that was in the Giustiniani collection. The archangel's unsheathed sword seems almost to measure the shallow depth of the dark ravine, barely enlivened by a rock and stunted shrubs. The large circle suggested by his body has its complement below in the curve of the devil's back. His face is hidden; only his ears, bent arms, satyr's tail, and huge bat's wings are visible. He sits precariously on a rocky outcropping; behind him flames burst from the depths of hell. Although there is weak illumination from above, the play of light on the plumage of the wings and especially the shadow of Saint Michael's legs on the clouds suggest a light source on the left, outside the picture—certainly the result of Caravaggio's influence. Other elements may be traced to Caravaggio's paintings in the Contarelli chapel: the fluttering drapery, for example, derived from the second version of the *Saint Matthew and the Angel,* and the devil's turned back, which recalls that of a figure in the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (fig. 4).

The effects of light bring forth the subtle contrasts within the painting. The face, limbs, and shoulders of Saint Michael, for example, have a youthful solidity—one notes in particular the dirty nails of his feet, shod in almost impossible sandals—while his torso is almost incorporeal, enclosed in the folds of yellow material and then almost hidden by the ridiculously small shield he holds. The devil is formally linked to Michael by the point of his wings, and about him, too, there is a definite sense of corporeality—in the subtle indentation of the vertebrae along his back, in his obscured profile, and in his hand reaching out to ward off the blow. Yet this corporeality is contradicted by the fantastical large dark wings, which seem abstracted from natural forms. This, then, is essentially a symbolic struggle between two supernatural beings, a struggle that remains suspended within the painting. The composition is deliberately theatrical, but Gentileschi uses the Caravaggesque light for his own ends. It is also likely, as is often noted, that in order to create this realm combining reality and the ideal, Gentileschi may have studied in some detail Guido Reni's Caravaggesque Roman works. The artist's masterly technique and formal achievement and the effort he expended on a work to be sent to a relatively unimportant venue remind us how little Gentileschi was concerned about the final destination of his works. LC

1. See *Confraternite nell'Italia Centrale* 1993. Fiorani 1985 provides useful information on Roman confraternities and has an index of the archives of Roman confraternities.
2. Schleier 1970a, 172ff.; and recently, Andretta 1994, 44f. Don Luigi Egidi's manuscript, "Memorie rilevate dal libro vecchio della Confraternita de' Battuti di Farnese . . . L'anno del Signore 1808," is preserved in the Archivio Parrocchiale, Farnese, and the same archive has the statute of 1559.
3. This notice is in the Archivio Parrocchiale, Farnese; see also Schleier 1970a.
4. Schleier 1970a, 177, II, VI; compared again with the document in the Archivio della Diocesi di Acquapendente: Visite pastorali dell'ex Diocesi di Castro. Vescovo A. Caccia (1603–1608), fol. 68v, May 31, 1608, "Sequiter Altare S. Michaelis Arcangeli Societatis disciplinatorum pariter suis necessariis monitum. . . ."
5. Gallo 1998, 313.
6. Schleier 1962, 435.
7. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio del Gonfalone. See bb. 1232, 1334, 1235; b. 56 for the dates of the memberships: fol. 114v, September 8, 1608, and fol. 182v, May 19, 1610. In 1608 the prior was Agostino Rotondo. The earlier notarial acts of the notary Bonifacio Bottardi, who sanctioned the accords of August 18, 1608, and April 9, 1610, are unfortunately not preserved in folders 28 and 29 of this notary in the Archivio Notarile in the Archivio Statale, Viterbo.
8. Even Panico's picture the *Mass of Saint Bonaventure,* which we know was in place in 1603, seems to have been executed through an association of the Confraternity of the Santissima Sacramento with the Roman Archconfraternity of the Santissima Sacramento di San Pietro (September 9, 1603).
9. See, most recently, Arcangeli in Fossombrone 1997, 39, and Danesi Squarzina in Rome–Berlin 2001, 298–99.

Restoration Report and Diagnostic Examination

M. Rossi Doria and
F. Matera; M. Cardinali,
M. B. de Ruggeri, and
C. Falcucci

The restoration, funded by the Italian government, was carried out in two phases in 1995. During the first phase the painting was detached from the inappropriate surface to which it had been attached in 1900–1901. At that time the canvas had been removed from its original stretcher (traces of which remained), cut irregularly along its edges (which had been secured with nails every 10 cm), reinforced, and glued on the wall over a layer of blue canvas. To give it a curved shape and to insert it into a frame made of cement, it had been trimmed along the upper corners, and a canvas lunette had been added, joined to the rest with plaster that projected over the original painted surface. The deformation and lifting of the canvas produced during these operations have now been eliminated by making incisions on the perimeters of the principal figures, for example, along the puffed sleeve on the right arm.

After being covered with Japanese tissue paper, the canvas was cut away from the wall with scalpels and blades, and any extraneous material attached to it was removed. The edges were reinforced with synthetic resins, a strip lining was added, and the whole was gently mounted on a wood stretcher constructed to the painting's presumed original dimensions. Subsequent procedures were more routine: the removal of old varnishes and retouching and the elimination of plaster. Losses to the canvas were reintegrated on a primed base; while losses along the edges were left exposed, fills in color were made where necessary. The painting's preparation was revealed to be a very thin combination of fine gesso, mild glue, and dark pigment.

Physical analyses of the painting were performed in 1998 with funding from the Italian government. The painting is made up of two pieces of linen canvas with a twill weave (also known as sailcloth), sewn together on the diagonal in the area of the shield and the hollow of the archangel's right arm. Although this type of canvas was not very popular in Rome in the 1600s, it was used by Reni, Poussin, and Guercino. The image in the X radiograph appears quite legible, particularly in the upper half, suggesting that the artist worked from a drawing. X radiographs indicate little use of overlapping layers in the background to create depth, and the unaided eye can see that the drapery does not overlap the flesh tones or the arms and the head over the wings. Infrared reflectography of many details reveals subtle underdrawing below the paint layer, where a brush was used to outline such parts as the devil's elbow and Saint Michael's right foot and chin. These traces, however, are not substantial enough to support a conclusion that an underdrawing exists for the entire composition. Moreover, the legibility of brushwork or drawing implement is limited by a lack of contrast between the paint layers and the dark primer ground.

The painter made small adjustments to refine the composition. Greatest attention was concentrated on the arrangement of the wings, which play an important role in the spatial definition. Saint Michael's right wing was initially lower and slightly folded. The change—making the wing echo the diagonal of the arm—was made as the artist laid in the design. In the X radiograph, the archangel's right wing is only partially legible as it passes beneath the arm. It is more visible in the reflectograph as a gray outline. The archangel's left wing also initially had a less foreshortened shape; in the X radiograph the feathers appear longer. The devil's left wing was adjusted when the painting of his back had been brought to a high degree of finish. In comparison to other fleshy areas, the devil's back is less easily penetrated by X radiographs, suggesting the presence of white lead. The upper edges of the wings were fixed at the outset, but their rounded feathers were replaced by the present bat-shaped forms. This adjustment, visible in infrared examination, was painted over the clouds. Other lesser adjustments include the expansion of the drapery over the right thigh and small reductions and extensions in the helmet, in the right arm, in the neck, in the left thigh, and along the contour of the devil's body. Analysis confirms that the paint was applied beginning with the dark areas, as is visible particularly in the flesh tones. The brushwork is smooth and blended. Anatomical details were clarified over the course of work with occasional modifications to the original sketch.

15.

Madonna and Child

Oil on canvas, 38¾ × 29½ in. (98.5 × 75 cm)

Signed and dated (lower left, on reverse of canvas): HORATIUS GENTILESCHI FACIEBAT 1609

Muzeul Național de Artă al României, Bucharest (362/8328)

1609

On October 24, 1609, Bartolomeo Pellini reported to Giovanni Magno, secretary to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in Mantua, on a picture of the Madonna and Child that Orazio was painting for the duke. "Four days ago, . . . [Gentileschi] came to invite me to go and see a picture he is making at your request. It is a seated Madonna, with the child in her arms, the child nude except for a little swaddling band that, girdling the body, covers a bit of it. And they look at each other with great affection, for all that the child is no more than one month old, but [the painting is] well executed and natural. The Madonna is dressed in yellow with a blue mantle that, although it has dropped, makes a lovely sight and adornment. She has a very beautiful face with no other ornament than the diadem, and her shoulders are uncovered and nude, so that the beauties with which nature has endowed her are visible. . . . In sum, [the picture] demonstrates that naturalism is a very good thing."[1] Were it not for the differences in the Madonna's clothing and the diadem she is reported as wearing, the correspondence with the Bucharest picture would be compelling.[2] Indeed, conservation work carried out at the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1990–91, following severe damage to the picture during the 1989 Romanian uprising, uncovered an inscription on the back of the original canvas with the date 1609.[3] We can only suppose that the duke's picture was a variant—perhaps somewhat prettified—of the Bucharest painting. This would be an early instance of Orazio's producing contemporaneous variants of a composition of real novelty (see fig. 47).

As Pellini's description suggests, in this case Orazio seems to have hired a woman from the parish of Santa Maria del Popolo, where he lived at the time, to bring her infant child to his studio to model for him. This is not surprising, for it has long been known that his barber modeled for him and that a pilgrim from Palermo posed for a *Saint Jerome* (cat. 16). Additionally, another neighbor—Costanza Ceuli—testified that during the time Orazio lived on via del Babuino, she brought her children to his studio to model for him.[4] Is Costanza conceivably the model for this picture? In no earlier painting did a sense of artistic style, or *maniera*, yield so radically to what seventeenth-century critics saw as its polar opposite, truth to nature, *il naturale* or *il vero*.

There would seem to have been no effort on Orazio's part to make the woman's features conform to a notion of abstract beauty. Quite the contrary. Orazio emphasizes the bulk of her swollen breast just as he revels in the plainness of her braided coiffure. The coarse linen of her blouse interests him as much as the one-month-old child's wide-eyed stare and awkward limbs. It is apparent that the woman is seated on one of the low rush-seat chairs so common to homes of modest means. She has assumed a pose she could hold (and also one redolent of Raphaelesque precedent),[5] raising one leg, on which she rests her left arm, so as to position her child safely and comfortably. In works such as the *David Slaying Goliath* (cat. 12) and the Oslo *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 13), which must precede the Bucharest *Madonna* by no more than a year or so, we feel the twin concepts of *grazia* and *bellezza*—ingrained by Orazio's Mannerist training and newly vital through the example of Guido Reni—modifying the experience of the studio toward an idea of art and style, *arte e maniera*. Here the opposite is the case, as Orazio transforms the grand artifice of Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) into a veristic scene of homely domesticity. Even Caravaggio, in his early *Gypsy Fortune-Teller* (Museo Capitolino, Rome) and *Penitent Magdalene* (fig. 126)—those works that Giovanni Battista Agucchi, the early proponent of classicism, saw as a refutation of high art—did not go as far as Orazio in asserting the ordinariness of experience over the imperatives of style. Giovan Pietro Bellori was later to decry the way

PROVENANCE: Felix Bamberg (ms. cat. 1879, no. 54); royal collection of Romania, Pelesh Castle, Sinaia (1879–1948); Muzeul Național de Artă al României, Bucharest.

RELATED PICTURES: Private collection, Prato d'Era (copy of Bucharest picture incorporating variations);[7] location unknown (fig. 47; copy of Bucharest picture incorporating a veil; sale, Christie's, London, March 4, 1927, lot 142).[8]

REFERENCES: Voss 1920a, 411; Voss 1925, 461; Longhi 1927, 114; Longhi 1943, 47; Emiliani 1958b, 20; Moir 1967, vol. 2, 78; Schleier 1971, 89; Teodosiu 1974, 23–24 no. 37; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 146–47 no. 16, 158, 204; Nicolson 1990, 114.

young painters in Rome idolized Caravaggio, competing in their imitation of him by "undressing models and raising the light source without any longer paying attention to instruction and study, each readily finding in the streets and piazzas their master and subjects for copying from nature."[6] We can only speculate about the impetus behind this shift in Orazio's work—one that was to last until 1612, when he worked on the vault of Scipione Borghese's Casino delle Muse (fig. 6).

There can, I think, be no doubt that Artemisia's early painting at the Palazzo Spada (cat. 52) was based directly on the Bucharest *Madonna* or, conceivably, on the version sent to the duke of Mantua. However, any comparison of the two reveals that it is the father rather than the daughter who at this time was the more radical. Artemisia's picture, in the artful pose of the child, with his self-conscious gesture of affection, or the generalized treatment of the Virgin's face and bland description of the drapery, seems decidedly tentative and timid when compared with the extreme naturalism of her father's work. Was she, at this stage, not yet permitted to work directly from the model? By 1610, when she painted the *Susanna* (cat. 51)—almost certainly under Orazio's supervision and unquestionably in emulation of his work—this timidity has disappeared.

On all these counts the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* must be considered one of the key works in Orazio's oeuvre and one of the signal works of Caravaggesque naturalism. Perhaps only in Bartolomeo Manfredi's *Allegory of the Four Seasons* (Dayton Art Institute) do we find anything comparable.



Figure 47. Copy after Orazio Gentileschi, *Madonna and Child*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown

1. See Luzio 1913, 61 n.
2. Bissell (1981) identifies the Bucharest picture with the Gonzaga painting.
3. The picture was punctured by bullets and shrapnel from behind, creating a 14 × 35.5 cm hole extending from the wrist of the Madonna's right hand to her lap and destroying the left foot and right leg of the child. These areas were reconstructed on the basis of photographs taken before the damage. At the same time, added strips at the top and sides were removed.
4. See appendix 1, under October 21, 1612.
5. Especially relevant are Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of the Holy Family (Bartsch 60-I), and that of Agostino Carracci, fig. 106.
6. Bellori (1672) 1976, 219.
7. See Contini in Gregori and Schleier 1989, 329, 336 n. 20, where it is called an autograph work; see also Papi in Florence 1991, 137. I have not examined the picture, but the photograph does not inspire confidence. The Virgin wears a veil and the folds of her sleeve differ. It comes from the Oratorio di Pian de' Noci.
8. This may be the picture Longhi (1943, 47) cites as in the Heinemann collection in 1937. At the sale in 1927 it was ascribed to "Crespi." A photograph is on file at the Frick Art Reference Library; see fig. 47.



16.

Saint Jerome

Oil on canvas, 60¼ × 50⅜ in. (153 × 128 cm)

Museo Civico d'Arte Antica e Palazzo Madama, Turin (inv. 469)

1610/11

The fourth-century church father, ascetic, and translator of the Bible into Latin is shown in his retreat in the desert, practicing penitential devotions. The subject enjoyed enormous popularity from at least the fifteenth century and, together with depictions of Jerome writing or studying at his desk, was treated by virtually every Caravaggesque artist.

On July 27, 1612, Giovanni Pietro Molli, a pilgrim from Palermo, was summoned to testify at the rape trial of Artemisia. Depending on the way his testimony is interpreted, he had been employed by Orazio as a model during Lent of 1610 or 1611: "[The painter Signor Orazio Gentileschi used me] to portray a head similar to mine . . . and [also for] a full-length Saint Jerome he had me strip to the waist to make a Saint Jerome that resembled me."[1] Seventy-three at the time, Molli was described by Orazio's barber as "handsome in appearance, with a face like that of Saint Paul, bald-headed, with white hair, and with a fine, full beard that is as heavy on the cheeks as in the beard itself." Longhi connected this vivid testimony with a replica of the picture now in Turin, which became known to scholars only when it appeared on the art market in 1966. Bissell is surely correct in viewing the Turin painting as the prime version and hence the picture for which Molli posed. Not only does the physiognomic description match the figure precisely, but on grounds of style the picture can be dated to the period 1609–11, when Orazio often worked directly from a posed model, in emulation of Caravaggio.

As with the woman who posed for the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* (cat. 15), Molli assumed an attitude suitable to the subject but one that he could also maintain for protracted periods. His right arm is supported on what, in Orazio's studio, may have been a box or table, leaving the hand hanging limp. His left arm and hand, resting on a skull (emblem of mortality and sign of Jerome's meditation), help to steady the forward-leaning upper torso, while his gaze is directed upward; the beautifully described Christ on the cross seems to turn his head toward the same area. The focused light falls not from the left, as Caravaggio preferred, but from the right, so that Jerome's face is enveloped in shadow. This device dissociates the light from any symbolic meaning but greatly enhances the expressive quality (Jerome's face is filled with kindness and humility). It also allows Orazio to explore the play of reflected light on the saint's body and to emphasize his physicality through the description of shadows. Those on the leg and arm are especially notable, but no less so is the way Christ's head on the crucifix casts a shadow on the cross and the cross casts a shadow on the rock on which it is propped.

A comparison with Caravaggio's *Saint Jerome Studying* (Galleria Borghese, Rome), which was painted for Scipione Borghese—a work Orazio must have known well—is telling. Caravaggio uses his incomparably bold painting technique and striking contrasts of light and dark to underscore the saint's immediacy and busy activity. The head, while it is marvelously characterized, does not have the appearance of a portrait. Orazio, on the other hand, creates a sense of stillness, and the individualized features confer the quality of an image taken from life—Jerome as an ordinary man. The method adopted here conforms to one described by the cultivated collector and critic Vincenzo Giustiniani: painting directly from nature, but with a knowledge of color and light (number eleven in his hierarchy of twelve).[2] Among the artists Giustiniani cites for their mastery of this technique are Rubens, Van Honthorst, and Ribera. None of these painters come as close as Orazio to the sensibility of a still-life painter, concentrating on the formal arrangement of objects, the rendering of their surfaces, and the effect of stillness. In keeping with this approach, Orazio has given equal emphasis to the skull, the book, the crucifix, and the plants (flowers in the lower left, ivy in the upper-right corner, and bare branches on the rocks, emblems of death and spiritual renewal).

PROVENANCE: Private collection (sale, Finarte, Milan, 1966); Museo Civico d'Arte Antica e Palazzo Madama, Turin.

RELATED PICTURE: Private collection (a variant, thought by Longhi, on the basis of a photograph, to be autograph).[6]

REFERENCES: Moir 1967, vol. 1, 70–71, vol. 2, no. E.9; Mallè 1970a, 11; Mallè 1970b, vol. 2, 72–73; Bissell 1971, 289, 296 n. 43; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 23, 65, 151 no. 21; Nicolson 1990, 115.



Molli's testimony reminds us what a long, drawn-out affair painting from a model—*dal naturale*—could be. During the forty days of Lent and for a few days after Easter, he would go to Orazio's house three or four times a week, sometimes staying from morning to evening and often sharing a meal with him. According to Molli, Orazio used his head for other pictures as well, and indeed the painter seems to have found in the pilgrim an ideal type for biblical figures. Saints Anthony Abbot and Jerome in Orazio's frescoed decoration in San Venanzio, Fabriano, and the Abraham in the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (fig. 63) appear to be based on a drawing or oil study of Molli's head, though no longer with the same emphasis on portraiture.[3] Molli's testimony is only a partial indication of Orazio's practice of making studies of figures that appealed to him. Additional evidence comes from a longtime neighbor who lived on the via della Croce, Costanza Ceuli, who brought her children to Orazio so that he could make drawn studies of them.[4] Such studies would have become part of his workshop material, and they explain why certain figure types recur at a remove of several years. For example, in Orazio's various depictions of Judith with the head of Holofernes, the features of the Assyrian commander are remarkably consistent and resemble, as well, those of John the Baptist in the Prado *Executioner with the Head of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 20). In the case of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, the tightly woven composition and brilliant effects of light, no less than the provenance from the Gentile collection in Genoa, point to a date of about 1622–23—more than a decade after the *Saint Jerome*.[5] Orazio's practice marks a significant departure from Caravaggio's use of a specific model for a number of contemporary canvases, but without making studies for later use. Here we are dealing with the creation of a repertory of figure types by means of drawings and, perhaps, oil sketches, something that permitted Orazio to move from Caravaggesque painting from posed models—perfectly exemplified in the *Saint Jerome*—to a reformed naturalism that stresses formal values over naturalistic effects: *verosimile* rather than *vero*.

Cusping is visible along the vertical edges and top of the canvas. The picture has suffered throughout from flaking losses, especially in the saint's left hand and the skull. The area of the shadows cast by the crucifix are badly worn. This does not, however, detract from the wonderfully solid painting of the figure. The hem of the red cloak is visible beneath the book, which was painted at a later date. This alone should establish the picture as the prime version. The picture was cleaned for the exhibition by Societá Rava e C.

1. In his testimony Molli states that he modeled during Lent of the previous year ("questa quadragesima prossima passata ha fatto l'anno"), that is, 1611; Orazio's barber gives the year as 1610 ("quadrigesima dell'anno 1610"). Key to resolving the matter is when exactly Orazio moved from via del Babuino to via Margutta, since Molli modeled in both houses and was able to describe them in detail. Easter fell on April 11 in 1610 and April 3 in 1611, so that the beginning of Lent fell in the first week of March in 1610 and the last week of February in 1611. Orazio is documented as living on via del Babuino on March 20, 1610; by February 16, 1611, he had moved to via Margutta, where he stayed until April 10, 1611. Tassi says that he helped Orazio beat up a would-be suitor of Artemisia's at the via del Babuino house in April (1610). Orazio's washerwoman, Margarita, testified on September 12, 1612, that Orazio had lived on via Margutta about two years earlier (that is, he would have moved in September 1610). By contrast, Tuzia, who lived across the street from Orazio on via Margutta, testified on March 2, 1612, that she had known Orazio about a year, which might suggest that he had not moved there much earlier (that is, shortly before February 16, 1611). No clear-cut answer emerges from these conflicting and fragmentary data. My thanks to Patrizia Cavazzini for pointing out the various conflicts.
2. See Giustiniani 1981, 43–44.
3. Bissell (1981, 172) notes the resemblance of Abraham to Saint Jerome. "Reminiscent" is the term he rightly used.
4. See appendix 1, under October 21, 1612.
5. The interwoven forms of the composition recall the work of Carracciolo, and it is worth asking whether this picture does not reflect the *Sacrifice of Isaac* that Orazio frescoed on the vault of a loggia for Marc Antonio Doria at Sampierdarena. Carracciolo had also worked there and proposed evaluating Gentileschi's contribution. See p. 167 in this publication.
6. The picture was published in Longhi 1943, 22, as in a private collection in Milan. Bissell (1981, 151–52) initially confused it with the painting in Turin, but the differently placed book clearly distinguishes the two.

17.

Cleopatra

Oil on canvas, 46½ × 71¼ in. (118 × 181 cm)

Amedeo Morandotti, Milan

ca. 1610–12

This extraordinary image, possessing an almost shocking effect of carnality, stands at the heart of our understanding of Orazio's art and that of his daughter, Artemisia. It has been ascribed to each. The earliest notice is in Ratti's 1780 guidebook to Genoa, where the picture is listed in the collection of Pietro Maria III Gentile together with three other paintings as the work of Orazio. One of these, a *Lucretia* (cat. 67), is certainly by Artemisia. The other two, a *Sacrifice of Isaac* (fig. 63) and a *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 39), are just as certainly the work of Orazio and were probably either commissioned or purchased from the artist by Pietro Maria I Gentile about 1622–23, when Orazio was living in Genoa.[1] Morassi was the first to ascribe the Morandotti picture to Artemisia. He was followed by most scholars, including Harris, Nicolson, Gregori, Garrard, Mann, and Contini and Papi. Indeed, there is now a presumption in Artemisia's favor. In her 1989 book Garrard, for one, believed it unnecessary to argue her authorship at length, remarking simply that the attribution to Artemisia of the *Lucretia* and the *Cleopatra* "can be sustained on both stylistic and expressive grounds." She conjectured that Artemisia visited Genoa in 1621, en route from Florence to Rome. At that time she would have painted the *Lucretia*. The *Cleopatra*, with its references to Roman sculpture (for which, see below), would have been painted shortly after her arrival in Rome in 1622 and sent back to Genoa.

Quite apart from the fact that there is no documentary evidence that Artemisia ever visited Genoa, two objections must be made to the prevailing view espoused by Garrard. The first is that the *Lucretia* and the *Cleopatra* are painted in completely different and, to my mind, incompatible styles—the one hard and schematic, the other luminous and richly descriptive. The second is that the style of the *Cleopatra* has very little in common with that of other works by Artemisia datable to the 1620s (here, the pertinent comparison would be with the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant*; cat. 69). Nor does it much resemble her early Roman works (among which I am inclined to include the *Lucretia*).

In his 1999 book Bissell reconsiders his own, earlier attribution of the picture to Artemisia and argues that it is, instead, a work by Orazio dating to the years 1610–11. This view had already been expressed by Schleier and Volpe (Schleier informs me that he has not changed his mind). It is also my view—though, I hasten to point out, not that of my colleague Judith Mann, who sustains the ascription to Artemisia (cat. 53). It is true that initially the unidealized nude might seem uncharacteristic for Orazio, especially when we think of his later *Danaë* (cat. 36). Gregori contrasts the "expressive concentration" of the *Cleopatra* to Orazio's normally "impassive detachment." Yet we have only to recall the *Madonna and Child* in Bucharest (cat. 15) and the *Saint Jerome* in Turin (cat. 16) to find analogies for this unadorned approach to naturalistic painting. What seems to me to speak most convincingly in favor of Orazio's authorship is the handling of the white linen sheet and red drapery, which are painted with a subtlety and rich variation for which I can find no ready comparison in Artemisia's work at any phase. (It is the much drier, more formulaic handling of the drapery in the small *Danaë* at Saint Louis [cat. 54], the composition of which derives from the *Cleopatra*, that argues for Artemisia's having painted that picture as a personal interpolation of her father's work.)

Garrard has written, insightfully: "There is in the figure a curious disjunction between general pose and specific anatomy, as if the artist had begun with a type and wound up with an individual." This perfectly characterizes Orazio's critical position in the crucial years 1609 to 1612. As with the *David* (cat. 18), so here the intention was to treat in naturalistic terms an artfully posed figure. In this case, the pose derives from the celebrated ancient statue in the Vatican (fig. 141), which today we know represents Ariadne but that in

Provenance: Pietro Maria I Gentile, Palazzo Gentile, Genoa (until 1640/41); Gentile collection, Genoa (1640/41–1811/18; inv. 1811, as by Orazio Gentileschi); Palazzo Durazzo-Adorno (now Cattaneo-Adorno), Genoa (perhaps by 1818 and certainly by 1846–1967);[10] Antichità Rubinacci, Genoa (1967); Alessandro Morandotti, Rome (by 1971); Amedeo Morandotti, Milan.

References: Ratti 1780, vol. 1, 119–20, 122; Gandolfi 1846, vol. 3, 294; Morassi in Genoa 1947, 101–3; Bissell 1968, 156–57; Schleier 1971, 89; Torriti 1971, 200, 202; Volpe 1972, 68; Harris in Los Angeles 1976–77, 120; Greer 1979, 195; Nicolson 1979, 50; Bissell 1981, 202 no. X-7; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, vol. 1, 147; Grabski 1985, 58; Pizzorusso 1987, 70–71; Garrard 1989, 19–20, 54–56, 244–73, 276–77; Harris 1989, 10; Nicolson 1990, 110; Contini in Florence 1991, 128, 149, 162; Papi in Florence 1991, 48–49, 61 nn. 57 and 64, 153, 210; Stolzenwald 1991, 34; Cropper 1992, 209; Merkel 1992, 350–51, 353; Mann 1996, 40, 43; Bissell 1999, 306–10 no. X-6; Boccardo 2000, 205, 212; Garrard 2001, 11, 27, 132 n. 7.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was widely celebrated as a depiction of the dying Cleopatra (her armlet—or armilla—is an entwined snake).[2] Interestingly, under Pope Paul V the setting for the statue was remodeled, the new installation being commemorated by an inscription in 1613. The statue is draped, but there was a strong tradition for showing Cleopatra nude, as she is here, thereby striking a note of erotic physicality.[3] (One wonders if Orazio took some inspiration from Rubens's *Susanna and the Elders* in the Galleria Borghese, Rome, which was probably owned by Scipione Borghese, possibly already Orazio's patron at this time, and which similarly combines a pose that derives from an ancient statue with a sensually rendered figure.) In an even more polemical way than the *David*, the *Cleopatra* reignites the Caravaggesque opposition of an art based on ancient models and an art based on real life: of ideal beauty versus naturalism, *bellezza ideale* versus *il vero*.

Far from subscribing to the notion of artistic selection, the picture is almost portraitlike—whence the duality noted by Garrard. A resemblance between the Cleopatra and a lute player on the vault of the Casino delle Muse has been noted, but the closest likeness is actually from another portion of the casino frescoes showing a woman holding a fan (frontispiece, p. 282). The model for that figure is usually identified as the young Artemisia, and although I have elsewhere stated my reasons for treating this identification with caution (see cat. 39), the possibility that Artemisia posed nude for her father must be addressed. That she did so was evidently rumored in Rome. In any case, on June 23, 1612, Marco Antonio Coppino, a dealer in pigments, testified at the rape trial that Orazio did not want Artemisia to marry and that when he needed to paint a nude he had her undress and pose for him.[4] On the face of it, this seems an incredible accusation, and the tendency has been to dismiss it as slander (Coppino certainly belonged to Tassi's faction). Such a practice did indeed risk spoiling any marriage arrangement. But as Bissell points out, although Coppino's testimony cannot be accepted as fact, "it does hint"—I would say imply—"that the use of female nudes in male painters' Roman studios was not out of the question."[5] (That female models were employed by artists has actually been denied by a number of modern scholars.)

In 1615 Niccolò Tassi, a neighbor and friend of Orazio's, wrote to Galileo describing, in a poem, a picture of Cleopatra that the artist had recently sent to Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici in Florence. Tassi's poem celebrating the picture makes the conventional points of Orazio's art bringing Cleopatra back to life and of beauty confronting death. As one might expect, the correspondence with the Morandotti painting is not clear; in fact, the asp is not shown biting Cleopatra's breast, as it was in the painting described by Tassi. But allowance must be made for literary license; at the very least, Tassi must have been referring to a variant of the composition. As both Pizzorusso and Bissell point out, the picture Tassi saw evidently never arrived in Florence (if it was ever sent). Or why, two months later, would Cosimo II's secretary, Andrea Cioli, inquire of the Tuscan ambassador in Rome about Gentileschi's abilities?

The following scenario seems possible. About 1610–12, Orazio painted a *Cleopatra*. It remained in his workshop, unsold. In 1615, he had his friend Tassi contact Galileo to announce its imminent presentation as a gift to Cosimo II as part of a move to secure a position at the Medici court (Artemisia was already well established in Florence). The effort backfired when the Tuscan ambassador in Rome, Pietro Guicciardini, sent to Florence a withering assessment of Gentileschi's abilities. The painting was eventually purchased by the Genoese patrician Pietro Gentile, together with a *Lucretia* by Artemisia.[6] What remains very much an open question is how Gentile came by the pictures. Was it through an agent in Rome? Or did Orazio conceivably take the picture with him when he moved to Genoa? No less significant is the matter of whether the pictures by Orazio and Artemisia in Gentile's collection were purchased to form part of an iconographic group of heroines. In 1638 Gentile also acquired, from Reni, a *Judith* (fig. 75), but in the 1811 inventory of the collection there is no indication of any particular focus or of a scheme for hanging the works beyond that of size. Gentile's motivations thus seem less programmatic than those of his compatriot Giovan Antonio Sauli (see pp. 172–73).



The visual and iconographic traditions that lie behind the *Cleopatra* have been well investigated by Brummer in his study of the Vatican statue that provided the compositional source.[7] His study, in turn, was the point of departure for Garrard's gendered reading of the picture. Garrard concludes with the following encapsulation of a complex argument: "The legendary, glamorous Cleopatra is seen as a homely young woman, a privileged mystic glimpse that we are given just as she reverts through apotheosis—theophany in reverse—to her fundamental and eternal identity as the goddess Isis."[8] My own feeling is that Orazio's painting is innocent of such erudite allusions. Rather, it takes its place in a long tradition of female nudes cast in mythological-historical guise (the most famous being Titian's *Danaë*, then in the Farnese collection). Its flagrant naturalism—perhaps matched only by that of Juseppe de Ribera's *Drunken Silenus* (Capodimonte, Naples), of 1626—was intended both as an artistic statement and as an erotic attraction. Tassi seems to have understood this. Addressing the figure of Cleopatra directly in his poem, he writes, "Happy is your lot. . . . You will bask in the gaze of the grand duke."[9]

The picture suffers from flattening during relining and from serious abrasion, especially in the body of the figure. The face and right hand are in reasonably good condition, as is the red drapery. The transparency of the shadows in the pillow and the variation of grays in the leg give the clearest indication of the quality (and authorship) of the picture. The snake is abraded and much repainted. At the time of its restoration, about 1975 (additional work was carried out for the exhibition), an added strip of canvas 27 centimeters wide was removed from the top of the composition. Bissell floats the possibility that this piece, perhaps folded over at one time, was original. He brings in as supporting evidence the relation of figure to picture field in the *Lucretia*, which, however, has also been enlarged (see cat. 67). Not only was the strip removed from the *Cleopatra* demonstrably added, so also, it would seem, was another strip attached to the top edge; the cusping along the top and bottom edges of the original canvas is clearly visible on the surface of the painting, which has perhaps been trimmed along the vertical edges. As noted by Boccardo, all the Gentileschis in the Gentile collection had their dimensions altered.

1. On Gentile, see Boccardo 2000.
2. See Brummer 1970, 154–84; and Haskell and Penny 1981, 184–87.
3. See Brummer 1970, 173–84. Garrard (1989, 247–59) has followed up on Brummer's analysis of the fluid traditions for showing Cleopatra, nymphs, and Venus.
4. Quoted by Lapierre 1998, 437. See appendix 1, under June 23, 1612.
5. Bissell 1999, 6.
6. Boccardo (2000, 206) raises the possibility that Gentile purchased the painting(s) by Artemisia from the duke of Alcalá, who is known to have admired Artemisia's work. However, the pictures in question are not listed in Alcalá's inventory.
7. Brummer 1970.
8. Garrard 1989, 272.
9. Bissell (1989, 309) gives a full transcription and translation of Tassi's poem.
10. The 1811 inventory of the Gentile collection was prepared with a view to its sale, and an anonymous guidebook of 1818 states that it had, indeed, been dispersed by that date. Gandolfi lists the *Cleopatra* in the Adorno collection in 1846; see Boccardo 2000, 209.

18.

David Contemplating the Head of Goliath

Oil on canvas, 68⅛ × 55⅞ in. (173 × 142 cm)

Galleria Spada, Rome (inv. 155)

1610–12

New York

Following a tradition going back to Michelangelo, in his picture in Dublin (cat. 12) Orazio depicted David standing over the Philistine giant, cutting off his head, as related in 1 Samuel 17:50–51. Here, by contrast, the youth—older, more muscular, and wearing a shepherd's sheepskin rather than a jerkin—is shown after having completed the deed. Resting his foot on a stony outcrop, David contemplates Goliath's head lying tilted backward at his feet. In his left hand he holds the stone with which he felled the giant, while with the right he grasps a sword, emphasizing the humble means of his victory and the weapon the giant had wielded against him. David's victory was interpreted as a metaphor of virtue—an *exemplum virtutis*—and the picture has been conceived as a cue to a series of set responses: the physical beauty / goodness of the youth (described in the Bible as a handsome lad with ruddy cheeks and bright eyes) in victory over the ugliness / vanity / evil of Goliath, pride brought low by righteousness, and so forth. But beyond touching on these conventional moral contrasts, Gentileschi has endowed the picture with a psychological dimension that is less easy to specify, since David's pose is linked to no narrative or dramatic action.

Of Caravaggio's three depictions of David and Goliath—in the Prado, Madrid, the Galleria Borghese, Rome, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna—Orazio's is closest in thematic moment to the Madrid painting (fig. 48), in which a prepubescent youth is shown quietly kneeling on the giant's corpse intently tying a string to his victim's hair so as to carry the head in triumphal procession.[1] Yet Caravaggio's depiction has a disturbing quality completely lacking in Orazio's. Goliath's fist is clenched and his open eyes stare wearily out at the viewer. Brute force humbled by innocence seems to be the moral thrust, and, as is usually the case with Caravaggio, the impression is of an arrested moment in time rather than of the transcription of a posed figure.

Orazio's primary source of inspiration was doubtless Guido Reni's splendid picture in the Louvre showing a teenage David leaning against a column as he contemplates his trophy, set atop a stone plinth (fig. 49). Yet any comparison between the two pictures underscores the degree to which Orazio has conceived his picture as a critical response—not an homage—to Reni's image, something that is even more evident in the full-length, reduced version in Berlin (cat. 19). Orazio's David is not the "nonchalant, haughty hero"[2] of Reni's canvas, well coiffed and sporting an elegant, feathered cap, his fur-lined cloak draped over the broken column (a parody of the dandy that appears in so many of Caravaggio's early paintings). To be sure, Orazio's hero is self-consciously posed, though not in emulation of an ancient statue of a faun. Instead, he is a youth from the neighborhood who has been provided with props and has assumed an artful pose in the studio; the giant's head—behind rather than alongside the youth—reads very much as an afterthought (an awkwardness corrected in the reduced replica). As with most Caravaggesque artists, Orazio emphasizes his use of a working-class model by painting the sun-colored neck and hands. The effect is surprisingly close to that of a nineteenth-century academy picture.

Orazio's point of departure for the Dublin *David* (cat. 12) had also been a work by Reni, but in the intervening years Reni's art had moved toward greater idealization. In the Dublin picture, Orazio had emulated the Bolognese's emphasis on *bellezza* and *maniera* within a Caravaggesque idiom. Here, the image is conceived in terms of *naturalezza* and *verità*. In effect, he has reopened Caravaggio's polemic with the classical aesthetics formulated by the art theorist Giovanni Battista Agucchi (1570–1632) and practiced by Domenichino. We have it from Carlo Cesare Malvasia that Caravaggio had threatened Reni for "stealing" his style. Orazio, having been momentarily attracted by Reni's bowdlerized Caravaggism, now

distances himself by stressing the basis of his art in nature. It is a critical position Orazio staked out in more extreme terms in the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* (cat. 15), of 1609, and in the Turin *Saint Jerome* (cat. 16), of 1610–11, and there can be no doubt that the Spada *David* belongs to the same phase of his career. Where it differs from the Bucharest and Turin paintings is in the attempt to transpose Caravaggio's focused "cellar lighting" into a sunlit, outdoor setting. The result is not completely successful—the figure is still detached from the background—but in this work are the germs for the series of masterpieces Gentileschi was to produce over the course of the next decade. It need hardly be said that Artemisia's *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 51), dated 1610, reflects these same critical issues and demonstrates the closeness of father and daughter at the moment of her artistic debut.

Ever since Longhi's groundbreaking article of 1916, the Spada *David* has occupied a central place in Gentileschi studies. Noting the unusual character of the landscape compared with those in other paintings by Orazio, Longhi proposed that the work represented a collaboration between Orazio and Agostino Tassi, who returned to Rome in 1610 and of course worked with Orazio on the frescoes in Scipione Borghese's Casino delle Muse in 1611–12 (fig. 6). Since that time, various opinions have been voiced for and against the idea of a collaboration (significantly, neither Pugliatti nor Cavazzini, the leading experts on Tassi, accepts the attribution), but there has been almost universal consensus that the *David* dates to about 1610–11. Recently, however, Papi (in Salonika 1997) has rekindled Gamba's idea that this is a later work. He has moved the date of the picture to the end of the 1610s and raised the possibility of a collaboration with Giovanni Lanfranco. Both the date and the idea of a collaboration with Lanfranco depend on a comparison with Orazio's *Saint Cecilia* in Washington (cat. 31), which was apparently left unfinished when he went to Genoa, and was completed by Lanfranco. To my mind, the comparison is not very convincing. The *David* is unlikely to be later than about 1612. As to the notion of some sort of collaboration, I find it possible to convince myself both for and against it. I wonder if this is not a case in which an idea—here, ingeniously planted by Longhi—has not gathered a spurious art-historical credibility simply by being repeated. True enough, the landscape is not characteristic of Orazio's later work, but it is not incompatible with that of the earlier Dublin *David*, and, as pointed out by Schleier, the sky is typical of the artist. More important, it is one of Orazio's first attempts at a convincing outdoor setting, and perhaps we ought not to insist on the refined mastery of his later works.

Related to the issue of collaboration is the idea that the picture began as a smaller composition and was subsequently enlarged by Gentileschi to its present dimensions.[3] The origin of this conjecture is closely linked to the physical makeup of the canvas support, now put on firm footing thanks to X radiographs and infrared reflectography published by Lapucci. As it has come down to us, there is a large central section made up of two pieces of herringbone-weave canvas joined vertically, one having a tighter weave than the other. On all sides, strips of a plain-weave canvas have been stitched to the central section. Each piece was

PROVENANCE: Alessandro Biffi, Rome (until 1637; 1637 list of paintings, as by Orazio Gentileschi); Giovan Battista Veralli, Rome (1637–41); Maria Veralli Spada, Rome (by 1641/43–86); her husband, Orazio Spada, Palazzo Spada (1686–87); Spada collection, Rome (from 1687; inv. 1759, as by Poussin; Fidecommisso 1862, as by Caravaggio); Galleria Spada, Rome.

RELATED PICTURE: Di Castro, Rome (copy, without landscape, listed by Nicolson 1990); see cat. 19.

REFERENCES: Roisecco 1765, vol. 1, 627; Venturi 1910, 268–71; Voss 1911, 250–53; Longhi (1916) 1961, 236–37, 257, 278; Gamba 1922–23, 256; Voss 1925, 459–60; Longhi 1927, 112, 114; Drost 1933, 78–79; Buscaroli 1935, 328; Zeri 1954, 86–87 no. 175; Emiliani 1958b, 42; Waddingham 1961, 23 n. 13; Schleier 1962, 435; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 70–71, 76 n. 27, vol. 2, 75 no. B.2a; Rome 1968, 12–13 no. 7; Pepper 1971, 337; Pugliatti 1977, 10; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 23–24, 26–27, 73, 146, 148–49 no. 18, 172, 206, 208; Schleier in New York–Naples 1985, 152–55; Nicolson 1990, 113; Vicini in Cannatà and Vicini 1992, 94, 103; Papi and Lapucci in Salonika 1997, 192–99, 199–201; Bissell 1999, 191, 195; Cavazzini, written opinion, 2000; Vicini 2000, 15–17; London–Rome 2001, 281.

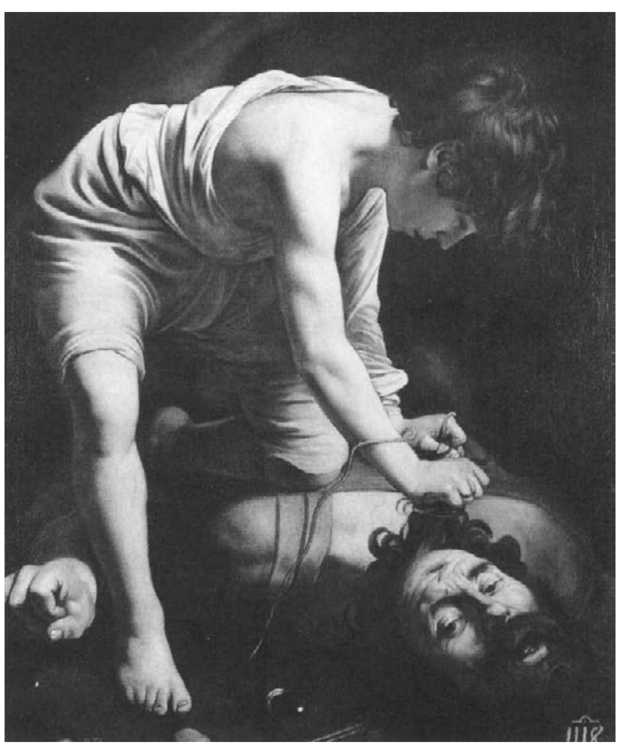


Figure 48. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610), *David and Goliath*. Oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



pregrounded—a procedure that is found in other works by Orazio (see cat. nos. 5, 28, 31, 39)—and a further, unifying ground was then applied, with particular care taken to mask the seams. It is the variety of canvases and preparations that is largely responsible for the different textures of the paint surface, but the picture was also damaged by heat during a radical treatment in the past. The X rays and infrared reflectography demonstrate that the paint film is continuous. It is possible that various areas, such as the torso, legs, and arms of David, were reworked, but by the same token, there are no major compositional changes. Indeed, the legs, arms, and head were painted in areas held in reserve (the pale, warm brown preparatory layer is particularly visible around the foot). The picture has been strongly cleaned, and certain passages—most notably the right hand holding the sword—have suffered. What cannot be determined is whether the picture was cut along the bottom—that is, that it may have shown David full length. All we can say with certainty is that its present dimensions are already recorded in 1758. On the basis of this analysis, I think we can rule out the possibility that Orazio conceived the picture as no larger than the central canvas and subsequently enlarged it.

Thanks to the archival work of Vicini, we now know that the first owner was Alessandro Biffi. In addition to the Gentileschi, four paintings by Artemisia (see cat. nos. 51, 57) and a work ascribed to Bartolomeo Manfredi were in his collection. The picture passed to the Veralli when Biffi was unable to meet the payment of a debt, and thence, by marriage, it became part of the Spada collection. Whether, as has been suggested, the "David trimphant over Goliath" seen by Ratti in 1780, in the Palazzo Cambiaso in Genoa, was a replica or a variant of this picture is pure conjecture; it seems more likely that it was an unrelated composition (see also cat. 12).[4]

1. The Prado picture has a complex critical history, and its attribution to Caravaggio is not universally accepted, though I consider his authorship unproblematic and would date it to about 1600–1602; see Gregori's fine analysis in New York–Naples 1985, 268–70. Bissell (1981, 206) very tentatively suggests Orazio as the possible author. Marini (in Gregori 1996, 135–39) published X radiographs that leave the status of the Prado picture as the prime version in no doubt: Goliath's head was originally shown as though screaming.
2. Spear 1997, 285.
3. Schleier (in New York–Naples 1985, 154) gives the most cogent analysis of this hypothesis.
4. Gamba (1922–23, 256) raised the possibility of identifying the Spada *David* with the Cambiaso painting. See also Bissell 1981, 149.

19.

David Contemplating the Head of Goliath

Oil on copper, 14½ × 11¼ in. (36.7 × 28.7 cm)

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (1723)

ca. 1611–12

New York, Saint Louis

The history of this picture prior to 1914, when it was acquired by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum as a work by the German painter Adam Elsheimer, is not known (Voss was the first to ascribe it to Gentileschi). However, to judge from the three surviving copies, it enjoyed some fame. The painting—full length, as in Reni's depiction (fig. 49)—originated as a reduced variant of the picture in the Galleria Spada (cat. 18): sunnier, more exquisite, and with a landscape that in its quality of atmosphere looks ahead to Orazio's later work. As Longhi (1927) states, the point of inspiration for this new landscape vision was the example of Elsheimer, who died in Rome in 1610. To this degree the old attribution of the picture to the German artist is understandable. Like so many of his contemporaries—Northerners as well as Italians—Orazio was captivated by Elsheimer's miraculous small paintings and evidently adapted one of the artist's most celebrated compositions, a *Tobias and the Angel* (fig. 58), to a nighttime setting, showing the angel holding a torch.[1] Was it his association with Tassi, whose specialty was landscape painting and *quadratura*, that inspired Orazio's deepened appreciation of the work of Elsheimer? We know that in 1612, during the rape trial, Tassi wrote from prison to recommend Elsheimer's work to the Medici court in Florence, praising it as "the most rare thing in all the world." The parallel interests of Carlo Saraceni—another member of the Tassi-Gentileschi circle—should also be taken into account. (At the trial, Saraceni declared that he had known Orazio for eight to ten years, though they had not seen each other for the last two.) It is, then, the example of Elsheimer that enabled Orazio to reconceive the Spada canvas, using a rocky cliff bathed in light as a foil for the figure and opening up the left side to a convincing landscape view—one completely at odds in its naturalistic effect with the idealized landscapes of Annibale Carracci and his pupils Francesco Albani and Domenichino. The shadows have not yet attained the transparency or the light the verity found in the exquisite *Saint Christopher* (cat. 27), and the cliff still has some of the character of a stage-flat silhouette, but the achievement is remarkable.

By comparison with the large canvas, there are a number of further compositional refinements. The ledge on which David's foot rests is lower, so that the foreshortening of the leg is less accentuated and Goliath's head can be placed differently and more convincingly. By having the head face downward, Orazio has also made the painting psychologically less disturbing and more reflective in mood; no longer do the two foes face each other. In all these ways, the Berlin picture improves on the larger canvas and forecasts the new direction in Orazio's work, one emphasizing formal clarity, a more refined sense of color and atmospheric unity, and delicacy of touch.

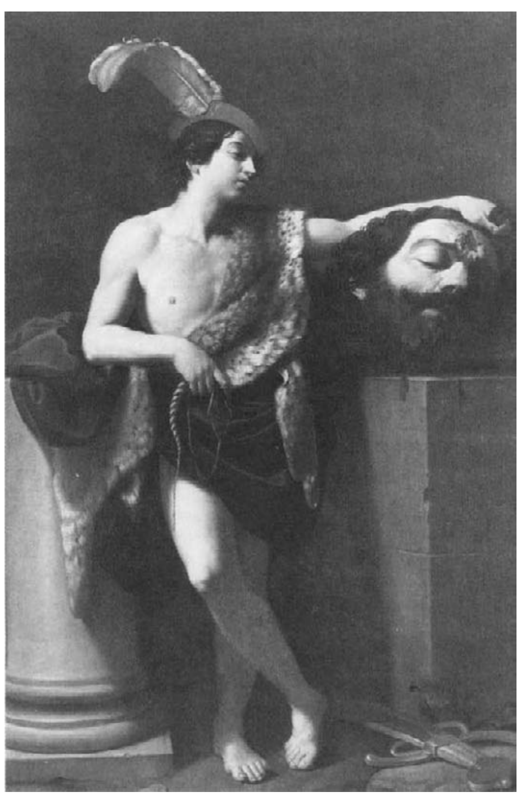


Figure 49. Guido Reni (1575–1642), *David with the Head of Goliath*. Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris

PROVENANCE: Acquired by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, in 1914; Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

RELATED PICTURES: Private collection, Berlin (contemporary copy);[2] Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (later copy); Galleria dell' Arcivescovado, Milan (copy with variations);[3] see also cat. 18.

REFERENCES: Voss 1925, 459–60; Longhi 1927, 112, 114; Drost 1933, 79; Longhi 1943, 22; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 70 n. 6, 76 n. 27, vol. 2, 75 no. A.2b; Berlin 1975, 174 no. 1723; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 23–25, 149–50 no. 19, 172, 208; Schleier in New York–Naples 1985, 152–55; Nicolson 1990, 113.



19

1. The picture is listed in a 1631 inventory of the Savelli collection as "Una tobia del Gentileschi in rame con cornice d'ebbano," and reappears in a 1692 Chigi inventory as "un Quadro in rame alto 2 [44.8 cm] e 1½ [33.53 cm], cornice d'ebano, con due figurine, una d'un Angelo, con una Torcia accesa in mano, con Paese, mano del Gentileschi." See Spezzaferro 1985, 72–73; and the Getty Provenance Index. Bissell (1981, 142, 221 no. L-62) identifies the subject of the Chigi picture as *Saint Francis's Vision of the Flaming Torch*, believing it a pendant to a *Christ Blessing Saint Francis* (formerly Marchese Incisa della Rocchetta) that is ascribed in the inventory to Orazio Borgianni. The Chigi evidently purchased another Savelli picture, the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (cat. 23). It is worth mentioning that by 1661 the Chigi had acquired the Savelli's estates at Ariccia.
2. See Schleier in New York–Naples 1985, 154.
3. For this picture, see Bissell 1981, 150, and Schleier in New York–Naples 1985, 154. The head of Goliath is differently placed, and there is no landscape background. Interestingly enough, it is paired with a reduced copy of Artemisia's *Judith and Holofernes* at Capodimonte.

20.

Executioner with the Head of Saint John the Baptist

Oil on panel, transferred to canvas, 32¼ × 24 in. (82 × 61 cm)

Signed (on the blade of the sword): HOR.S LOMI

Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

ca. 1612–13

Provenance: Possibly Marchese Clemente and Cardinal Giacomo Sannesi (until 1621); by descent, Anna Maria Sannesi (until 1724; inv. as "David with the Head by Orazio Gentileschi"); Don Francisco Garcia Chico, Madrid (by 1849); Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (from 1969).

References: Milicua 1970, 7; Schleier 1970b, 342; Bissell 1971, 294 n. 11; Madrid 1972, 871 no. 3188; Previtali 1973, 360 n. 17; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 150–51 no. 20; Nicolson 1990, 115.

Surely one of Gentileschi's most arresting inventions, this picture can be traced with certainty only back to the early nineteenth century. There is, nonetheless, a possibility that it was acquired from Orazio by the Marchese Clemente Sannesi and his brother Cardinal Giacomo, as a painting of David with the head of Goliath, on panel and measuring 3½ × 3 *palmi* (78 × 67 cm), is listed in the 1724 postmortem inventory of their last heir, Anna Maria Sannesi.[1] This implies a misidentification of the subject, but so unusual is the interpretation that a misreading is not unlikely. A miniature copy is in the Academia de San Fernando, Madrid, the gift of Juan Montenegro (d. 1869), who became a member on May 8, 1827. At that time the Prado picture was still on its original panel—a support Orazio seldom used but that was conducive to delicacy and surface refinement (see cat. 8). An inscription on the reverse records both its transfer to canvas in 1849 and the owner at the time, Don Francisco Garcia Chico.[2] Within a year of its acquisition by the Prado, in 1969, the picture was published by Milicua and Schleier. The first expressed reservations about its ascription to Orazio, while the second was unsure whether it dated from the 1590s or the time of the Casino delle Muse frescoes (that is, 1612). Bissell, who knew the picture only from photographs, also had doubts about the attribution and suggested that the signature was "redone by a restorer." It is hardly surprising, then, that this splendid work, so rich in descriptive detail and handling of light, has not received the attention it deserves. Although it has sustained some damage (there are repaints in the right cheek, in the jerkin and pink waistband, and in the sleeve), the quality is of the highest order. The emphasis on details such as the lips and teeth or the fleecy hat, the reflection of the cut neck on the executioner's sword blade, and the light playing through the lace holes of the leather jerkin fully explain why Orazio chose a panel support. The handling of light and the blonde tonality suggest a date around 1612—at the time of the casino frescoes.

Orazio's point of departure for this work was unquestionably Caravaggio's *David with the Head of Goliath* (Galleria Borghese, Rome), in which the young hero displays the head of the Philistine giant to the viewer. Caravaggio's novel composition was widely imitated, but never was it so singularly adapted, for the Prado picture shows not the Old Testament victor but a New Testament martyr. (It is unthinkable that David would be shown as this unkempt, uncouth youth, or that the giant's head would be depicted so small.) There are a number of sixteenth-century



paintings—mostly Lombard—in which the story of the presentation of the head of John the Baptist to Salome is treated in abbreviated form by showing the executioner's hand suspending the head over a charger held by the young woman. In them, the head is displayed less as a trophy than as a relic, and the imagery is likely to be related to the cult of Saint John. But when the theme was again taken up in early-seventeenth-century Rome, it was for the dramatic, narrative possibilities the subject offered.[3] In none of these pictures, however, does the viewer assume the position of Salome being presented with the grisly reward for her fabled dance before King Herod, whose marriage to Salome's mother John the Baptist had condemned (Matt. 14:3–11). By adapting a composition associated with David and Goliath to John the Baptist, Orazio has shifted the role of the protagonist, who is now the victim rather than the victor, and introduced a new psychological dynamic. To anyone who thinks of Gentileschi as a painter lacking in expressive vigor, this painting stands as an eloquent refutation. Typically, however, the artist unsettles not through dramatic presentation but through descriptive analysis.

The characterization of the executioner could scarcely be more biting; he seems culled from the police records of seventeenth-century Rome and reminds one as well of the descriptions we have of one of Orazio's models, Francesco Scarpellino, whom a witness at the rape trial described as "an ugly type with long black hair whom they said they used as a model for some paintings on occasion." In his celebrated *David and Goliath* (Louvre, Paris; fig. 49), Guido Reni had shown David as a dandy, sporting a cap with a feather in it, thereby making a clever play on Caravaggesque realism. Orazio too uses a feathered cap, but in order to return Caravaggio's realism to the life of the streets and the public executions held in the Campo dei Fiori.[4] Where Orazio departs from Caravaggio is in the relatively bright palette, the emphasis on descriptive detail, and the portraitlike quality of the youth.

Perhaps the most disturbing quality in the picture results from the way the executioner gazes directly at the viewer, untroubled by the object he holds. This is completely contrary to Orazio's usual preference for psychologically neutral, or at least nonaggressive, images. The approach is all the more notable when we recall that in Caravaggio's *David and Goliath,* the youthful hero contemplates his victim with an expression bordering on remorse. Orazio's idea seems to have grown out of his illusionistic frescoes in the Casino delle Muse, in which the figures look out at the viewer from behind a feigned balcony. But here the effect is startling and unexpected and underscores the degree to which the years 1609–12 define an experimental watershed for Orazio. Without his work at this moment, Artemisia's paintings would be unthinkable. The remarkable thing is that this should have happened to an artist when he was well into his forties.

1. Archivio di Stato di Roma, 39 notai Capitolini Joseph Paulinus Officio 13, vol. 502, fol. 259: "Altro quadro in tavola di pmi tre, e mezzo, e tre, con cornice nera filettata d'oro rappresentante David con testa in mano opera del Gentileschi." I owe this reference to Erich Schleier.
2. "Perteneciendo esta pintura a la selecta galeria del. Sr. D. Fran.co Garcia Chico, fué trasportada de tabla a lienzo en el mes de Nob.bre de 1849, por el laborioso primer forrador de Pinturas de S. M. en el Rl Museo D. Antonio Trillo; Habiendo sabido vencer las muchísimas dificultades que ofrecía esta arriesgadísima operación (por el estado en que se encontraba la tabla) en el corto espacio de veinte y dos dias." My thanks to Andrés Ubeda de los Cobos for kindly furnishing me with this information.
3. See, for example, the two pictures by Antiveduto Gramatica, one approximately contemporary with Orazio's painting, published by Papi 1995, nos. 6, 38.
4. Varriano (1999, 321–23, 327–28) has discussed the intersection between public executions and Caravaggio's imagery.

21.

Saint Francis with an Angel

Oil on canvas, 52 3/8 × 38 5/8 in. (133 × 98 cm)

Inscribed (lower right): ORATE PRO R.D. HORATIO GRIFFIO / HVIVS ORATORII ET CELLAE / FVNDATORE

Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome (inv. 1276)

ca. 1612

PROVENANCE: Orazio Griffio, Rome (until 1624?); Oratorio della Confraternità di San Girolamo della Carità, Rome; possibly Camillo del Palaggio, Rome (after 1631?);[6] Clelia del Palaggio, Rome (by 1703?);[7] Monte di Pietà, Rome (by 1857–1895; 1875 catalogue, no. 419, as school of the Caracci); Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Corsini, Rome (from 1895); Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

REFERENCES: Longhi (1916) 1961, 226, 277; Venturi 1921, 152 no. 949; Gamba 1922–23, 246; Voss 1925, 461; Rome 1955, 12–13 no. 15; Faldi 1956, 5–7; Pérez Sánchez 1965, 504; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 29, 38 n. 67; Askew 1969, 295; Schleier 1970b, 342; Bissell 1971, 284–86; Röttgen in Rome 1973, 101; Moir 1976, 122 n. 180iii; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 14–17, 19, 84 n. 23, 140–41 no. 8, 144; Mochi Onori and Vodret Adamo 1989, 76; Nicolson 1990, 115; Vodret in Hartford 1998, 71–74.

Of Orazio's four surviving depictions of Saint Francis succored by an angel (see cat. nos. 2, 3, 6), this one is in many ways the most sophisticated, eloquent in its formal language and meditative as a prayer. Particularly affective is the Bellini-like contrast between the touching, feminine-featured angel and the rustic saint, his flesh drained of color, who has collapsed to one side after having received the stigmata. (The similarity to a Pietà is obvious and underscores the mystical likeness of Francis to Christ, explored by Saint Francis of Sales, in his *Traité de l'amour de Dieu* of 1616.)[1] As in Orazio's picture in the Prado (cat. 6), so here the saint displays his left hand to the viewer for contemplation, but with a newfound elegance in the arrangement of the fingers and the play of the light over them. The wound is depicted as a nail piercing the saint's hand—as described in early Franciscan sources such as Saint Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* and the *Fioretti*: "And thus his hands and feet seemed nailed through the middle with nails, the heads whereof were in the palms of his hands . . . and the points emerged through the back."

One need only compare the beautiful contrapposto arrangement of the saint's legs or the sculptural folds in the sleeve of his habit to the same passages in the picture in the Prado to appreciate the increased effect of structural clarity, as though the figures had been conceived from the inside out. Orazio's keen sensitivity to texture and surface—the tailor's mastery of stuffs[2]—is not diminished (the worn edge of the saint's cowl is like a eulogy on poverty). But the use of dense shadows to create an impression of palpable physicality has been replaced by a new transparency. The light has a crystalline luminosity that works to define the forms and to suggest an ambient space. (This aspect has been much enhanced by the cleaning carried out in 1997.)

The picture can be seen both as the culmination of the period 1609–12, when Orazio worked primarily from the posed model, and as a new departure. As in those works (cat. nos. 15–20), so here he has hit upon a quasi-sculptural solution to the compositional challenge he faced—without, however, imitating a specific prototype. At the same time, in the picture Orazio has moved beyond the almost emphatic naturalism of the *Madonna and Child* in Bucharest (cat. 15) and the *Saint Jerome* in Turin (cat. 16) to strike a greater balance between the actuality of the posed model and an artistic idea. Although indebted to a work such as Caravaggio's *Saint Francis* (versions in the church of the Cappuccini, Rome, and in San Pietro, Carpineto Romano),[3] Orazio here employs his own personal amalgam of late-sixteenth-century formal concerns and Caravaggesque pictorial techniques. In his immediately preceding pictures, he asserts the verity of actual experience. In the *Saint Francis* he seems to abstract that experience, as though reconstructing a visual memory, whence the enhanced meditational mood.

Until recently, the painting was almost universally dated to the first years of the seventeenth century and considered somewhat earlier than the version in the Prado.[4] As has been repeatedly noted in this catalogue, our understanding of the first decade of Orazio's career has been transformed through a number of recent documentary discoveries. If, on the one hand, the Prado picture can now be dated with greater precision to about 1607—that is, contemporary with the *Circumcision* in Ancona (fig. 7)—as Vodret has shown, the painting in Rome (surely the later of the two) should be seen in relation to the man whose name is recorded in the inscription and the oratory he founded. The inscription reads: "Pray for Orazio Griffio, priest of God, and founder of this oratory and chapel."

Born in 1566, Griffio entered the papal chapel in 1591 and was ordained a priest in 1594. His interest in ecclesiastical music is documented through his association with the Congregazione dei Virtuosi di Roma (the nucleus of the future Accademia di Santa Cecilia) and with the papal choir, whose statutes he proposed reforming. Griffio's closest connection, however, was


ORATE PRO R.D. HORATIO GRIFFIO
HVIVS ORATORII ET CELLÆ
FVNDATORE

with the Confraterinty of San Girolamo della Carità, where Phillip Neri had founded his first oratory and lived for thirty-three years, from 1551 to 1583.[5] Griffio joined the Confraternity of San Girolamo in 1609 and was buried in the church in 1624. In 1610, he was nominated deputy of the congregation and in 1614 named superintendent of the new oratory built in 1612 adjacent to San Girolamo. In all likelihood, it is as founder of this oratory that Griffio is recorded in the inscription. The wording suggests that the picture hung in the oratory itself, which was badly damaged by fire in 1631 and had to be completely rebuilt (Francesco Barberini provided the lion's share of the funds). However, there is no mention of the picture in either the oratory or the church (one might have thought that Baglione would have cited it, since he mentions other works in the church). Griffio may well have commissioned the painting for himself and bequeathed it to the confraternity, which may have added the dedicatory inscription and installed it in the sacristy or in another, less public, ambient. Vodret has documented a strong personal attachment to Saint Francis by Griffio's uncles and cousin, but the congregation had historic associations with the Franciscan order (in 1524, under Clement VII, the buildings had been ceded to the confraternity by the Friars Minor).

Vodret has dated the picture to 1612–14, relating its commission to the building of the oratory. There are, indeed, close affinities between the luminous effect of the musicians in the frescoes of the Casino delle Muse, on which Orazio was working in 1611–12 (fig. 6) and the treatment of the angel, and a dating to about 1612 seems convincing on grounds of style.

Through the papal choir and the Confraternity of San Girolamo, Griffio knew Cardinals Francesco Maria del Monte and Pietro Aldobrandini. Del Monte was a major patron of Caravaggio's, and it is tempting to associate Griffio's choice of Orazio with this friendship (Del Monte sponsored a Mass in Griffio's memory)—except that Del Monte owned none of Orazio's works. Aldobrandini had commissioned a cycle of frescoes from Orazio for San Nicola in Carcere (1599–1600) and also had his portrait painted by him. In 1614, shortly after the installation of Domenichino's great altarpiece in San Girolamo, he is known to have attended the Feast of Saint Jerome at the church. There is also the fact that the Arciconfraternità was closely linked by duties and funding with the criminal courts, including the Corte Savella, where Artemisia's rape trial had been prosecuted in 1612. Perhaps we ought also to note that Griffio's family was from Varese, in Lombardy. Is there some connection between his commission to Orazio and to Settimio Olgiati, whose family hailed from Como and who continued to maintain an interest in the artist in the years 1611–12?

1. See Askew 1969, 290–94.
2. It was Longhi (1916) who called Orazio "il piu meraviglioso sarto e tessitore che mai abbia lavorato tra i pittori."
3. The autograph status of both paintings has been much discussed. See, most recently, Vodret in Bergamo 2000. I continue to favor the example in the Cappuccini.
4. See, for example, Pérez Sánchez, Schleier, and Bissell—the latter of whom, however, had not studied the Prado picture firsthand. It should be remembered that the terms of comparison have changed dramatically since the discovery of the documents relating to the Ancona *Circumcision*, the Santa Maria della Pace *Baptism*, and the Brera *Saint Cecilia* (cat. nos. 7, 9, 11).
5. For a brief history of the church and the institutions associated with it, see Papaldo 1978.
6. Vodret (in Rome 1999, 38) notes that Camillo del Palaggio was associated with the Confraternity of San Girolamo and suggests that he may have obtained the picture following the 1631 fire. This would explain how it came into the hands of Clelia del Palaggio (see note 7 below).
7. As Bissell (1981, 140–41) notes, in 1703 Clelia del Palaggio lent a picture of "S. fran.o in estasi in braccio ad un Angelo . . . dell'istesso Gentileschi" to San Salvatore in Lauro. The picture was a *tela imperatore* (i.e., about 132 cm in one direction) and could be this one; see De Marchi 1987, 176.

22.

Lute Player

Oil on canvas, 56½ × 50¾ in. (143.5 × 129 cm)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, 1962.8.1

ca. 1612–15

PROVENANCE: Girolamo Cavazza, Bologna (until 1697); Prince Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein, Vienna (1697–1712; letter of purchase, as by Gentileschi); Liechtenstein collection, Vienna and Vaduz (1712–1962; cats. 1767, no. 452; 1789, no. 579; 1873, no. 61; 1885, no. 31; 1931, no. 31, as by Caravaggio); National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

RELATED PICTURES: Private collection, France (said by Sterling to be a faithful replica, possibly original);[6] Christie's, London (sale, July 10, 1959, lot 151; copy); country club, New Orleans (according to Moir, a good copy);[7] Finarte, Milan (sale, June 10, 1987, lot 108; a copy); Villa Lante, Bagnaia (in 1964; according to Bissell 1981, a copy); Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna (a small eighteenth-century copy on copper with a landscape background, destroyed in World War II).[8]

It is indicative of the state of our knowledge of Gentileschi that we know so little about this picture, which in many ways epitomizes the poetics of his art. The first mention of it—as a work by Orazio—occurs in 1697, when, through the agency of Marcantonio Franceschini, it was purchased by Prince Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein from the collection of the Bolognese merchant Girolamo Cavazza.[1] How Cavazza came by it—through the Savelli, who had interests in Emilia?—is unknown (he owned mainly paintings by Bolognese artists: Ludovico Carracci, Francesco Albani, Guido Reni, Guercino, Donato Creti, Elisabetta Sirani, and Marcantonio Franceschini). Scholars have assumed that it was painted in Rome and was widely known there, since, as Bissell has noted, a back-viewed figure in Pietro Paolini's *Concert* (formerly J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), dating to about 1620, seems to depend on it. Far more important for the history of genre painting is the inspiration Giuseppe Maria Crespi drew from the picture in the 1690s for his own *Lute Player* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Indeed, Orazio's picture is the link between Caravaggio's early genre works in Rome—the *Musicians* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), the *Lute Player* (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, and private collection, New York)—and the new wave of naturalistic genre painting in northern Italy initiated by Crespi.

As with Caravaggio's two *Lute Players*, so with Orazio's painting we are faced with the problem—amply discussed by Bayer—of whether we are dealing with true genre or with allegory in the guise of an everyday scene. On the one hand, the scale of the picture and intent expression of the player suggest an allegory, perhaps a personification of music or harmony. (A depiction of Saint Cecilia can be ruled out.) Among the options Ripa offers for a depiction of Music is "a woman, who with both hands holds Apollo's lyre and at her feet has various musical instruments."[2] Orazio's painting might be seen as a modernized interpretation of this subject. (In his canvas in the Metropolitan Museum from a cycle of the Liberal Arts, Laurent de La Hyre chose to depict a woman playing a chitarrone with a similar array of musical instruments and a part-book on a table—but, it should be noted, with an organ and a nightingale, as also suggested by Ripa.) The woman's attentive listening suggests that she may be tuning the instrument, a necessary activity in any depiction of Music and one that would argue for her representation as Harmony. (In Caravaggio's *Musicians*, which is an allegory of Music, one of the figures tunes his lute.) On the other hand, the asymmetrical composition, with the figure placed to one side of the canvas while the other half is given over entirely to a still life of musical instruments, seems far too informal for an allegory. (It also serves as a reminder that Gentileschi is documented as having painted at least one still life, for which, see p. 128 n. 19.) Originally, this asymmetry was even more pronounced: a 10-centimeter strip of canvas attached to the right side of the picture is a later addition, while the left side has been trimmed.[3] The intentional cropping of the figure's feet further enhances the effect of informality. As De Grazia points out, the loosened bodice with a provocatively dangling cord strikes a distinctly lascivious note; love and music are invariably linked in Renaissance thought and poetry. Far from presenting "an idealization of the act of musical creation, a commentary on a beauty that transcends the ordinary,"[4] the painting may be seen as a solicitation to the (male) viewer, the musician's oblique position enhancing her seductive character. Unfortunately, the sheet music partially covered by the sitter's arm has been both damaged and reworked and has eluded identification. (In Caravaggio's *Lute Players*, the part-books contain amorous madrigals.)[5] Crespi's picture, which shows a disheveled woman tuning her lute with uncommon abandon, would seem to offer a commentary on this subtext to Orazio's masterpiece.

In the quagmire of Caravaggio studies in the early years of the twentieth century it was possible for

REFERENCES: Fanti 1767, 91 n. 452; Longhi (1916) 1961, 231; Gamba 1922–23, 262–66; Voss 1925, 459; Eigenberger 1927, 157; Longhi 1927, 112; Longhi 1943, 46 n. 38; Fröhlich-Bume 1954, 360; Sterling 1958, 118 n. 41; Neugass 1963, 16; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 75, vol. 2, 75 no. A.3; Moir 1969, 363–64; Bissell 1971, 275–76, 288–89; Freedberg 1976, 733; Nicolson 1979, 53; Shapley 1979, 201–3; Bissell 1981, 38–39, 65, 92–93 n. 16, 111, 158–59 no. 31; Garrard 1989, 28; Bayer in New York 1990b, 74; Nicolson 1990, 115; De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 96–101; Holmes in Bissell 1999, 179.

Longhi, in his groundbreaking article of 1916, to maintain the attribution to Caravaggio that Gentileschi's picture had acquired in the course of the eighteenth century. Gamba first ascribed it to Orazio, suggesting (largely because of its provenance from the Liechtenstein collection) that it may have been painted in France or England. Every other scholar has correctly dated it to the second decade of the seventeenth century, some closer to 1610 (Longhi, Shapley), others to 1620 (Moir), but most in the time frame 1610–15. I believe that, not unlike the *Saint Francis* (cat. 21), the picture marks that moment about 1613–15 when, following his work in the Casino delle Muse, Orazio moved away from the *verismo* of his paintings of 1609–12 and began working instead toward a more abstracted naturalism (not to be confused with the idealist approach of Bolognese artists, to whom, however, Orazio continued to turn for compositional ideas). Although Longhi ascribed the picture to Caravaggio, he saw the pivotal place it holds in Orazio's career, describing it as the stepping-stone to that mature style of painting based on a "scaled accord of luminosity in the colors (see pp. 19–20)."

Paradoxically, in this venture away from the mainstream of Caravaggism in Rome, Orazio looked for guidance to the early, Giorgionesque work of Caravaggio—works such as the *Penitent Magdalene* (fig. 126)—in which a Lombard naturalism is tempered by a Venetian softness (what Bellori describes as "Giorgione's frank manner, with tempered shadows"). In so doing, he helped to launch the vogue for Venetian painting, which was to dominate Roman art in the 1620s. (Was the catalyst his patronage by the Savelli, who owned a conspicuous group of paintings by Dosso Dossi?) Yet, if we compare Orazio's *Lute Player* to Caravaggio's *Penitent Magdalene*, the sophistication and audacity of Orazio's picture, with its daring asymmetry, emerge clearly. Typically, the diagonal shaft of light in the upper-left corner does not merely indicate the source of illumination; it is part of the geometric grid that anchors the composition. The light here is more atmospheric than heretofore and marvelously subtle in the gradated shadows, but it does not yet possess that prismatic clarity we find beginning around 1615 (as exemplified in the *Saint Cecilia with an Angel*; cat. 31).

Fröhlich-Bume published a drawing, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (inv. 1964.3.1), that she ascribed to Orazio and considered a first idea for the picture. As noted by Bissell, neither assertion is correct. (I do not believe the drawing is necessarily connected with the painting at all.)

1. See De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 97, 98 nn. 1, 2. Prior to De Grazia's publication the family name on the bill of sale was thought illegible. For the surviving correspondence between Franceschini and Prince Andreas, see Miller 1991, 209, 211, 212, 214–15, 220.
2. Ripa 1603, 166.
3. According to the technical report in De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 96. The original canvas would seem to have been trimmed only along the left edge.
4. Bissell 1981, 39.
5. The bibliography is summarized by Christiansen in New York 1990a, 42–44, 58–60.
6. If this is the picture measuring 125 × 155 cm of which a photograph (copyright Jean Weber) is in the Louvre's files, then it is no more than a copy.
7. This may be the same picture seen by Sterling and sold at Christie's; see Nicolson 1990 and De Grazia and Garberson 1996, where it is noted that the painting was purchased by the country club in 1959.
8. See Eigenberger 1927.





Orazio Gentileschi between Rome and the Marches

LIVIA CARLONI

Some of the most important and memorable works by Orazio Gentileschi are those he painted for the Marches, for the cities of Ancona and Fabriano. Ancona, which had lost its independence as a maritime republic as early as 1532,[1] was the most important city governed by the papacy in what was the most prosperous region of the Papal States. Although economic and cultural ties linked Rome to the whole region, the duchy of Urbino remained autonomous until its devolution to the papacy in 1631. The cultural interaction between the region and the central power in Rome is reflected in the fact that many artists left the Marches to work in Rome and, vice versa, that important works of art were sent to the Marches from Rome. These include Peter Paul Rubens's *Nativity* (1608) and Giovanni Lanfranco's *Pentecost* for the Oratorians in Fermo (Pinacoteca Civica, Fermo) and the altarpiece—either lost or perhaps never executed—commissioned from Caravaggio in 1604 for the Capuchins of Tolentino.[2] Moreover, in 1604 Guido Reni and Lionello Spada went to Loreto to negotiate terms for a fresco cycle in the new sacristy of the basilica of the Santa Casa (later to be carried out by Cristoforo Roncalli); Annibale Carracci had already made an altarpiece, the *Birth of the Virgin* (Louvre, Paris) for the same church.

Orazio's *Circumcision* (cat. 7), painted for the church of the Gesù in Ancona, must have been well received in the cosmopolitan and eastward-looking city, filled with Levantines, Turks, and Jews. Ancona, which had long been linked with Ragusa (now Dubrovnik) and the Dalmatian coast, had recently strengthened its identity as a maritime and trading city through the concession of tax exemptions, which were extended as well to resident foreigners by Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini (r. 1592–1605). Gentileschi's "most noble painting the *Circumcision of Our Lord*" was triumphantly inaugurated in honor of the man who commissioned it, Giovanni Nappi, on June 24, 1607, the feast day of Saint John the Baptist, when, set in an elaborate wood frame carved by Francesco Brunelli, it was installed on the high altar of the nearly completed church atop the Guasco hill. A chronicle compiled by the fathers of the Collegio Romano and sent to Rome for printing constitutes the only documentary evidence of this event. It was noted by Pietro Pirri in an article published in 1952, but only recently has it been connected with the painting by the author of the present essay.[3]

The commission for the high altar of the new church was perhaps proposed by Claudio Acquaviva, the provost of the Jesuit Order in Rome. From his prior involvement with the church of San Vitale in Rome, we know that Acquaviva was very interested in Tuscan artists, and his opinion must have carried considerable weight. Orazio was, of course, Tuscan by birth and hardly a negligible figure. According to Alessandro Maggiori, he was paid 303 scudi,[4] which attests to the esteem in which he was held. It is not known if he ever went to Ancona to study the space or supervise the installation of the altarpiece, but such a trip would have been quite possible and may have been encouraged by the proximity of Ancona to Loreto, where the great Marian sanctuary, a pilgrimage destination even among artists, was undergoing renovations. (In 1602, Orazio had asked Baglione to bring him a souvenir Madonna from the shrine.) Ancona was hardly a city without artists or artistic attractions. Quite the contrary. Orazio may have been interested in Titian's (ca. 1485/90?–1576) *Crucifixion*, in the church of San Domenico (see p. 148), a short distance from the Gesù, or the fresco by Piero della Francesca (ca. 1415–1492) that, according to Giorgio Vasari, depicted the Marriage of the Virgin,[5] and which was still visible in the church of San Ciriaco in the late seicento.

The year 1607 was an enormously creative one for Gentileschi. Just before he delivered the Ancona altarpiece, a contract was

Opposite: Detail of the *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana* (cat. 30)

drawn up in Rome, on March 23, between the painter and Settimio Olgiati, a banker from Como, for an altarpiece of the *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 11), for the church of Santa Maria della Pace in that city. And on November 25, Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, in Como on a pastoral visit to the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cecilia, saw and greatly praised an altarpiece depicting the Vision of Saint Cecilia (cat. 9), described as "new."[6] Some years earlier, Orazio had been given an important commission for the Capuchins in Piedmont, an altarpiece of the Madonna in Glory (fig. 5), probably initially placed in the monastery in Rivoli and then transferred to the Turinese church of Santa Maria del Monte. The monastery had been financed directly by Carlo Emanuele, duke of Savoy, for whom Gentileschi later painted two pictures (cat. nos. 42, 43).[7]

The church of the Gesù in Ancona was part of an ecclesiastic complex that constituted the fourth institution established by the Jesuits in the Marches in the sixteenth century.[8] The rebuilding of the church, under way in 1604–5, and the commission of the *Circumcision* were financed by Giovanni Nappi,[9] a patrician of Ancona. Letters from those years among Father Acquaviva, Nappi, his Jesuit son Filippo, and the rectors of the Collegio are marked by great courteousness and collegiality.[10] The architect G. De Rosis came up with a relatively modest design with just three altars. In addition to Orazio's altarpiece, there was an *Assumption* on the left commissioned by Nappi's sister-in-law Camilla Trionfi and, on the right, a *Trinity Appearing to the Blessed Ignatius*, provided for by Marchesa Vittoria Malatesta Landriani. These two works were painted, respectively, by the Jesuit Michele Gisberti and by an artist in the circle of Agostino Tassi, perhaps Giovanni d'Ancona.[11] To judge from the other artists involved—all members of the Society of Jesus instructed to work "in our manner"—Nappi must have been directed by Acquaviva to employ Orazio, even though Orazio does not seem to have worked for the Jesuits in Rome. It is notable that the local painter Andrea Lilio (ca. 1570–after 1635), much favored by the Jesuits, was passed over, though he was active in his native city as well as in Rome, where he had worked alongside Orazio on the projects sponsored by Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585–90). Lilio's refined, flickering style is quite different from Orazio's more awkward manner, but he too, in his own way, reinterpreted the innovations of Caravaggio and other Roman artists, strengthening shadows and rendering figures with a certain clumsiness, without, however, sacrificing his own innovative style. For some years, the Jesuits had favored Tuscan artists, such as Andrea Commodi (1560–1635) and Agostino Ciampelli (1560–1638), whose work, with its nobility and optical precision, corresponded to Jesuit spirituality, ever attentive to the accurate mental re-creation of historical and biblical events, in accordance with the precepts set forth in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). This would have worked to Orazio's benefit.

Curiously, the strong Flemish component of the Ancona altarpiece has not been noted; rather the Flemish influence has been seen, instead, in Orazio's small paintings on copper, especially in the landscape elements, which are indebted to the manner of Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610). Yet the figure types in the *Circumcision* and their charged gestures seem, interestingly, to anticipate Gerrit van Honthorst (1592–1656). Connections with earlier Northern painters emerge as well: for example, with Wenzel Cobergher (1560?–1632), who was godfather to one of Orazio's sons.[12]

Although Giovanni Nappi had a son, Filippo, who studied at the Collegio Romano and was later rector at Ancona, we would be much mistaken if we were to consider him someone with a special devotion to the Jesuits. We must bear in mind that the founding of the Collegio as a center for advanced studies was an important cultural addition to the city. With the election of Pope Paul V Borghese (r. 1605–21), whom Nappi had met in 1605, when he was part of a delegation to Rome from Ancona,[13] the Society of Jesus once again acquired a position of importance. The strict policy regarding images, exemplified by the removal from Saint Peter's of Caravaggio's *Madonna dei Palafrenieri* (Galleria Borghese, Rome) and perhaps also the *Death of the Virgin* from Santa Maria della Scala (Louvre, Paris),[14] at the behest of Paul V, underscores the importance the papacy attached to the propriety of sacred images. Certainly, the Jesuits were always more carefully attuned to the religious and doctrinal significance of paintings and their effect on the faithful than to their beauty. When Caravaggio left Rome, Orazio was freed from his influence and designed for this Counter-Reformation order, for which Caravaggio had never worked, a decorous figurative scheme at once modern and antique. The division of the *Circumcision* into two realms—that of the eternal, above, and the worldly, below—is a typically sixteenth-century and un-Caravaggesque configuration. So also is the explicitly described light source (an expedient found again in the *Baptism of Christ*; cat. 11). Nappi may well have found it in his

interest to comply with the wishes of the society, which again enjoyed papal favor. But protecting the Jesuits was also a way of ensuring for himself future papal favors for his economic interests in Ferrara, a city with which a number of people important to Gentileschi were associated.

In the region of Ferrara, recently acquired by the Church, Enzo Bentivoglio was actively promoting the construction of mills and the reclaiming of the swampy areas between the Po and the Tartaro rivers.[15] For this, in 1607, a lobbying effort was directed at the papal nephew, Cardinal Scipione Borghese, through Monsignor Francesco Nappi, a relative of Giovanni's. Above all, Francesco served as a go-between for Bentivoglio in furthering Scipione Borghese's passion for collecting works of art in Ferrara (see pp. 13, 15, 56).[16] Thus, the Nappi family must have had ties with Ferrara; it was certainly involved with the mills after papal approval was granted in 1609. The following year Giovanni Nappi died in Ferrara and his body was brought back to his church of the Gesù in Ancona.[17]

Orazio's patron Giovanni Nappi therefore moved among the highest ranks of the Jesuits and the papal world, assisted by Monsignor Francesco. His interests in Ferrara also linked him to Prince Paolo Savelli, another important collector and a protector of Orazio. In 1613, following the trial against Agostino Tassi for the rape of Artemisia, Orazio lodged with the prince and small payments to the artist from the Savelli are recorded in 1614 and 1615.[18] The many paintings executed by Gentileschi for Paolo Savelli, which are documented in inventories,[19] were spread over the second decade of the seicento and perhaps overlap with the artist's subsequent activity in Fabriano (on this see pp. 15–19).[20] Paolo Savelli (who was related to Caravaggio's patron Cardinal del Monte)[21] was in Ferrara when it became part of the papal states and accompanied Cardinal Aldobrandini to the city; in 1607, he too offered advice to Cardinal Borghese on the purchase of pictures.[22]

Given the number of important works carried out by Orazio for Fabriano—no fewer than five altarpieces and two fresco cycles—we must assume that he had a long and continuous activity there. A wealthy and prosperous town, with some 15,000 inhabitants and an equal number in the countryside, Fabriano returned to papal rule in 1610.[23] It was ruled by a prelate governor, distinct from the papal legate to the Marches, who, in 1612,[24] was Angelo Stufa, a Florentine. (Stufa, too, had ties with Ferrara.) There is no agreement regarding when this second period of Gentileschi's activity in the Marches began. My own feeling is that his absence from a convocation of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome in late October 1613, when he is cited as "fora di Roma," supports an early dating.

A first sojourn in Fabriano in 1613, to work on frescoes for the chapel of the Crucifixion in the church of San Venanzio (figs. 50–51), would not contradict the fact that, in 1614 and 1615, Orazio was active at the Palazzo Savelli in Rome, something we can deduce not only from the payments already referred to, but from two letters, one from Nicolò Tassi to Galileo and another from Pietro Guicciardini to Andrea Cioli, secretary to Cosimo II de' Medici.[25] Clearly he could have sent paintings to the Marches while working for the Savelli. However, much of his work in Fabriano must have been completed by January 1617, when he wrote to Giovanni de' Medici about the possibility of working at the ducal palace in Venice.[26] There is a consensus that his activity there ended in February 1619, when the Ferrarese cardinal, Bonifacio Bevilacqua, wrote to Francesco Maria II della Rovere, duke of Urbino, praising Orazio's efforts and asking if he might be considered for the decoration of the vault of the church of San Ubaldo, in Pesaro.[27] The duke's negative reply reflects the della Rovere family's resistance to Roman innovation and interference. Another sign that Orazio's activity in the Marches was winding down can be gleaned from a letter of July 24, 1619, that he wrote to the cardinals of the Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, in Rome, humbly asking if he might be considered for the decorations for the Benediction loggia in Saint Peter's (the document is published in appendix 2).[28]

Cardinal Bevilacqua (who was interested in Orazio by 1619—perhaps earlier) was a lover of music, a supporter of the Accademia degli Intrepidi, a detractor of the unscrupulous Bentivoglio, and an enthusiastic supporter of artists patronized by Sixtus V, such as Lilio, Ferraù Fenzone, and Ventura Salimbeni. He was also a great friend of Federico Cesi and Cardinal del Monte.[29] Bevilacqua's fame as a collector was consolidated when he was legate in Umbria (by his own account, he had collected various works by Perugino [ca. 1450–1523] and left one of them to his nephew).[30] As early as 1609, he may have introduced Orazio to another passionate collector, Vincenzo I Gonzaga, fourth duke of Mantua, who commissioned from the artist a *Madonna and Child* (cat. 15). Gonzaga collected in inverse proportion to his wealth and without



Figure 50. Orazio Gentileschi, *Agony in the Garden* (detail). Fresco. San Venanzio, Fabriano

any concern for the survival of his duchy, working through Roman channels to obtain works by living artists, such as Rubens, Domenico Fetti, Caravaggio, and Gentileschi. But he also wished to buy earlier paintings, and in 1605 asked Bevilacqua to act on his behalf in obtaining a Madonna by Perugino—at any cost.[31] Things did not go well, despite the intervention of Cesare Crispolti, a Perugian man of letters. Given the importance of the ties between his family and the Gonzaga, Bevilacqua could not afford to fail in this assignment, and eventually promised to send a Perugino from his own collection. Eventually, however, through these negotiations, he learned of the existence of another work by Perugino, a processional standard in Sant'Agostino in Fabriano (a fragment of which is now in Pittsburgh). A letter from Bevilacqua to Gonzaga states that he knew someone in Fabriano, Francesco Santacroce, who could investigate the availability of the painting, as he was a "prior and a person of authority in this area, and a very good friend of mine."[32] Santacroce appears to have been an important member of an old and aristocratic Fabriano family—a minor branch of a Roman family related to the Borghese pope—residing in the neighborhood of Santa Maria in Publiculis. According to a seventeenth-century inventory, the family owned a work by Gentileschi.[33]

At the time Bevilacqua's letter was written, Santacroce was prior of Sant'Agostino, a position he would also hold with the chapter of the collegiate church of San Venanzio in Fabriano during the years of its renovation, from 1610 to 1614.[34] Because Fabriano did not have its own bishop—it was a dependency of the diocese of Camerino—San Venanzio was the most important religious institution in the city. To ensure that the municipality did not interfere with the administration of the church, from 1612 the office of prior was under the direct jurisdiction of the pope.[35] Santacroce may thus have acted as Cardinal Bevilacqua's intermediary in offering Gentileschi his first commission in Fabriano in its most important ecclesiastical building. At the very least, I find this argument more convincing than those advanced by Claudio Pizzorusso, who posits that Orazio's support came from Paolo Savelli's brother, Cardinal Giulio Savelli, who was governor of



Figure 51. Orazio Gentileschi, *Crowning with Thorns* (detail). Fresco. San Venanzio, Fabriano

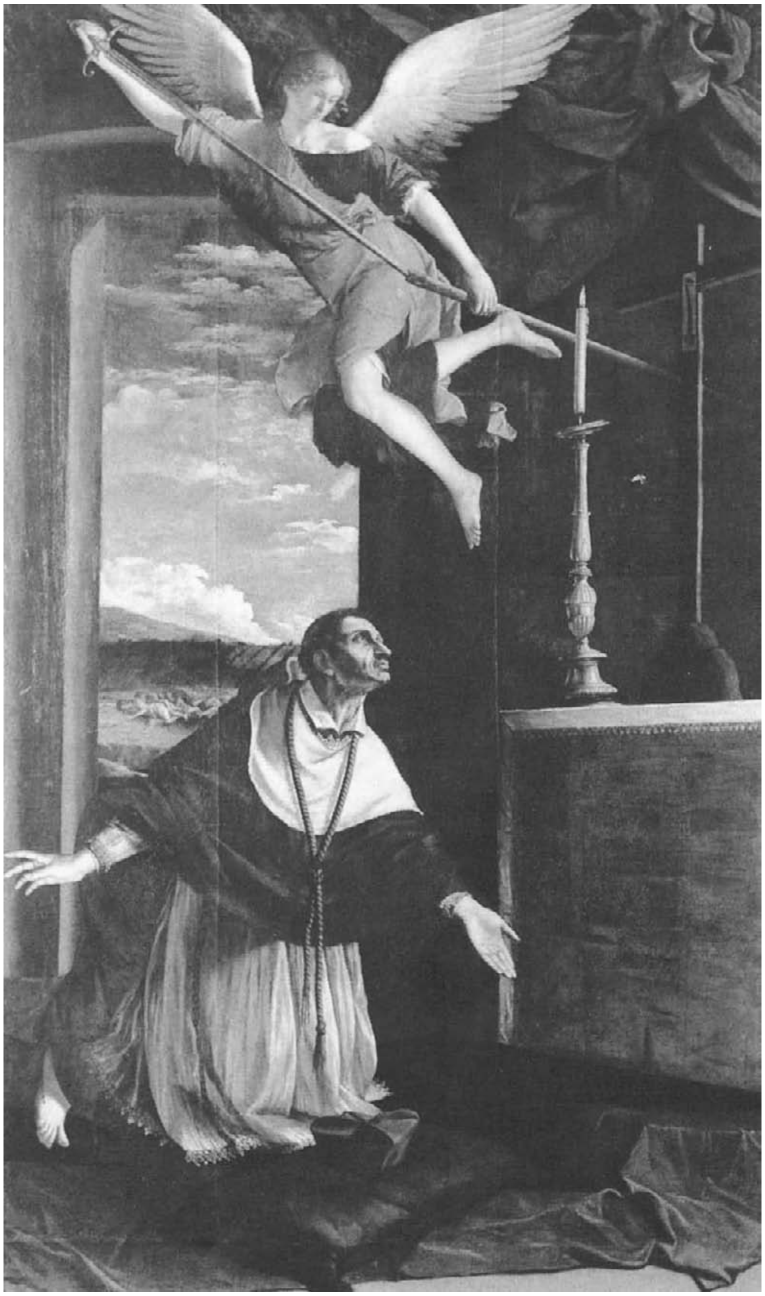


Figure 52. Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri (1589–1655/59) (and Orazio Gentileschi?), *Saint Charles Borromeo*. Oil on canvas. San Venanzio, Fabriano

Ancona from 1608 to 1610 and later bishop of the city, or from Giulio's successor as governor, Prospero Caffarelli, who was related to the Borghese family.[36]

What may be no less significant is the fact that the Savelli family, in the person of Bernardino (the father of Paolo and Giulio), had business contacts in Fabriano.[37] Of the people suggested by Pizzorusso who might also have been involved in securing work for Orazio, the most significant is Cardinal Pietro Campori, who was closely associated with the Borghese family and served as general preceptor (*primicerius*) of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Rome. He perhaps favored Orazio for the commission of the *Saint Mary Madgalene in Penitence* (cat. 24), which is datable to around 1615, when the members of the confraternity of the Università dei Cartai (which was devoted to the worship of the Magdalene and had a small church near the Ospedale) became associated with the archconfraternity at Rome.[38] However, the *Magdalene* is not necessarily the first of Gentileschi's paintings for Fabriano, although stylistically it resembles his work in the church of San Venanzio there.

Other people, too, may have acted as intermediaries in Rome. For example, there was Johannes Faber, the German doctor at Santo Spirito. A friend of Elsheimer and a collector of the artist's work,[39] Faber was an intimate of Prince Federico Cesi and of Cesi's most faithful and important collaborator, the Fabrianese Francesco Stelluti, who, with Cesi, was one of the four founders of the prestigious scientific society the Accademia dei Lincei.[40] Strange as it may seem, Stelluti—the most significant intellectual figure in Fabriano during these years—has never been considered in relation to Gentileschi's activity there. Unlike today, in the seventeenth century scientific and artistic circles were not mutually exclusive. Stelluti, for example, corresponded actively with Galileo (whose letters to Stelluti have unfortunately been lost). In the spring of 1611, Galileo arrived in Rome to be triumphantly inscribed in the Accademia dei Lincei, and it was then that he probably met Orazio. In 1615, Gentileschi's neighbor Nicolò Tassi wrote to Galileo, implying a special relationship with Orazio; the scientist was later an admirer of the work of Orazio's daughter, Artemisia.[41] Stelluti was himself a passionate student of art and science, a man of many talents and with a keen sense of discrimination. He was involved with the investigation of natural phenomena and he was adept at drawing, which early on proved useful in his relationship with Prince Cesi and the latter's in-depth research on plants and other scientific projects. As an officer of the Lincei, a post he held from 1611, Stelluti spent the years 1612 to 1618 in Fabriano, with brief visits to Naples, Rome, and Acquasparta. We know that in the summer of 1613 he wrote to Galileo from Fabriano about his observations with the telescope of the rings of Saturn.[42]

Stelluti also served as an intermediary between Rome and Fabriano in cultural matters, as, for example, in the commission to Antonio Viviani (1560–1620) for an *Annunciation* for the

confraternity of the Gonfalone at the church of San Benedetto, during Viviani's stay in Rome from 1600 to 1601.[43] In Rome Viviani enjoyed the support of the Oratorian cardinal Cesare Baronio and may have been an expedient alternative to his teacher, Federico Barocci (ca. 1535–1612), who was often involved in other projects. Stelluti had a nephew at the Roman oratorio, and Orazio must also have moved in this circle, since, presumably in 1612,[44] he painted a *Saint Francis* for Orazio Griffi (cat. 21), who was associated with the Oratorian cofraternity of San Girolamo della Carità, and his brother Aurelio Lomi had ties to the Chiesa Nuova. Significantly, we find Viviani, a native of Urbino who had been employed alongside Orazio on Pope Sixtus V's projects in Rome, working in Fabriano in the chapel of San Flaviano in San Venanzio (his work was probably completed in 1616).[45]

When we remember that in 1613, acting through Prince Cesi, Cardinal Bevilacqua sought to obtain from Galileo his book on sunspots,[46] a frame of reference is created that includes the most advanced scientific culture of the seventeenth century. Clearly, Galileo's admiration for Gentileschi was not due solely to their common origins (like Galileo, Orazio was born in Pisa, though he always called himself a Florentine). Nor was it nurtured solely by the scientist's great open-mindedness. Rather, it must have derived from Galileo's recognition of the extraordinary visual precision, modernity, and elegance of the painter's work (this could also hold true for Stelluti). In the absence of firm documents, we can only speculate, but the Stelluti family tree shows that they were related to the Vallemani,[47] who seem to have been the patrons of the chapel of the Crucifixion that Orazio decorated in San Venanzio.[48]

There are several reasons for believing that it was this same Vallemani family that granted Orazio the commission. The Vallemani arms are coupled with those of the Benigni family in the stucco coat of arms above the entrance of the chapel, and, in a notary document dating to April 1620, the Confraternità del Suffragio obtained the bishop's consent to meet in the chapel ("in cappella siva Altari pro nomine il Santissima Crocifisso noncupato"), which is described as under the patronage of Camillo, Antonio, and other Vallemani family members. A list of the chapels in San Venanzio, attached to records of a pastoral visit in 1628, mentions "the third [chapel], of the Vallemani, dedicated to the Crucifixion."[49] The inconclusive documentation in the archives of the chapter house of San Venanzio and in notary



Figure 53. Orazio Gentileschi, *Saint Charles Borromeo*. Oil on canvas. San Benedetto, Fabriano



Figure 54. Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri (1589–1655/59), *Mass of Saint Nicholas*. Oil on canvas. Santa Maria del Ponte, Sassoferrato

documents leads me to believe that the Vallemani were patrons of the chapel long before the reconstruction of the church in 1607.[50] Thus, there was no need for a new concession of the chapel to the family, and a contract would simply have been drawn up with Orazio and the stucco worker (perhaps Francesco Selva;[51] these documents have not been found).

There may have been various reasons that led Orazio to leave Rome in 1613 for the Marches, where he executed works for the merchant class and the minor nobility, for both lay and religious confraternities (such as the Università dei Cartai and that of Saint Charles Borromeo or of the Most Holy Rosary), or for churches such as Santa Caterina or San Francesco (a lost fresco cycle). Projects in Fabriano may have been proposed by a well-placed figure and a friend, probably from Fabriano—such as Stelluti or Santacroce. Then too, Orazio was certainly aware that the scandal involving Artemisia—brought on by his denouncing of Tassi—had closed off the likelihood of official commissions in Rome or an auspicious return to Florence.

Two nearby and important churches were under renovation in Fabriano at this time. The ancient church of Santa Caterina, formerly Silvestrine and then transferred to the Olivetans, was renovated by the Roman architect Giovanni Battista Cavagna between 1608 and 1613 (the year of his death). Cavagna was closely connected with Oratorian circles and was the architect of the church of San Pietro in Valle, Fano, and of the Santa Casa at Loreto.[52] In 1607, work also began on San Venanzio, based on the designs of Muzio Oddi (1569–1639). According to a memorial stone in the church, the building seems to have been completed in 1617.[53] The phases of the building of San Venanzio have been reconstructed by Andrea Emiliani and R. Ward Bissell, but some details still call for clarification. Work seems to have been carried out simultaneously in the chapels and the central nave,[54] and by late 1615 the church was "covered and nearly perfect." By June 18, 1610, and February 22, 1611, respectively, the large chapels in the transept were assigned to the confraternity of the Santissimo Sacramento e la Madonna, and to the Wool Merchants' Guild to be decorated by Giuseppe Bastiani (fl. 17th century).[55] In March 1613, the municipality committed a considerable sum to the enterprise.[56] That same year, the fifteenth-century choir acquired from the church of San Benedetto was installed,[57] a contract was



Figure 55. Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri (1589–1655/59), *Circumcision*. Oil on canvas. San Francesco, Sassoferrato

drawn up for the organ, and the sixteenth-century altarpiece by Battista Franco (il Semolei; 1498–1561) was installed on the high altar.[58] Also in 1613, nearly all the chapels of the left nave were assigned: that of the weavers, dedicated to Santa Barbara, that of the hosiers (Calzettai), and the chapel of the Crucifixion; the chapel of San Flaviano was completed in 1616.[59] By contrast, the chapels in the right nave appear to have been executed in the 1620s.

The second chapel to the left, that of Calzettai, was assigned on November 7, 1613, with the stipulation that it be decorated within four years. The altarpiece, of *Saint Charles Borromeo* (fig. 52), has been attributed by Emiliani to the Marchigian painter Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri (1589–1655/59).[60] Both the attribution of this altarpiece and the date the chapel was assigned bear directly on our understanding of the adjacent chapel of the Crucifixion where Gentileschi worked. In the sacristy accounts is recorded an expenditure of 30 scudi in May of 1613 "to provide a painted frame for the picture of *Saint Charles* [Borromeo]":[61] a painting of Saint Charles was thus apparently in progress or perhaps completed and this would seem to be the work in the Calzettai chapel. However, the dedication of the chapel is first listed in the record of a pastoral visit of 1628, where the chapel is described as "of the Calzettai, dedicated to Saint Charles." (Thus, there is no basis to the claim that patronage of the chapel was transferred in 1619 to the Wool Merchants' Guild.)[62] Charles Borromeo (1538–1584) was often invoked against the plague. He had been canonized in 1610, and was an important figure for the city of Fabriano, supplanting Saint Emidio after the earthquake of 1612. On October 21 of that year the Consiglio di Credenza instituted a series of prayers and processions on the saint's feast day, to be held in San Venanzio.[63] Another confraternity dedicated to Saint Charles was granted a chapel in 1620, in the church of San Benedetto, where there is a painting by Gentileschi, *Saint Charles Borromeo* (fig. 53), most likely the last work painted by the artist for Fabriano.[64]

The *Saint Charles* in San Venanzio is fascinating for the way defects in the treatment of perspective[65] are combined with beautiful pictorial ideas, as in the depiction of the archangel Michael—to whom the city of Fabriano was dedicated[66]—as he places his sword back in its sheath, an allusion, perhaps, to the end of the city's most recent calamity. The gray floor, partially covered by a green cloth, and the sensitive hands of the saint are also striking. Roberto Longhi, Giampiero Donnini, and, more recently, Pietro Zampetti and Gianni Papi have suggested that Orazio may have laid out the composition in early 1613.[67] He might then have left the painting unfinished, pressured by having undertaken—and probably completing—the decoration for the chapel of the Crucifixion that same year. It is probable that the confraternity had the altarpiece installed in 1614 or 1615, after it had been significantly reworked by Guerrieri, prior to that artist's beginning his work in Rome at the Palazzo Borghese, in November 1615[68] (rather than in 1619, as Emiliani maintains).[69] During this time, Guerrieri was engaged in the execution of paintings in Fabriano, Serra San Quirico, and Sassoferrato (figs. 54, 55),[70] and was surely receptive to Gentileschi.[71] In the treatment of Saint

Charles's face, the painting closely resembles Guerrieri's own *Saint Charles and Saint Philip*, paid for in 1613 and discovered by Arcangeli in the Chiesa Nuova in Rome.[72] (From a payment for a painting for the confraternity of San Rocco in Fossombrone we know that Guerrieri was still in Rome in 1613.)[73] Guerrieri, who made frequent visits to Rome, was an original artist. He was rapidly developing his own style, one less crystalline and less refined than Orazio's, but more physical and more attuned to narration.

One of Orazio's secondary frescoes in the chapel of the Crucifixion, a single figure of Saint Anthony Abbot, may suggest that his patron was Antonio Vallemani. The other saints represented are Vincent Ferrer, perhaps Jerome, and Francis. Saint Francis, at the entrance to the chapel, seems to establish the usual parallel relationship between his life and the life of Christ. The principal frescoed scenes on the side walls depict the Taking of Christ and the Agony in the Garden (fig. 50). The altarpiece shows the *Crucifixion* (cat. 29). Work in the the chapel of the Crucifixion cannot, as Bissell proposes, be separated into two phases—an earlier one for the altar, and a later one for the frescoes, subsequent to a presumed trip to Tuscany, when Orazio was supposedly exposed to the work of Masaccio (1401–1428) and Piero della Francesca (ca. 1415–1492).[74] There is, in fact, no certainty at all about a trip to Tuscany: indeed, by all accounts Orazio was haunted by his separation from his native region. Clearly, the two large frescoes, which do not seem to the unaided eye to have been done in many *giornate*, preceded the altarpiece with the *Crucifixion*, which could certainly have been sent from Rome at a later time, but in any case does not differ from the frescoes stylistically so much as it does in terms of theme and technique. Even in the smaller frescoes of the vault, of the Flagellation and the Crowning with Thorns (fig. 51), the narrative is treated with a purity and simplicity seen both in the choice of colors, always contained, and in the compositions, of extraordinary clarity. The figures are aligned on the same plane against a shallow background defined by rock formations, mysterious and inhospitable. The scenes are pervaded by a melancholy, waning light or, in the case of the rupture of the dark clouds of the *Crucifixion*, with a sense of menacing cataclysm (Matt. 27:45–46). Far from the idealizing classicism of the type we see in Reni or Domenichino (1581–1641), and devoid of any facile effects of beauty, the cycle is characterized by a somber and meditative tone. The action unfolds almost without movement (even the violent gestures in the *Flagellation* are only suggested), as Gentileschi evokes an internalized experience of the Passion.

It is not unlikely that Orazio's desire to work in a quiet and simple language as he began his commission in Fabriano was influenced by his knowledge of the town's earlier artistic heritage, still evident today despite many losses. There were the great trecento painters, such as Allegretto Nuzi (1316/20–1373/74), represented in San Venanzio itself, and the Master of Campodonico (fl. ca. 1346), who painted in the small church of the Magdalene for which Gentileschi provided the altarpiece. And there were the great quattrocento masters, Gentile da Fabriano (ca. 1385–1427) and Antonio da Fabriano (fl. 1451–89). But Orazio is not indebted solely to art from the past. In the somewhat static figures that return in the Malchus episode in the *Taking of Christ* and in the sleeping apostles in the *Agony in the Garden*, there is an unexpected echo of Caravaggio's *Christ in the Garden* (destroyed, formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin). And the angel that extends a chalice toward Christ is similar to the angels painted by Reni for the Oratory of Santa Silvia adjacent to San Gregorio Magno, Rome, one of the least classical works by the young Bolognese artist. In Orazio's *Magdalene* for the Università dei Cartai (cat. 24), for which a date of 1615 seems reasonable, we have a figure again shown in a simple pose, immersed in a setting defined by rocks, shrubbery, and light. This painting is remarkable for its luminous intensity and in the rendering of the Magdalene's tears and other details, particularly if seen in situ, where the image seems literally to invade the small, ancient church.

The *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana* (the so-called Rosei Altarpiece; cat. 30) is more difficult to place. Only scant contemporary documentation remains for the church of Santa Caterina, rebuilt by Cavagna for the Olivetans. We do not know whether the high altar was the original location for the painting, although we may assume this to have been the case, as the church was renovated again in the eighteenth century, at which time the painting was obviously cut down on the right. The episode depicted, from the life of Saint Francesca Romana, is one described in the saint's biography by Giovanni Mattiotti, and recorded in the 1608 chronicle of her life, compiled by the Jesuit Giulio Orsino at the time of her canonization.[75] Pizzorusso dates the picture to the period 1617–18, when Ippolito Borghese was father superior of the Olivetans.[76] According to documents preserved in Rome, in 1614 the superior general was Don Cesare Catani. Most important, from 1611 the

cardinal protector of the order was Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, the cardinal of Santa Cecilia in Rome, who had praised Orazio's altarpiece in Como some years earlier.[77] The painting is a masterpiece of static tranquility, built up with few colors and contrasting elements: a golden luminosity from which the young Madonna emerges, set off by the green curtain in the upper right; below, the sweet face of the Virgin is brought together with that of the child, realistic in its charmless features, and with that of Saint Francesca, no longer young, her incised features drawn, yet radiating the misleadingly youthful appearance that is sometimes encountered in those who have taken holy orders. A series of gray steps serves as a simple means of uniting the spiritual events unfolding in the picture with the day-to-day reality of a convent setting; they are, perhaps, the most inventive aspects of the composition and they constitute a true coup de théâtre in the suggestion of a proscenium.

In late 1614, Guerrieri carried out a commission for the *Circumcision* (fig. 55) in Sassoferrato, for the Confraternity of the Sacrament in San Francesco, committing to finish it by Christmas of 1615.[78] In Guerrieri's picture, but within a different context, there are steps similar to those found in the Rosei Altarpiece, bathed in the same crystalline gray light. Utterly different is the hint of a step we find in Caravaggio's *Madonna dei Pellegrini*, in Sant'Agostino, Rome. It is very possible that Guerrieri had more or less met his commitment to the confraternity, delivering the painting within the year 1615, and that the agreement was made public because of a delay in payment. (At the end of 1615 he was expecting to begin a large project for the decoration of the Palazzo Borghese in Rome.) However, Guerrieri's delivery of the painting may have been made only in early 1616 (and, in fact, there is an unquestionable stylistic similarity with the canvases in the Palazzo Borghese). In either case, the painting contains an element of invention that betrays a personality much stronger than his own, namely, that of Gentileschi. The Rosei Altarpiece must therefore have preceded Guerrieri's *Circumcision*, dating Orazio's painting to about 1615. The conciseness of the expressive means and the play of whites and transparent shadows in the drapery that makes this painting so singularly rich imply the same elementary spiritual climate found in the *Magdalene* and the works in the chapel of the Crucifixion.

Orazio's other pictures for Fabriano can be dated to the end of his stay in the Marches, from 1619 to 1620. These, too, are important and, in their way, authoritative works, as seen in both the *Madonna of the Rosary* for Santa Lucia (or San Domenico) and the *Saint Charles* for the homonymous confraternity in San Benedetto, mentioned above.[79] Yet despite passages that are still lively—the almost choleric intrusion of the little angel above a somewhat weak Saint Charles and the sweetly archaicizing and self-quoting composition of the *Madonna of the Rosary*—much of the tension of the earlier works has been lost.

1. See Ancona 1982. The background provided by Zampetti 1990 is also useful.
2. See note 19 below.
3. Pirri 1952, 13; Carloni 1997, 22, 26 n. 31; the handwritten *Cronache Annue* are in the Archivium Romanum Societatis Jesu (hereafter, ARSJ), *Rom.* 129 I, *Romana Hist.*, 1605–1607, f. 153v, report of September 8, 1607.
4. Maggiori 1821, 66 n. 80.
5. On Piero della Francesca in the Marches, see Urbino 1992, 430.
6. Maniello 1994, 155–58; Rovi in Pinocoteca di Brera 1992, 56–60 no. 22; and Rovi 1992, 107.
7. Baudi di Vesme 1932, 319; from research in the Archivo di Stato, Turin, *Conti dé Tesorieri*, for the year 1604 it emerges that all ducal donations were made solely to the Capuchins of Rivoli, next to which, in the years 1605–7, the duke's castle was under construction. According to Isella and Lanza (1991, 84–85), the building of Santa Maria del Monte was suspended from 1596 to 1610, and Orazio's painting, which served as a screen at the high altar, thus could not have been made for the church but must have been transferred there from Rivoli.
8. Bösel 1985, vol. 2, 19–29; also see ARSJ, *Rom.*, 120, I, *Romana Fund. Collegia*, f. 61ff.; *Rom.* 128, II, f. 21; *FG.* 78 II, *Instrum.* c. 1577.
9. Saracini 1675, 403; Santini 1969, 290–91; Honorati 1990, 30; Albertini n.d., c. 254; Picchi Tancredi n.d., unpaged.
10. ARSJ, *Rom.* 15, I, and *Rom.* 15, II, *Epist. Gener.* 1601–109. In the letters of Acquaviva, however, no mention is made of Orazio's painting.
11. ARSJ, *Rom.* 129, I, *Romana Hist.*, 1605–1607, f. 153v, *Rom.* 130, II, *Romana Historia*, ff. 378v; Maggiori 1821, 66–67 n. 81; Cavazzini 1993, 318, 321, 323; and Cavazzini 1997, 411–12.
12. September 16, 1599: Hoogewerff 1938, 112. The artist had painted a work for the Chiesa Nuova, was in touch with Roncalli, and also had connections with Jacques Francart, F. von Casteele, Aert Mijtens, and Paul Bril; see Brussels–Rome 1995, 32–33, and Andrews 1977. Bril and Elsheimer were also artists protected by the Borghese and by Cardinal del Monte.
13. See Albertini n.d., f. 254. For Fillippo Nappi, see the ARSJ biographical entry; he was minister in Ancona in 1606 and rector from 1611 to 1614.
14. Calvesi 1990, 348–49; for Santa Maria della Scala, the cause of the removal may have been the Spanish Carmelite father Domenico di Gesù Maria, who was very close to and influential with the Borghese, as a comment by Mancini ([1617–21] 1956–57) would also lead us to believe.
15. See Fabris and Marcon, Maddalo, and Marcolini in Ferrara 1983, 41, 94.
16. Letters from 1607 and 1608 in Ferrara 1983, 94–103.
17. ARSJ, *Rom.* 130, I, f. 80.
18. Testa 1998, 349, January 1, 1614, and April 6, 1615, respectively; Gallo 1998, 312–15, 334. In the convocation at the Accademia di San Luca on October 24–25, 1613, regarding the next meeting scheduled for October 27, it was said that "Don Oratio Gentileschi is working at Monte [or Palazzo] Savello and is outside Rome."

19. Campori 1870, 162–66; Wiedmann 1979, 70; Testa 1998, 349–50, 352. In the Archivio di Stato di Roma (hereafter, ASR), Archivio Sforza-Cesarini, Parte I, b.1, fasc. "Nota dei quadri del Principe Savelli nel Pal. d'Ariccia," there is an "Inventario di quadri dell'Ecc.mo sig. Principe Savelli, quali erano della B.M. dell'Ecc.mo Principe suo padre riconosciuti da me Filippo Mignani," where there is listed: "One extremely large painting with portraits of the most Excellent Prince Abbot and Lady Donna Carlotta when they were children painted by Gentileschi, and a table of fruits and flowers by Gobbo in Rome," and "a painting made to hang above the door of three portraits made by Gentileschi and given to S.E. by those who are depicted in the painting." In this so-called Ariccia inventory, which would seem to have been made for Bernardino Savelli, there is no mention of other works by Gentileschi, which apparently passed to Fabrizio in 1646 (who sold many works to the Pamphili family in 1657). The children depicted must have been Paolo's three young children: Carlotta, Bernardino, and Fabrizio. Attached to the inventory, presumably dating to the mid-1600s, is a "list of paintings and prices" that includes Caravaggio, Reni, Guercino, and Titian, and paintings by artists from Ferrara. Bernardino was born in 1606, Carlotta Savelli in 1611 (ASR, Archivio Sforza-Cesarini, Parte I, b.1, fasc. "Nota dei quadri del Principe Savelli nel Pal. d'Ariccia," b.24). The two paintings, the one with the "triple portrait" and the one with the "three children," are mentioned briefly in the Ariccia inventory of 1631, published by Testa 1998, 349. The newly discovered inventory also mentions portraits of Zampeschi, since Battistina Savelli, whose married name was Zampeschi, was the aunt of Paolo Savelli. Within this context, it should be noted that the Capuchin church in Tolentino, where Caravaggio executed a painting in 1604 (now lost), had a female patron, specifically a Lady Laura, who was a member of this family and was related to the Savelli family; see Lopez in Ascoli Piceno 1992, 402, 408 no. 27. On the Savelli collection, see p. 36 n. 56 of Christiansen's essay.
20. In fact, the Braunschweig *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (see cat. 23) is compositionally very similar to the fresco in the chapel of San Venanzio in Fabriano, which has the same subject. Also see Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 64, no. 6, and Bissell 1981, 152–53, nos. 23, 24.
21. He was related to Del Monte through Isabella Savelli, marchesa of Monte Baroccio (an estate of the Del Monte family). It is known that the mathematician Guidobaldo, a brother of the cardinal, was a friend of Galileo. See Waźbiński 1994, vol. 1, 168 n. 131, 176.
22. See Marcon, Maddalo, and Marcolini in Ferrara 1983, 96, where it is noted that Paolo Savelli was a connoisseur as well as a collector of paintings; see the Savelli inventories cited in note 19 above.
23. See Castagnari 1986. The precise attribution of the paintings by Gentileschi appears in the early-eighteenth-century manuscript by Gilii and Guerrieri in the Biblioteca Communale of Fabriano (MS.29), as well as in Benigni (1728) 1924.
24. Weber 1994, 224.
25. Tassi's letter of January 17, in Pizzorusso 1987, 70, 74; and Waźbiński 1994, vol. 2, 490; the letters between Guicciardini and Cioli from the month of March 1615 are published in Crinò 1960 and Crinò and Nicolson 1961.
26. Crinò 1960, 264.
27. Gronau 1936, 273–74.
28. The brief document (see appendix 2) is in the archives of the Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Arm. 1, B14, N. 76. In tone, it contrasts strikingly with that of an analogous request from Lanfranco (N. 74, April 26), who proclaims that he is the best artist for the job, since he is a student of Annibale, and one from Pomarancio (N. 75, March 26), who is already convinced that he has the job, because he has the support of Cardinal Giustiniani. I am grateful to Dr. S. Turriziani for providing this information.
29. De Caro 1967, 786–88; also see Fioravanti Baraldi in Ferrara 1983, 178–82. The figure of the cardinal, which has been little examined, is tied closely to the Aldobrandini family (among Orazio's first patrons) and to the Savelli family through their secretary, Pier Francesco Paoli, an academic humorist from Pesaro, as noted in Pizzorusso 1987, 69.
30. ASR, 30 Notai cap., uff. 18, L. Bonicontri, b. Testamenti 1627–1629, ff. 76ff., in the codicil to his will, dated April 5, 1627. Despite research carried out in Ferrara at the offices of the notary Giacomo Botti, for which I am indebted to Dr. M. Traina, it has not been possible to locate the cardinal's will, which would have clarified whether Bevilacqua was a collector of Orazio's work as well as his supporter. I myself would venture that this was the case, on the basis of the inventory of the Roman possessions of the cardinal, which must have been kept by the Mattei family, to whom Bevilacqua was related.
31. Braghirolli 1874, 52–60, 68.
32. Ibid., 59–60 (letter of December 21).
33. Pilati 1989, 142–43; Sassi 1952b, 3ff. For the painting by Orazio depicting Saint Ursula, belonging to the Santacroce family in Rome, see Sinisi 1963, 17 (inventory of Valerio Santacroce of 1670).
34. The dates are established by two notarile documents in the Archivio di Stato di Fabriano (hereafter ASFa), notarile document L. Venturini, vol. 29, August 20, 1610, c. 575r, and June 14, 1610, c. 375v; and documents from two pastoral visits to San Venanzio, February 8, 1611, and March 29–30, 1614, now in the Archivio della Curia Vescovile di Camerino (hereafter ACVCa), "Visite Pastorali di Monsignor Severini," vol. N. 1610–1621, f. 48ff.
35. Sassi 1952b, 18.
36. Pizzorusso 1987, 69–70, 73.
37. ASR, Archivio Sforza-Cesarini, Parte I, b.22, fasc. 42. According to this document, there was a legal action with the Reverenda Camera Apostolica that continued until the 1630s, which involved the heirs of Bernardino Savelli, including Paolo, and was related to a company the father owned with, among others, Nicola Marri in Fabriano, contractors for the building introduced by Sixtus V for the development of the Wool Merchants' and Light Wool Merchants' Guild; for more on the Wool Merchants' Guild and its importance to Fabriano, see Zonghi 1990.
38. Pizzorusso 1987, 72. The official deed of association with the archconfraternity is in the ASR, Ospedale di Santo Spirito, *Aggregazioni*, b. 1301, f. 15: "Confraternitas seus Societas Cartariorum in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae quae membrum est Arcihospitalis preteriti S. Spiritus in Saxia de urbe di Roma extra terram Fabriani . . . petit et obtinuit dictam Societatem Arcihospitalis . . . uniri et aggregari," solicitor for Fabriano, appointed by Bishop E. Pieruccio Pierucci.
39. Andrews 1977, 22; see Rome 2000, 37–41.
40. Alessandrini et al. 1986 and Solinas in Rome 2000, 94–97, are essential publications on Stelluti.
41. See note 25 above.
42. Stelluti to Galileo, August 17, 1613, written from Fabriano; see Alessandrini et al. 1986, particularly the biography; Mezzanotte in ibid., 217ff.; and Gabrieli 1996, 379. Stelluti's explorations with the telescope in the summers of 1617 and 1618 are documented. We know that Galileo's passion for the telescope was taken up by artists with whom he was acquainted, such as Cigoli. It is not unlikely that the indication of the curvature of the earth represented on the horizon of Orazio's *Crucifixion*, in San Venanzio, derives from astronomical studies undertaken with Stelluti himself, or from direct contacts with Roman scientific circles.
43. Sassi 1952b, 60–61.
44. Vodret in Rome 1999, 38, 40 no. 7.
45. Donnini 1981, 20–22; Molajoli 1990, 90; in the Archivio del Capitolo di San Venanzio (henceforth ACSV), "Repertorium decretorum capit. Ab anno 1612 usque ad 1683," fol. 16v.
46. Gabrieli 1996, 400–401 n. 289, of November 30, 1613.
47. See Alessandrini et al. 1986, partially reproduced as pl. 9; during this period there was also a homonymous member of the Lincei who was one of the priors of San Venanzio. Antonio Vallemani married Dorotea Stelluti, Pier Paolo Vallemani

married Livia Stelluti, and Michele Vallemani married another member of Stelluti clan; Joanna Stelluti perhaps married Marco Vallemani.

48. Sassi (1951, 68 n. 1) calls it the Vallemani-Benigni chapel. For more on the chapel, see Bissell 1981, 159–63 no. 32, with bibliography.
49. In the archives of the Marchese Carlo Lalli Benigni Olivieri Carbelli, there is a family tree dating to 1710 in which one sees the subsequent passage of the chapel to the Benigni family through the branch of Marchese Venanzio Vallemani, who married a certain Erminia Benigni (d. 1643). The relationship through marriage of the Vallemani family with the Stelluti family is indicated there through a P. Aloisio Vallemani, who married Eufrasia Stelluti. The document cited is dated April 10, 1620, and is found in the ASFa, notarile G. A. Manari, vol. 16, ff. 125v; ACVCa, pastoral visits, "Visitatio Terrae Fabriani, 1592–1628," vol. K., attached to the visit of June 21, 1628, f. 462r. For more on the Vallemani, see also Pilati 1989, 159–61, 205, and Zonghi 1990, 105, according to whom the heads of the Wool Merchants' Guild, in 1617–18, were Battista Stelluti and Giuseppe Vallemani; Sassi 1989, 229.
50. This can be deduced from the family's strong interest in the church, attested to by the fact that Antonio Vallemani, as early as August 20, 1610, had shifted an income of three hundred scudi from San Luca to San Venanzio, a loan "pro fabrica"; see ASFa, notarile L. Venturini, vol. 29, fols. 574v–575v, and ACSV, *Instrum. Liber II*, fols. 29r–30r; Antonio, as an appointee of the Papermakers' Guild, appears again in a document of June 13, 1620, listed between two Stelluti brothers—Costanzo and Michele—and the aforementioned guild, which was committed to the decoration of the first chapel on the right in San Venanzio, see ACSV, *Instrum., II*, ff. 196r,v; on September 3, 1614, Pietro Paolo Vallemani (who died by 1616 and was the father of Camillo and Geronimo) gave money to the sacristy for the celebration of masses for the dead; see ASFa, notarile document G. A. Manari, vol. 11, f. 227v and ff. Another appointee of the Wool Merchants' Guild was a certain Rainaldo, who appears in the deed granting the transept chapel to the Wool Merchants' Guild, dated February 22, 1611.
51. Molajoli 1990, 100, where the name of Francesco Selva is mentioned in relation to the stucco work for the chapel of Santissimo Sacramento.
52. Sassi 1954, 4ff.; Sassi 1926, 10–11; Venditti 1979, 560–63; Biblioteca Comunale Archivio Storico di Fabriano, ms. carte Graziosi, III, f. 99v, where the date of 1608 is noted, as well as the cost of ten thousand scudi.
53. See Emiliani in San Severino Marche–Bologna 1988, 57–58, and Bissell 1981, 160–61.
54. Bissell 1981, 161.
55. Pilati 1991, 15, 132; the relevant documents are in ACSV, *Instrum.*, II, ff. 26r,v, and fols. 31v–32v, and in the ASFa, notarile L. Venturini, vol. 29, fols. 375v–377r, and vol. 30, fols. 128v, 129v; Lopez in Ascoli Piceno 1992, 40 no. 44, 406.
56. Bibl. Com. and Arch. St. di Fabriano. Sez. Cancelleria, vol. *Reformat. 1611–1613*, vol. 77, fol. 169v: March 23, 1613; see Emiliani 1958b, 46, 55 n. 7.
57. Sassi 1932, 143–47, and ACSV, vol. *Sacrestia*, 1610–1910, "Spese che si fanno per la sacrestia di San Venanzio per l'anno 1613," fol. 2r, expenses of 17 scudi.
58. ACSV, vol. *Sacrestia*, 1610–1910, "Spese che si fanno per la sacrestia di San Venanzio per l'anno 1613," fols. 3v, 4r, 9r, and ACSV, *Repertorio Decret. Cap., 1612–1633*, fol. 13v: July 28, 1613, assignment of the chapel of the High Altar to F. Lotti; the contract for the organ is in ASFa, notarile document L. Venturini, vol. 33, fols. 3303r and fols. of September 17, 1613.
59. ACSV, *Repertorio Decret. Cap., 1612–1633*, f.16v (Santa Barbara); ASFa, notarile G. A. Manari, vol. 12, fols. 192v and fols., of June 27, 1616, then the chapel of the Calzolai by B. Lauri. The correct date for the granting of the chapel of the Calzettai has been re-established by Bissell 1981, 161; see ACSV, *Instrum.*, II, fol. 65r,v, and ASFa, notarile L. Venturini, vol. 33, fols. 554v–555v.
60. Emiliani 1958b, 47; Emiliani in San Severino Marche–Bologna 1988, 51–52; Emiliani 1991, 23–24 no. 18.
61. ACSV, vol. *Sacrestia*, 1610–1910, "Spese che si fanno per la sacrestia di San Venanzio per l'anno 1613," fol. 2r.
62. ACVCa, pastoral visits, *Vitatio 1628*, vol. K., f. 462r; a document from 1619 appears to have been misunderstood by Emiliani (1958b, 46), and repeated by Bissell (1981, 161).
63. Sassi 1939, 8–11, cited by Bissell 1981, 160.
64. Bissell 1981, 170 no. 41, and Sassi 1932, 150; Zampetti in Ancona 1985, 66–67 no. 67.
65. As noted earlier in Molajoli 1930–31, 105.
66. Sassi 1926–27, 105.
67. Longhi, as noted in Emiliani 1958b, 47; Donnini 1981, 19; Zampetti in Ancona 1985, 219–20 no. 68; and Zampetti in Fossombrone 1997, 60 no. V; Papi 1991, 148. Bissell (1981, 207 no. X20), however, rejects any relationship with Orazio and attributes the painting to Guerrieri.
68. Fumagalli in Fossombrone 1997, 29; the first payment at Palazzo Borghese is dated November 28, 1615.
69. See note 61 above for the basis of the erroneous conviction that the chapel of the Cartai was transferred to the Wool Merchants' Guild in 1619.
70. Carloni in Fossombrone 1997, 19ff.
71. An opinion that has recently been shared by Zampetti (1990, 299–300) and Contini (in Fossombrone 1997, 8).
72. Arcangeli in Rome 1995, 537–38 no. 97.
73. Emiliani 1991, 8 n. 5.
74. Bissell 1981, 31–34.
75. See Picasso 1984, pl. 6.
76. Pizzorusso 1987, 73.
77. ASR, Congregazioni religiose maschili, Benedettini olivetaini, "S. Maria Nova," b. 1, f. 122. There is a folder of documents in Rome pertaining to the convent of Fabriano from the mid-1600s (busta 3548). Between 1611 and 1618 the father superior of Fabriano was a certain Clemente; see Fabriano 1982, 81.
78. Carloni in Fossombrone 1997, 23, 27 n. 34; see also Emiliani 1991, 47–48 n. 35.
79. Sassi 1928–29, 108ff.; Sassi 1932, 150; see also Arcangeli in Ancona 1981, 527–28 n. 165, and Zampetti in Ancona 1985, 216–17 n. 67.

23.

Christ Crowned with Thorns

Oil on canvas, 47 × 58½ in. (119.5 × 148.5 cm)

Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (inv. 805)

ca. 1613–15

New York

PROVENANCE: Probably Paolo Savelli, Rome and Ariccia (d. 1632); probably Federigo Savelli, Palazzo Savelli, Ariccia, and Palazzo Montesavello, Rome (1632–49); probably Cardinal Fabrizio Savelli, Palazzo Montesavello, Rome (by 1650; inv. 1650, as by Gentileschi); probably Cardinal Flavio Chigi, Palazzo a Piazza SS. Apostoli, Rome (after 1650–93; inv. 1692); Cardinal Joseph Fesch, Rome (d. 1839; inv. 1841, no. 2856); private collection, Rome (until 1867); private collection, England (from 1867); Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd., London (1977); Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig.

RELATED PICTURES: Lizza-Bassi collection, Varese (possibly an autograph replica);[5] private collection (copy; sale, Finarte, Milan, December 3, 1992, lot 31).

REFERENCES: Campori 1870, 162; Klessmann 1978, 106; Wrede 1978, 56; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 152–53 no. 24, 201; Klessmann 1985, 383–84; Schleier in New York–Naples 1985, 155–57; Utrecht–Braunschweig 1986–87, 265; Nicolson 1990, 114; Papi in Florence 1991, 38, 95, 102; Schleier 1993, 196, 199–200.

The Braunschweig *Christ Crowned with Thorns* is among Orazio's most memorable paintings, a work in which the violent contrasts of Caravaggio's dramatically charged canvas in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna—painted around 1603–4 for Vincenzo Giustiniani and certainly known to Orazio[1]—are frozen into a design of consummate sophistication. The effect is not so much of an arrested action, or the isolated frame of a narrative sequence, as of a tableau vivant: figures posed to simulate an action. This quality, so prominent in Caravaggio's paintings of the 1590s, was much censured by seventeenth-century critics, who strongly believed that a narrative should include indicators of time and continuity. They correctly saw the source of the problem in the practice of painting directly from the model. Caravaggio's late work demonstrates the degree to which he labored to overcome this perceived limitation.[2] Paradoxically, whereas in Caravaggio's mature Roman paintings it is the harshly focused light that seems to arrest the action, mercilessly transfixing the notionally active poses of the figures in a timeless space, in Orazio's painting it is the figures that are still while the light sets up an animated play of transparent shadows and reflections. The sheer beauty of Orazio's effects of light and shadow and his emphasis on such purely formal devices as the carefully arranged folds of the drapery and the planar abstraction of the composition—an X amplified by a splendid interplay of diagonals and interlocking curves—might be thought of as a Caravaggesque equivalent to the idealistic style of Guido Reni. Something similar was already present in the Oslo *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 13), but here the result is even more compelling because of the nature of the subject— and the sheer technical mastery.

This is not to say that the picture has no narrative interest. Quite the contrary. The action of the figure

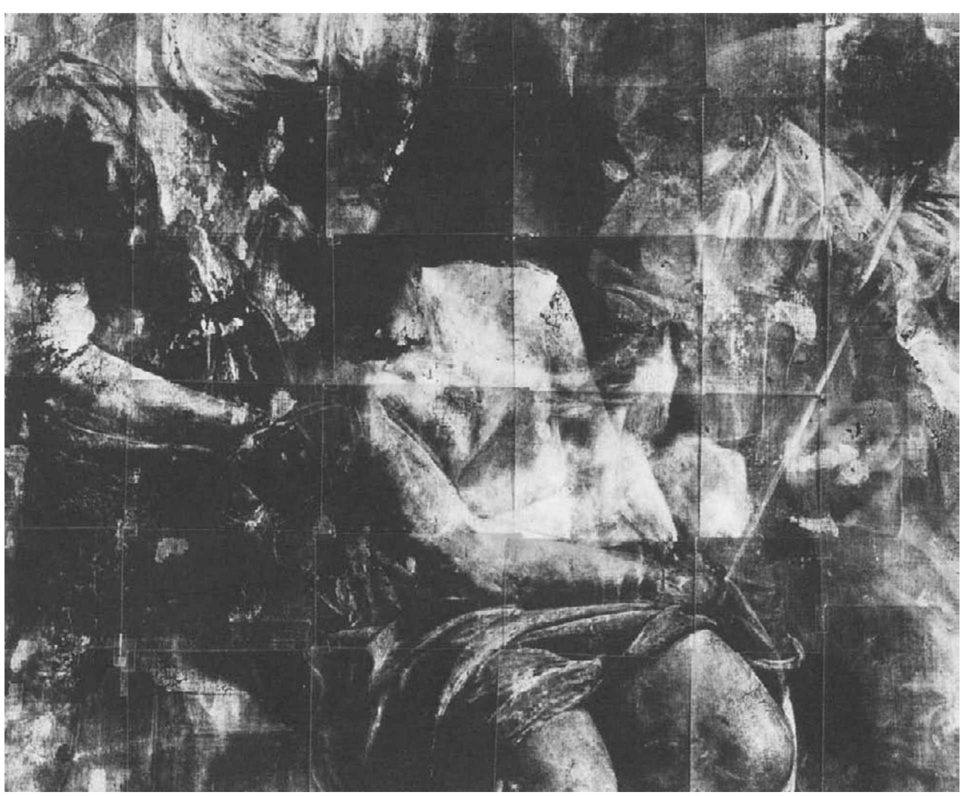
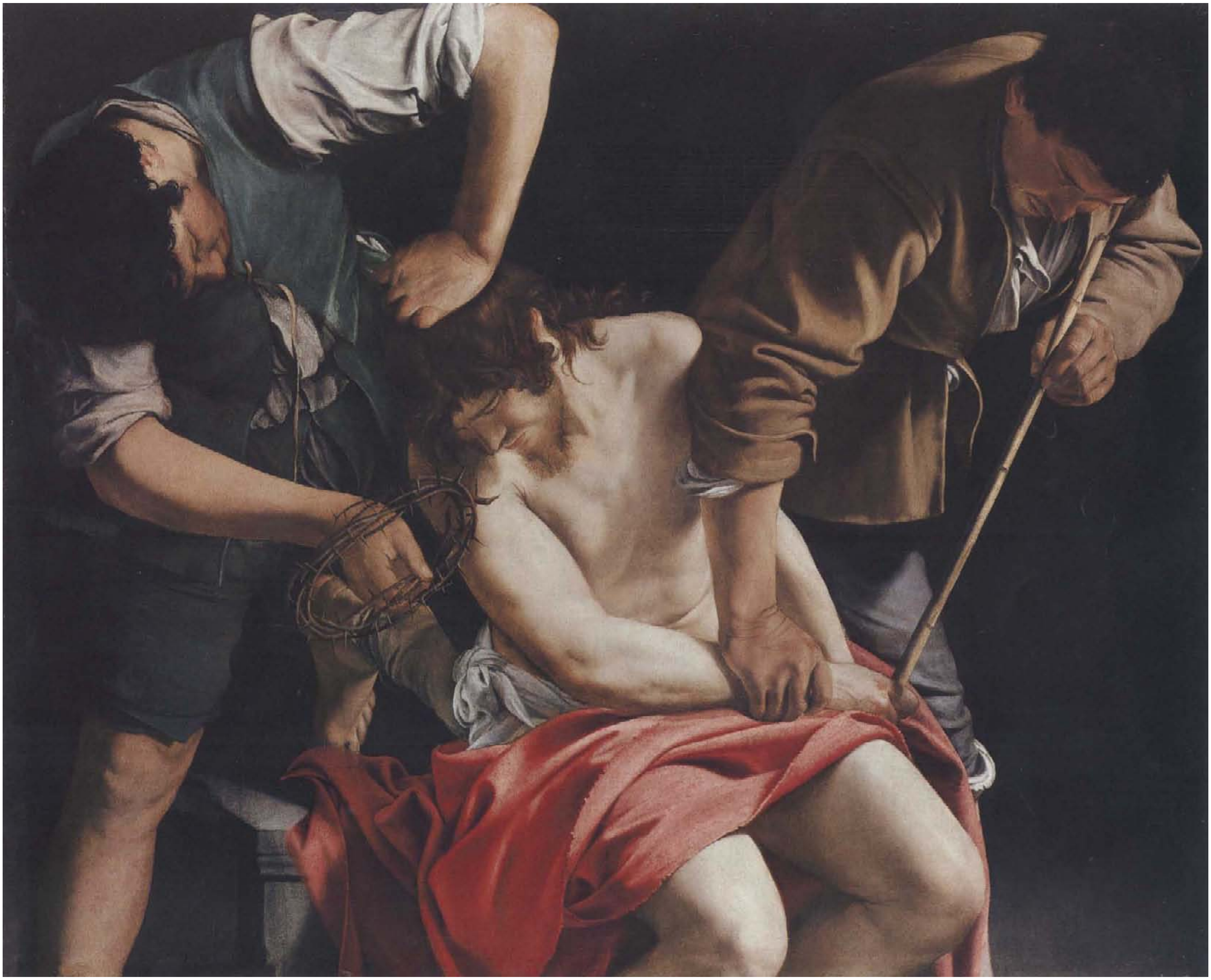


Figure 56. X radiograph of cat. 23





on the left, who jerks Christ's head back as he taunts him with the crown of thorns, is incomparably vivid, and the attention to the unlaced jerkin and pants, exposing his undergarments, provides a biting comment. The way the figure on the right roughly grips Christ's wrist to make him hold a mock scepter demonstrates just how familiar Orazio was with the psychology of torture. By comparison, the figures in Caravaggio's painting in Vienna seem almost archetypal. Caravaggio's canvas was not, of course, Orazio's sole point of reference. The elegance of the design and the unusual palette—brown, salmon, and green blue—suggest his awareness of the younger generation of Caravaggisti. But most important for his conception was the small, late etching by Annibale Carracci of the same subject (the possibility of this work as a source for Gentileschi is noted by Bissell). It is from this etching that Orazio took the contrapposto attitude of Christ and the actions of his two tormentors. Initially, the similarity was even closer, for X radiographs show that the right-hand figure originally moved toward Christ rather than away from him (fig. 56). This solution was adopted by Orazio for his frescoed decoration in the church of San Venanzio in Fabriano, which was painted after about 1613/15 (fig. 51).[3] Where Orazio departs most signally from Annibale's print is in dispensing with the armor for the left-hand figure (he perhaps found the image of the gauntlet-clad hand seizing Christ's hair too chilling) and in playing down the expressions by the use of foreshortening and lighting (Annibale's figures are truly brutes and bring into play the classical notion of heightened contrasts). When Orazio treated the theme later, in Genoa and London (see cat. 49), it was in a more demonstrative vein and without the quality of compressed energy or brilliant use of light.

The Braunschweig picture first came to public attention in 1977. Previously, the composition was known through what Schleier has demonstrated to be a replica. That work, published by Longhi in 1943 and included by him in the Caravaggio exhibition held in Milan in 1951, has most frequently been dated to shortly after 1610. This dating has been carried over to the Braunschweig painting as well, Bissell expanding the time frame to about 1610–15. It is my belief that the elegance of the composition and the brilliant treatment of light, with transparent shadows, indicate a date toward 1615. Far from epitomizing Orazio's most intensely Caravaggesque moment—exemplified by the *Way to Calvary* (cat. 5)—it marks his personal reinterpretation of the work of the artist he had befriended in the early years of the century, a reinterpretation emphasizing formal values derived, in part, from Bolognese models. The dating proposed here finds additional support from the reference to a "Crowning with thorns, 3 half-length figures, by Gentileschi, about 6 *palmi* in width," mentioned in two inventories of the Savelli collection in 1650. What is almost certainly the same work reappears in a 1693 inventory of the Chigi collection.[4] And indeed, Orazio was working for Paolo Savelli—unquestionably his principal Roman patron—from at least 1613.

Cusping around the perimeter of the canvas demonstrates that the audaciously tight cropping of the figures was intentional. Numerous pentimenti show Orazio constantly modifying details to obtain the right effect: the contours of Christ's right arm show changes; his red robe rises up to cover the toes of the torturer at the left; the right arm of the torturer at the right was altered. The hand holding the crown of thorns has been severely damaged, and indications of the *abbozzo* are visible in the sleeve of the right-hand torturer's right arm, as they are in the shadow of Christ's right arm.

1. The authorship of the Vienna *Christ Crowned with Thorns* has long been disputed. However, it is now established that it was purchased from the Giustiniani collection and is thus the painting cited by Bellori (1672) 1976, 222. See Rome–Berlin 2001, 288. A date of about 1603–4 seemed the most plausible when the work was shown at the Caravaggio exhibition in 1985 and has been adopted by Mina Gregori (in Florence 1991, 238–39).
2. The most famous criticism of the problems of creating a narrative from posed models is Mancini's; see pp. 11–12 in this publication.
3. In the 1613 roll of the Accademia di San Luca, Orazio is listed as "outside Rome." This is the earliest probable date for the frescoes in the chapel; see cat. 29 and pp. 124–25 in this publicaiton.
4. This is one of two works acquired by the Chigi from the Savelli. The other was a *Tobias and the Angel*; see cat. 27.
5. See Schleier (in New York–Naples 1985, 155–57), who analyzes the changes in the color scheme and composition.

Opposite: Detail of *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (cat. 23)

24.

Saint Mary Magdalene in Penitence

Oil on canvas, 86⅝ × 61⅞ in. (220 × 157 cm)

Santa Maria Maddalena, Fabriano

ca. 1615

The life of Mary Magdalene—that paradigm of the converted sinner—culminates in a wilderness near Marseilles, where the former prostitute, who had washed Christ's feet with myrrh mingled with tears and dried them with her hair, took refuge in order to devote herself to penitence and reflection on heavenly things. In a desolate cave she spent the last thirty years of her life, borne aloft each day by angels to hear celestial music—her sole source of nourishment. In the Middle Ages, Mary Magdalene was often depicted as the consummate ascetic, her ravaged features veiled by her abundant hair. The Renaissance preferred her young and beautiful, to point up what she had renounced (fig. 68). Orazio's picture is conventional in showing the saint tearfully contemplating a crucifix, the jar of perfume with which she washed Christ's feet and anointed his body near her, and a book and skull (emblem of mortality) atop the stone that functions as a prie-dieu.

Painted for a small church dedicated to the Magdalene, this picture is usually considered the first of Orazio's commissions for the Marchigian town of Fabriano (but see Carloni, pp. 121–26). Emiliani, in his seminal article on Orazio's work in the Marches, dates the picture to about 1611—possibly a bit earlier—based on a signed and dated work by Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri (Cassa di Risparmio, Fano) that he believed was a derivation (in fact, the resemblance is generic rather than specific). Bissell has dated the painting to about 1605, which now seems too early, but he perceptively notes that "the rich play of mood-creating light is more fully realized than in any of Orazio's previous works, and the loving, even excessive attention to the details of the setting reveals the influence of the German painter Adam Elsheimer as it anticipates certain more mature pictures." Most interesting is Pizzorusso's suggestion of a date about 1615, based on a reconstruction of the circumstances surrounding the painting's commission.[1]

Situated outside the walls of the city, the small church or oratory of Santa Maria Maddalena functioned as the chapel of a hospital that was a dependency of the great Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Rome. Since 1557, it had also been the seat of the celebrated and powerful Università dei Cartai (the guild of paper makers in Fabriano), which had made Mary Magdalene its protector.[2] It would have been normal practice for the hospital or guild officials to seek a painter for the principal altarpiece of their church through the Roman institution with which they were associated. Between 1609 and 1617, Pietro Campori held the position of general preceptor (*primicerio*) of the Ordine degli ospedalieri di Santo Spirito; he was commendatore of Santo Spirito in 1616.[3] He would have had administrative charge of both the Roman hospital and its dependencies. Campori was a close associate of Paul V's, by whom he was made a cardinal in 1616. He had been the private secretary and then the majordomo for Scipione Borghese and would, in consequence, have known of Orazio's work in Scipione's casino and in the Palazzo del Quirinale. Moreover, in July 1611 Orazio had moved from the area between Santa Maria del Popolo and the Piazza di Spagna to Borgo Santo Spirito, on the other side of the Tiber and in the immediate neighborhood of the hospital. There was, then, ample opportunity for Campori to have established contact with him. Pizzorusso has reasonably conjectured that the commission was placed through Campori in 1615, when the Università dei Cartai officially affiliated itself with the Arciconfraternità di Santo Spirito. Commenting on this scenario, Carloni has suggested that 1615 might be taken as a *terminus ad quem* for the commissioning of the altarpiece, which could have been undertaken in anticipation of this formal affiliation. If this is so, the date of 1613, when Orazio is listed in the roll of the Accademia di San Luca as "outside Rome" ("fora de Roma"), assumes importance, though in truth there is no compelling reason that a picture of this sort should not have



been commissioned and painted in Rome and sent to Fabriano. (The only works requiring Orazio's presence in the Marchigian city were the frescoes he undertook in the chapel of the Crucifixion in San Venanzio and those cited in an eighteenth-century manuscript as in a chapel in San Francesco, since destroyed.)[4]

The rigorously devotional aspect of the picture somewhat compromises direct stylistic comparisons with Orazio's other canvases, for the visual language of his altarpieces was in many respects strikingly different and more conservative than that of his paintings destined for private collectors. Still, the silvery lighting and striking still-life details do suggest a work from the middle of the second decade rather than earlier (taken in isolation, the crucifix, skull, and book seen against the trees might be thought to date from the nineteenth century). Pizzorusso rightly emphasizes the relationship of the landscape setting to that of the San Silvestro *Saint Francis* (cat. 25). Nowhere is the nature of Orazio's religious painting more conspicuous than in the attention he has lavished on the mass of silken hair, the furrowed brow, and the tears coursing down the saint's cheeks. These belong to a Counter-Reformation semiotics of penitence, to which Orazio gives brilliant visual expression: "Never, since life was lived, were received / From India or the Atlas pearls or gold / More beautiful than the tears of her fair eyes / Or the gold of her waving, outspread tresses"; "I lived blindly, but now unto you I open / My eyes filled with tears, my Sun, my God, / For your beams illuminate me and cause me to see / That the sweets of yesteryear were but poisons," in the words of two sacred sonnets set to music by Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643).[5]

It is worth noting that in Fabriano, the Counter-Reformation writer Giovanni Andrea Gilio had initiated a tradition of composing poems about an image of Mary Magdalene painted by Gentile da Fabriano.[6] Yet, over and beyond the Counter-Reformation language of penitence, there is the matter of Orazio's personal response to the theme. Artemisia had had to defend herself against accusations of being a whore, and the 1612 trial had unquestionably taken a psychological toll on both father and daughter. Is the resemblance of the Fabriano Magdalene to Artemisia—or at least to those images thought to be like her—intentional?[7] And ought we to attach significance to the fact that the figure of Christ on the cross, so tenderly held in one hand and eloquently addressed with the other, turns its head away from the saint's pleading face (in the *Saint Jerome* [cat. 16], by contrast, it shares in the penitent's vision)?

PROVENANCE: Santa Maria Maddalena, Fabriano.

REFERENCES: Benigni (1728) 1924, 101; Marcoaldi 1873, 94 no. 52; Longhi 1927, 114; Molajoli 1930–31, 106 n. 4; Molajoli 1936, 128; Emiliani 1958a, 68; Emiliani 1958b, 43–44; Schleier 1962, 435; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 70–71, vol. 2, 77 no. E.10a; Aliberti Gaudioso in Urbino 1968, 90–92; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 143; Zampetti in Ancona 1985, 213–15; Pizzorusso 1987, 59–61, 72; Molajoli 1990, 131; Nicolson 1990, 115; Zampetti 1990, 307 n. 21; Arcangeli and Pizzorusso in Fossombrone 1997, 41 n. 17, and 58–59; Bissell 1999, 190–91, 326, 346; Garrard 2001, 41–42.

1. Pizzorusso 1987, 72–73, and Pizzorusso in Fossombrone 1997, 58.
2. Molajoli 1990, 131.
3. On Campori, see especially Becker 1974 and De Angelis 1950, appendix.
4. See Emiliani 1958b, 57, and Carloni, pp. 124–25 in this publication.
5. "A pie della gran Croce," from the *Primo libro d'arie musicali*, and "Dove, dove sparir," from the *Secondo libro d'arie musicali*, both published in Florence in 1630. I have taken these from a Harmonia Mundi recording, *Canta la Maddalena* (2000).
6. For the sonnets, see Sassi 1923–24, 273–82.
7. Here, I am thinking not only of the woman with a fan who appears in Orazio's frescoes in the casino (frontispiece, p. 282), but even more of Artemisia's depictions of Susanna (cat. 51), Judith (cat. 55), and Lucretia (cat. 67). If the *Cleopatra* (cat. nos. 17, 53) is indeed by Orazio and depicts Artemisia, the issue of Orazio's response to a subject like that of the penitent Magdalene becomes even more complex. I do not wish to suggest that a biographical reading of this picture is key to understanding it, only that its expressive character may have a personal, biographical dimension—which is hardly contrary to the way Baroque images were intended to work upon the viewer's imagination.

25.

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

Oil on canvas, 112¼ × 68⅛ in. (284 × 173 cm)

Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione Generale per gli Affari dei Culti, Rome

ca. 1616–20

Saint Francis is shown gazing in rapture at an unseen vision, his arms flung out in wonder as he turns from his devotional reading, his body describing an elegant arc against the jagged edge of the rocky grotto on Mount La Verna, where, before sunrise on September 14, 1224, he received the stigmata. A miraculous light illuminates his face, his hands and extended foot—marked by the stigmata—and the curving folds of his habit. The painting is one of Orazio's most arresting compositions and his only Roman altarpiece to earn the praise of Baglione, who remarked, "In the church of San Silvestro, a monastery of virgins, is admired the second chapel on the right, above the altar of which is Saint Francis receiving the stigmata, a very good figure, colored in oil." So far as we know, Orazio had received only two other commissions for altarpieces in Rome. One, of 1596, showed the conversion of Saint Paul, and by 1615 seemed so little worthy of note that Pietro Guicciardini overlooked it in his letter to the secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici, in which he gave a damning description of Orazio's reputation. (The altarpiece was destroyed by fire in 1823.) The other is the *Baptism of Christ*, commissioned by Settimio Olgiati in 1607 (cat. 11). This paucity of public commissions in Rome must be one of the reasons Orazio repeatedly sought employment elsewhere and ultimately moved to Genoa. It also accounts for the extraordinary care that went into this altarpiece.

Although not a large church by Roman standards, San Silvestro in Capite possesses a number of important relics and is one of the twenty principal abbeys in the city. Through the sponsorship of the Colonna family it had, in 1285, become home to a congregation of Poor Clares of the Franciscan order. Between 1596 and 1601, it was completely remodeled under the direction of Cardinal Dietrichstein. Orazio's altarpiece was part of this redecoration. The chapel in which it is located, the second on the right, was under the patronage of the Savelli di Palombara (recorded in a plaque in the pavement).[1] Paolo Savelli, Orazio's chief patron from 1613, belonged to the Palombara branch of the Savelli and, like the rest of the family, was a supporter of the Franciscans: he and his wife, Caterina, founded a convent of Poor Clares in Albano, where she is buried, and from 1306 the Savelli maintained a chapel in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, where many members of the family are buried. Although there are no known documents that can be associated with the picture, the commission surely came from a member of the Savelli family, possibly Paolo himself.[2]

Since Guicciardini does not mention the altarpiece in his notorious letter of 1615, it was, as Bissell has noted, certainly installed after that date (Voss had dated it to 1600 and Longhi to 1612 or earlier). My own feeling is that the picture may well date to several years after 1616—that it follows the *Magdalene* at Fabriano (cat. 24), which documents now place at about 1615, and is roughly contemporary with the Santa Francesca Romana altarpiece at Urbino (cat. 30).

The picture is unusual in its depiction of Saint Francis in a semi- or quasi-kneeling pose. Contini identifies Orazio's source in a fresco of the Annunciation by the Lombard Giovan Battista Pozzo in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. This is a fresco that Orazio surely knew, since he had worked in the basilica a few years after Pozzo, but we may well wonder that Pozzo's work, conceived in a reformed Mannerist style, should have exerted any appeal at this date. For this reason it is important to underscore the fact that Pozzo's conception of the scene is dependent on two designs of the Annunciation by Michelangelo, one (Uffizi, Florence) showing the Virgin standing at a prie-dieu, the other (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), seated. In the latter, the Virgin rests one arm on a table while, turning, she raises the other toward the angel in a gesture of surprise. The drawings were widely copied and became enormously influential, and it is hardly surprising that both Pozzo and Orazio should have turned to them

PROVENANCE: Savelli di Palombara Chapel, San Silvestro in Capite, Rome.

RELATED PICTURE: See cat. 26.

REFERENCES: Giacchetti 1629, 59, 69; Baglione 1642, 360; Titi 1675, 213; Carletti 1795, 41; Federici 1899, 30; Longhi (1916) 1961, 228, 277; Voss 1925, 458, 461; Toesca 1960b, 286 n. 8; Schleier 1962, 435; Gaynor and Toesca 1963, 85–86; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 38 n. 68, 61 n. 150, vol. 2, 77 no. E.8b; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 32, 35–36, 38, 163–64 no. 33; Strinati in Rome 1982–83, 93 no. 85; Pizzorusso 1987, 61; Nicolson 1990, 115; Contini 1996, 97–98.



Figure 57. Copy after Orazio Gentileschi, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata.* Red chalk and lead white on reddish paper. Location unknown

for inspiration. The thematic analogy between the Annunciation to the Virgin and the appearance of the seraph to Saint Francis may have led Orazio to these pictorial sources, but what he extracted from them was the use of a formal device—a contrapposto attitude—to signify spiritual revelation. By eliminating the seraph, he emphasizes the event as a mystical experience—of the saint inwardly transformed by love.[3]

In his brilliant exploitation of a nocturnal setting and divine illumination, it is possible that Orazio also responded to the innovative works of the Dutch Caravaggisti, above all of Gerrit van Honthorst. Indeed, there is a half-length Saint Francis tentatively ascribed to Van Honthorst (Cassa di Risparmio di Calabria e Lucania, Cosenza) that may have a bearing on the *Saint Francis* and serves as a link between Orazio's picture and Caravaggio's much copied half-length *Magdalene in Ecstasy*, painted for the Colonna estates after the artist fled Rome in 1606 (the picture is known through copies).[4] In the abstract beauty of the pose Orazio has given to Saint Francis, there is something analogous to what his fellow Tuscan Francesco Mochi was doing in sculpture: a balance between *maniera* and what, in Gentileschi's work, was now only a residual attachment to Caravaggesque naturalism. (A comparison between Mochi's work and Gentileschi's has been made in the literature, but it is only at this stage of Orazio's career that it is truly meaningful.)[5] Orazio's is an elegant, reformed Caravaggism, utterly different from the Caravaggesque, low-life genre scenes that were so popular among collectors.

A small replica of the altarpiece (cat. 26) is said to have been owned by the Colonna family, which had strong attachments to the church of San Silvestro and was related to the Savelli (Andrea Palombara married Caterina Colonna in 1470; their arms decorate the dado in the chapel). A drawing that shows the figure of Saint Francis (fig. 57) was sold at Finarte, Milan (April 21–22, 1975, lot 177), where it was attributed to Orazio Gentileschi. The proportions of the figure are awkward, the draftsmanship crude, and the likelihood is that the drawing is a copy after the painting. However, Orazio must have carefully composed the composition through preparatory drawings like it. In this, too, he had abandoned his allegiance to Caravaggesque naturalism, with its emphasis on painting directly from the model.

In 1961, the repainted addition of a seraph was removed. As best as I can tell, the canvas has not been cut: cusping marks are visible on all sides.

1. See Forcella 1877, 84.
2. The attempt of Toesca (1960b, 286 n. 8) and Moir (1967, 38 n. 6) to associate this painting with the payment for a canvas made in 1609 must be rejected. On this, see Bissell 1981.
3. See Askew 1969, 286.
4. For the picture ascribed to Van Honthorst, see Papi 1999, 141–42.
5. See, for example, Borea 1966, n.p.



26.

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

Oil on canvas, 30⅜ × 22 in. (77 × 60 cm)

Private collection, loan arranged courtesy of the Matthiesen Gallery, London

ca. 1616–20

New York, Saint Louis

This beautiful *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* bears much the same relationship to the San Silvestro in Capite altarpiece (cat. 25) as does the Berlin *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. 18) to its prototype in the Galleria Spada (cat. 19). Aside from the different angle of the head and details such as the knotting of the cord and the tear in the habit where the saint received the stigmata, the figure is virtually the same. The setting, however, has been expanded and completely rethought to give the subject a more lyrical tone. Dawn colors the sky blue; the light is more pale; the rock formations have been reconceived so as to frame the saint and suggest a more hospitable environment; a different assortment of plants grows from the crevices and contrasts with the branches of dead shrubs; and behind the saint is a view of a flat, distant landscape. These changes bring the style of the picture closer to the *Saint Mary Magdalene in Penitence* in Fabriano (cat. 24). One further change makes clear the subtlety of Orazio's art: the viewing point has been raised, since the picture was not meant to be seen from the low vantage point of the altarpiece.

Chiarini has written that the Colonna family owned a small replica of the San Silvestro altarpiece. This cannot be confirmed; no picture similar to the one catalogued here is mentioned in the various seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Colonna inventories. In the 1756 inventory, there is listed in the collection of Caterina Salviati Colonna a half-length figure of Saint Francis "in the manner of Gentileschi."[1] Its measurement is given as 5 *palmi* (111.7 cm), including the frame, so it cannot be the picture shown here. On the other hand, the Colonna were closely associated with the church of San Silvestro, so it would not be surprising if they ordered a small version of Orazio's altarpiece. That it is a *modello* for the altarpiece seems highly unlikely in view of its fine facture.[2]

The picture has suffered from some abrasion and hence lacks the sharpness of the *David* and the *Saint Christopher* (cat. 27), which are on copper rather than canvas.[3] But it is no less delicate in its treatment and fully justifies Pietro Guicciardini's report to Cosimo II de' Medici's secretary that "in these [paintings on] alabaster and on other, small works, [Orazio Gentileschi] has diligently made some charming little pictures."[4]

Provenance: Galleria Colonna, Rome (?); private collection, Switzerland; Matthiesen Fine Art Ltd., London, 1984–87; private collection (from 1987).

References: Chiarini 1962, 26–29; Gaynor and Toesca 1963, 86; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 39, passim, vol. 2, 77 no. E.8a; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 164–65 no. 34; Strinati in Rome 1982–83, 93; London 1985, 68 no. 18; Nicolson 1990, 115.

1. Safarik 1996, 608 no. 36.
2. For this suggestion, see London 1985, 68.
3. Moir mistakenly published the *Saint Francis* as on copper.
4. See Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 144.



27.
Saint Christopher

Oil on copper, 8¼ × 11 in. (21 × 28 cm)

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (inv. 1707)

ca. 1615–20

Rome, New York

We know nothing about the early history of this evocative depiction of the patron saint of travelers, whose Christian duty it was to ferry people over a treacherous river. (The child he bears is Christ, who one night appeared and requested this service; the saint nearly drowned from his weight.) The picture entered the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie as a work of the German painter Adam Elsheimer and was still accepted as such in Drost's 1933 monograph—six years after Longhi had put forward Orazio's name. So striking is the attention to light and atmosphere and the reflections in the icy water that another Elsheimer scholar, Weizsäcker, went so far as to attribute the work to the nineteenth-century Austrian landscape painter Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (whose name had already been mentioned by Wilhelm von Bode and Frimmel in 1913)! Although there has been a consensus that the *Saint Christopher* is indeed by Orazio (see especially Schleier's detailed analysis in 1985), Bissell (1981) maintained that the picture must be by a landscape artist, probably German, from the circle of Elsheimer and Carlo Saraceni.

Elsheimer's importance for shaping Orazio's notion of landscape painting has been noted earlier (cat. 19).



Figure 58. Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610), *Tobias and the Angel.* Oil on copper. Historisches Museum, Frankfurt am Main

More generally, his example may have inspired Orazio to experiment with the enamel-like brilliance that copper supports encourage. As remarked by Harris, here the connection is less with Elsheimer's *Saint Christopher* (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg), which is a vertical composition with a nocturnal setting, than with his *Tobias and the Angel* (fig. 58). In that work the two foreground figures are seen against distant trees that recede along a shoreline and are reflected in the still water. In certain respects, Orazio's picture is composed in a more artificial fashion, but it is more acute in its description of light and atmosphere and, ultimately, more naturalistic in feeling. The almost arbitrary fashion in which the trees on the opposite shore, their leaves glistening in the light, are increased in scale so as to set off the figures is indicative of a figurative artist's experimenting with an expanded landscape setting. Essentially, this effect is achieved in the small *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. 58), where a rocky bluff is used for the same purpose. Yet whereas in the *David* the impression is of a studio-lit figure superimposed against a landscape backdrop, here a plein air, constantly shifting light unites landscape and figure and confers an effect of transience. It is the quality of a moment in time that accounts for the extraordinary modernity of the picture. In this respect, Orazio has surpassed his model.

Elsheimer was, of course, only one of several key figures in the development of landscape painting in the first decade of the century. His insistence on observation and optical verity had its counterpart in the structured, idealizing landscapes of Annibale Carracci and Domenichino. These two traditions reached a culmination in the years 1605–10, which saw the creation of Saraceni's four landscapes with mythological themes (Capodimonte, Naples), a series of brilliant, small-scale landscapes by Domenichino (for example, the *Landscape with Saint Jerome*, in the Glasgow Art Gallery), and the series of lunette-shaped pictures



designed by Annibale Carracci for the private chapel of Pietro Aldobrandini (Doria Pamphili, Rome).

Another force in the development of landscape painting was the studio of Agostino Tassi, with whom Orazio worked in 1611–12. Saraceni had been in close touch with Tassi, and Giovanni Lanfranco collaborated with both in the Sala Regia of the Palazzo del Quirinale. The latter's marvelous landscape compositions for the Camerino degli Eremiti in the Casino Farnese (surviving canvases in the Capodimonte, Naples) may owe something to Tassi's influence, though their style is highly personal. In 1616 the German painter Goffredo Wals, perhaps the most individual landscape artist after Elsheimer, also worked with Agostino.[1] It is with the naturalistic vision of Wals, with its sensitivity to light and its simple division between foreground, middle ground, and background, that Orazio's landscape bears closest comparison (Wals's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, in the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, which is dated 1619, is especially pertinent).

Orazio's participation in this moment of intense activity has received surprisingly little comment, since he remained first and foremost a figurative painter. Did

PROVENANCE: Balthasar von Hausschen, Vienna (inv. 1838, no. 84); possibly Feillers (according to an inscription on the back of the painting); Joseph Winter, Vienna (d. 1862); his daughter Auguste, Baronesse Stummer von Tavarnok, Vienna (from 1862); by descent, Baron Stummer von Tavarnok, Berlin (until 1913); Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

REFERENCES: Frimmel 1913, 45–46; Longhi 1927, 112, 114; Voss 1929, 24–26; Drost 1933, 76–79; Milan 1951, 65 no. 105; Weizsäcker 1952, 71–74; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 39, 58, 76 n. 27, vol. 2, 77 no. E.5; Ottani Cavina 1968, 16–17; Bissell 1971, 287 n. 33; Waddingham 1972, 611 n. 56; Salerno 1977–80, vol. 1, 132–33; Schleier in Berlin 1978, 173–74 no. 1707; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 207–8 no. x-21; Harris in New York 1985, 203; Schleier in New York–Naples 1985, 150–52; Nicolson 1990, 114; London–Rome 2001, 31.

the impetus for this development also owe something to his trip(s) to Fabriano beginning, it would seem, in 1613? The landscape in the *Saint Christopher* is certainly more evocative of the Marches than of the Roman campagna (see also cat. 24). The picture can be seen to anticipate the remarkable backgrounds that give a topographical dimension to the *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 37) and the *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48). Regarding the latter, Weston-Lewis suggests that the river seen in the distance is the Thames.[2] This observation is crucial to understanding Orazio's frame of mind in his approach to landscape painting: not the Carracci-sanctioned notion of a perfected nature, but a Northern/Caravaggesque emphasis on direct observation. In 1927, Longhi alluded to the special place Orazio holds, when he remarked that if the Berlin *David* were shown together with the Vienna *Magdalene* (fig. 26), the two versions of *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. nos. 37, 42), the *Magdalene* in Fabriano (cat. 24), and the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, "they would create a superb introduction to the most subtle Dutch landscape painting of the middle of the seventeenth century." Might we see, in this instistence on observation and interest in light, a reflection of Orazio's contact with Galileo as well as, possibly, Galileo's Fabrianese correspondent, Francesco Stelluti?[3]

The small, informal format of the *Saint Christopher* seems to have encouraged Orazio to experiment, much as it did Saraceni and Lanfranco, but we should not make the mistake of thinking this was a unique work in his oeuvre. A Savelli inventory of 1631 lists a "Tobias by Gentileschi, on copper, with an ebony frame" ("Una tobia del Gentileschi in rame con cornice d'ebbano"), which was surely another essay in Elsheimer's landscape style; the *Tobias* must be the same picture described in the 1692 inventory of the Chigi collection as a nocturne "with a landscape."[4]

As the above comments suggest, although the *Saint Christopher* has been generally dated to about 1610—roughly contemporary with the *David* (cat. 19)—I prefer a date around 1615–20. Within Orazio's oeuvre, the picture seems to me to form a group with the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in Birmingham (cat. 34) and the *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* in Cambridge (cat. 28). In their full mastery of a sharp yet atmospheric lighting—whether in an indoor or outdoor setting—and their keen feeling for surface description, these works belong to Gentileschi's final years in Rome, prior to his departure for Genoa. There was really nothing quite like them in contemporary Roman painting.

1. On Wals, see Repp 1985 and Röthlisberger 1995, 9–14.
2. Weston-Lewis in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 44.
3. On the relationship of Galileo to Elsheimer, see Ottani Cavina 1976; for Stelluti, see Carloni, pp. 123–24 in this publication.
4. The Chigi inventory reads: "un Quadro in rame alto 2 (44,68 cm), e 1½ (33, 53 cm), cornice d'ebano, con due figurine, una d'un Angelo, con una Torcia accesa in mano, con Paese, mano del Gentileschi."

28.
Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child

Oil on canvas, 39⅛ × 33½ in. (99.5 × 85 cm)

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass.; Gift of William A. Coolidge in memory of Lady Marian Bateman (1976.10)

ca. 1615–16

The *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* is unquestionably Orazio's masterpiece of devotional painting. In it he represents a theme famously treated in the early sixteenth century by Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo, in which the Virgin draws a transparent veil over her infant. In Raphael's much copied *Madonna di Loreto* (Musée Condé, Chantilly), the child is awake and reaches toward the Madonna (this work, then in the collection of Cardinal Sfondrato, had provided a point of departure for Orazio's earliest devotional painting; cat. 1). In the two versions of Sebastiano's *Madonna del velo* (Capodimonte, Naples; Národni Galerie, Prague), he is asleep on a ledge, and the action of the Virgin acquires the sacramental significance of wrapping the dead Christ for burial. Orazio has greatly enriched the associative aspects of the theme by showing the child lying across the Virgin's lap, as in a Pietà, and the Virgin using her own veil to cover him. The child holds an apricot, which appears to be an erudite correction for the





Figure 59. Orazio Gentileschi, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown

more common apple of Original Sin. In an unsurpassed analysis of the picture, Freedberg encapsulates its dense meaning as follows: "The body of Christ, in a sleep that foretells His offering in sacrifice, is revealed beneath the humeral veil upon his shroud, the cloth laid on an altar which is the broad lap of Mary Virgin, who is Mother Church." He is no less eloquent in characterizing the stylistic moment of the picture and its salient features: "With the Fogg *Madonna* and its chronological companions Orazio passed beyond dependence on the art of Caravaggio into a powerful and highly personal style, for which the prior assimilation of Caravaggism was a threshold. . . . The image combines majesty with seeming truth of actual existence, and grandeur with the closeness and particularity of a scene of genre."

Where, in my estimation, Freedberg errs is in assigning the painting a date of about 1610, as previously suggested by Longhi, who, however, had mistakenly identified the picture with a *Madonna a sedere con il bambino in braccio*, which Gentileschi painted for Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in 1609–10. That work must have been a version of—or at least similar to—the *Madonna and Child* in Bucharest (cat. 15). A greater difference between two works that treat the same theme is difficult to imagine: one an essay in *verismo*, in which sacred history is envisaged in terms of the everyday; the other a grandly articulated, formal statement, in which gesture, expression, and costume assert a realm beyond that of ordinary experience.[1] Bissell has argued for a date in the mid teens, which seems to me the more likely.

In his analysis, Freedberg draws analogies with the *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* in the Galleria Spada (cat. 18)—a work that demonstrates a concern for formal pose but is altogether more naturalistic—and, more specifically, with the *Judith and Her Maidservant* in Hartford (cat. 39), a picture that was probably painted about 1621–24, when Orazio was in Genoa. Recently, Giffi Ponzi has suggested that the Fogg painting, too, is a Genoese work. It is, however, difficult to believe that a picture of this originality and beauty would not have been noted by our primary sources on Genoese painting, Soprani and Ratti, or listed in the inventory of one of Orazio's Genoese patrons. It is my feeling that the monumental effect of the Fogg *Madonna*—due as much to the structural clarity of the folds of the drapery as to the close cropping of the image—marks it as a Roman work, an argument supported by the fact that the *Madonna and Child* in the Cini Foundation, Monselice, by an anonymous Roman artist clearly derives from Orazio's painting. A number of Madonna and Child compositions by Orazio are listed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Roman inventories. One was owned by the Olgiati family, another—"una Madonna grande col Putto"—was owned by Ippolita Ludovisi, principessa di Piombino, and a third was listed in 1650 as part of the Savelli collection.[2] Whether any of these was the Fogg picture cannot be determined.

Longhi referred to the Fogg painting as "almost a Bronzino turned Caravaggesque," and this perfectly describes Orazio's newfound equipoise between his pre-Caravaggesque, Mannerist training and his experience of the art of the great Lombard. The black background is suggestive of slate—the support Sebastiano had chosen for his *Madonna del velo*, and which was enjoying renewed popularity in Rome following the

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Milan (until 1931); Conte Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi, Florence (after 1931); Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd., London (until 1976); Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass.

REFERENCES: Porcella 1931, 5–6; Longhi 1935, 5; Longhi 1943, 22, 46 n. 37; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 39, 57–58, 61, 65, vol. 2, 76 no. C.3; Freedberg 1976, 732–35; Moir 1976, 133 n. 222 vii; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 38–39, 147, 158 no. 30, 165; Nicolson 1990, 114; Schleier 1993, 196; Giffi Ponzi 1994, 53–54; De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 104; Holmes in Bissell 1999, 178–79.

arrival in 1614 of Alessandro Turchi, Pasquale Ottino, and Marcantonio Bassetti.

As Freedberg observes, there is "not just a deviation from Caravaggio's persistently classicizing model, but in a sense a development beyond it, towards a quality of baroqueness." Orazio can hardly have been unaware of the new directions signaled by Domenichino's cycle of frescoes devoted to the life of Saint Cecilia in San Luigi dei Francesi, of 1611–14, or of Giovanni Lanfranco's canvases in the Buongiovanni chapel of Sant'Agostino, of 1616, all of which posit a new dynamic between the actively posed figures and the space they inhabit. It is the Fogg *Madonna*, with its cold, somewhat abstract beauty—"dalla bellezza gelida e lontana," as Giffi Ponzi writes—that sets the stage for Orazio's achievement in Genoa. For this reason, it is worth noting that the sheer veil with gold stripes, gold edging, and a gold fringe would become one of his favorite props, recurring in the *Danaë* (cat. 36), the Turin *Annunciation* (cat. 43), the *Public Felicity* (cat. 44), and in various versions of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. 45).

After 1615, Gentileschi articulates a new relationship between art and nature. Drawing rather than painting from life seems to inform the abstracting tendency in his work. Of course, drawing from a posed model was hardly novel. What is new is the way Orazio brings this practice into line with his experience of Caravaggio. Building a repertory of carefully observed heads and hands enabled him to concentrate on formal relationships while maintaining a naturalistic effect. None of these drawings have survived, and the practice must be deduced from the habit he developed of recycling the heads of female models in a number of paintings. A *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (fig. 59), for instance, repeats the features and angled placement of the Madonna in the Fogg painting and must have been taken from the same drawing (for other examples of this practice, see pp. 20–21).[3]

The picture is painted on three pieces of canvas. There is marked cusping on all sides, and the picture retains its original dimensions.[4]

1. It should be noted that Freedberg does not mention the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* and was uncertain about the attribution of the *Saint Jerome* published by Longhi (see cat. 16). Knowledge of these works would have transformed his analysis.
2. For these pictures, see Bissell 1981, 218, and De Marchi 1987, 150, 281. The Savelli painting measured 4 × 3 *palmi*, or about 88 × 66 cm. Measurements in seventeenth-century inventories are notoriously imprecise: the measurements of the *Saint Cecilia* in Washington (cat. 31) are given as 3 × 5 *palmi*, whereas it measures 87.5 × 108 cm.
3. See Schleier 2000, 169–70.
4. First reported by De Grazia and Garberson (1996, 104). I am less sure about the main canvas having been prestretched and primed, as I saw no dramatic evidence of cusping along the seam of the main canvas, which runs vertically to the right of the Virgin's head, top to bottom. Extra gesso was applied to fill the seams.

29. *Crucifixion*

Oil on canvas, 12 ft. ⅞ in. × 6 ft. 10⅝ in. (368 × 210 cm)

Cathedral of San Venanzio, Fabriano

ca. 1613–18

New York, Saint Louis

Despite the severe damage this painting has suffered, it remains one of Orazio's most impressive works—striking for the archaic simplicity of its composition, the tragic nobility of the figures, and the expressive use of light. Behind Christ, his head bowed in death, the clouds have parted to reveal a heavenly radiance, as though in response to the earthquake that, we are told in the Gospel account, released "many bodies of the saints which slept" (Matt. 27:52). A yellow-tinted evening sky brightens the horizon beyond the crest of Golgotha (Mark 15:42), while the figures of Mary, John, and Mary Magdalene (John 19:25–26), still shrouded in the darkness that, from the sixth to the ninth hour, enveloped the land (Matt. 27:45; Mark 15:33), are illuminated by a shaft of light falling from outside the picture. The gestures of

Mary and John, often contrasted in depictions of the Crucifixion, here mirror each other, though the beloved disciple looks up at Christ while the Virgin looks downward, solemnly averting her gaze. Mary Magdalene's ritualistic embrace of the cross takes on special poignancy, as her face is not juxtaposed with Christ's feet but is pressed against the bare wood; the elevation of Christ on the cross heightens the effect of abandonment. (The conventional juxtaposition of the Magdalene's head with Christ's feet alludes to her having washed his feet and dried them with her hair as an act of atonement.) Nothing could be further from the emotionalism of Federico Barocci's great altarpiece for the cathedral of Genoa, dated 1596, on the one hand, or the rhetorical eloquence of Guido Reni's 1619 *Crucifixion* for the Capuchins in Bologna (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), on the other. As Voss notes, the most relevant analogy for the stark composition is Scipione Pulzone's *Crucifixion* in the Chiesa Nuova in Rome—a work that Orazio must have known well and that exemplifies the devotional concerns of the Counter-Reformation.[1] The figure of Saint John in Pulzone's picture, shown from the back with arms outflung, his drapery falling in sharply modeled folds, derives from the dramatic *Crucifixion* that Titian painted for the church of San Domenico in Ancona, and there is a strong possibility that Titian's picture, much admired by Vasari, also provided a reference point for Orazio.

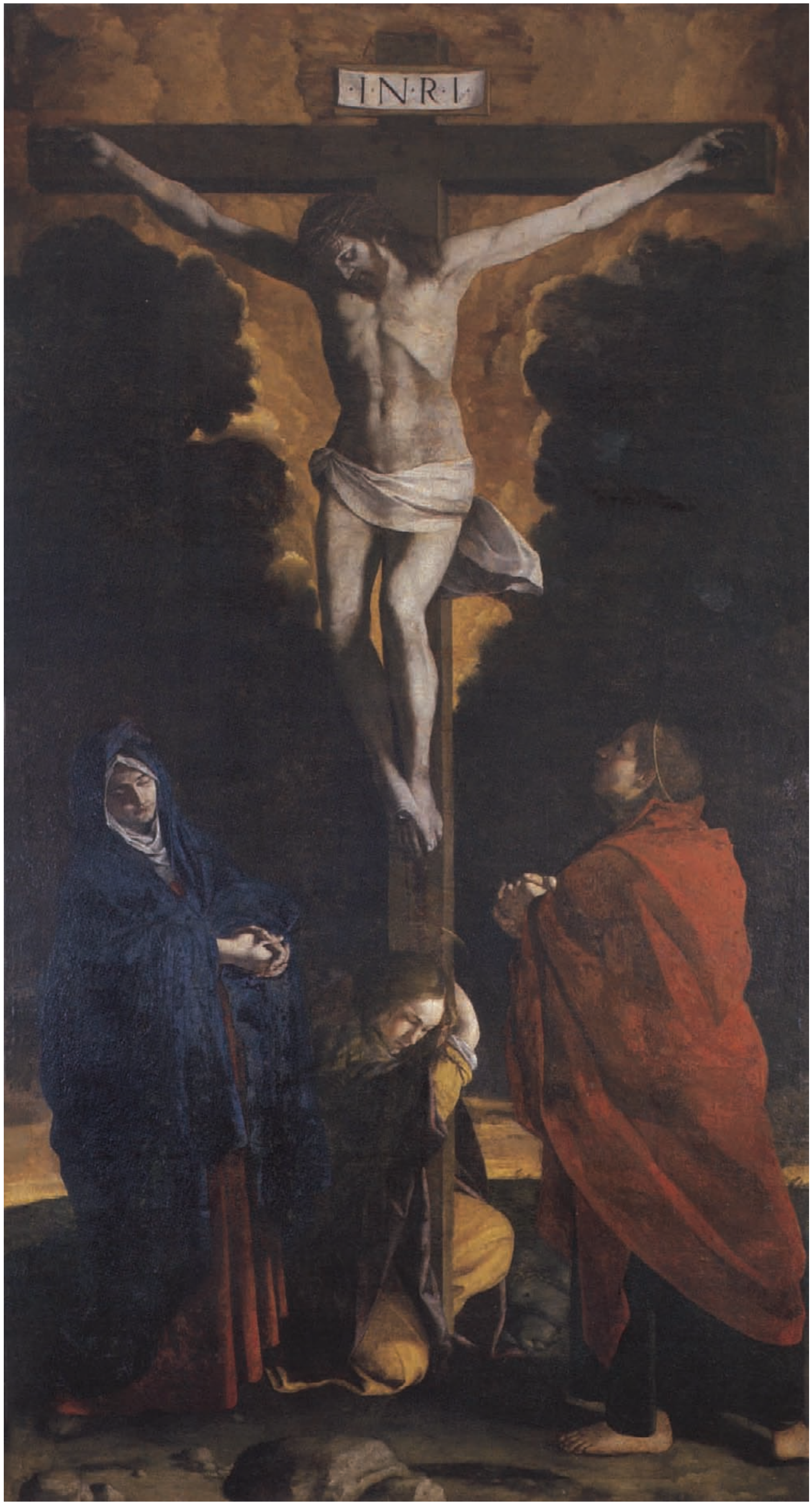
Whatever his pictorial sources, Orazio has re-created the Crucifixion not as a dramatic event but as a meditation—"a prolonged pause, full of the silence of spiritual events," in the words of Emiliani.[2] It is this effect of stilled quiet that sets the picture apart from so much Baroque imagery and suggests an archaizing intention that has reminded some viewers of fifteenth-century painting.

Our understanding of the visual language of the *Crucifixion* is tied up with the frescoed decorations of the chapel for which it serves as an altarpiece: the fourth on the left in the cathedral of San Venanzio in Fabriano. Orazio frescoed the walls and vault with scenes of Christ's Passion (figs. 50, 51). There are no documents that relate directly to the chapel, but a general time frame for the frescoes and altarpiece has been established by Emiliani and Bissell. Prior to 1601, the Urbino architect Muzio Oddi was preparing designs for the modernization of the medieval building. The project was approved in 1607, and by 1615 there is a notice that the roof was finished and the church nearly completed; a dedicatory inscription on the interior facade records the date 1617. Four years earlier, on November 7, 1613, the Arte dei Calzettai (or hosiers' guild) was assigned the second chapel on the left, dedicated to Saint Charles Borromeo, and was charged with commissioning an altarpiece and installing it within four years. This action was linked to severe earthquakes the preceding year, during which the saint's aid was invoked and an annual procession in his honor instituted.[3] Presumably, Orazio was commissioned to decorate the chapel of the Crucifixion sometime after 1613/15; he may have completed it about 1617, though this really is no more than conjecture. Carloni suggests that Francesco Stelluti may have played a role in promoting Orazio to the Vallemani family, who she convincingly argues were the patrons of the chapel (see pp. 123–24).

A persistent theme in the critical literature on Orazio's frescoes concerns the possible influence on them of fifteenth-century Florentine painting. Mezzetti, in 1930, wrote of "recollections of ancient Florentine elegance," while Voss, writing in 1960, drew analogies between Orazio's frescoes and those of Piero della Francesca and Masaccio. Building on these observations, Bissell has suggested a trip to Florence in 1616, when Orazio's name is cited in the register recording Artemisia's matriculation in the Accademia del Disegno.[4] (However, in 1633 Orazio declared that he had not been to Florence for fifty-five years.) In both the frescoes and the *Crucifixion*, Gentileschi's art shows a distinctively reductive approach to composition, but I remain unconvinced that this is the result of his study of quattrocento Florentine art. There seem to me to be more pertinent late-sixteenth-century and Caravaggesque models that Orazio could have drawn on, as well as the engravings of Dürer, which Voss argues he also studied (as did many artists throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). The key issue here is Orazio's development of a Counter-Reformation narrative style that draws in equal

PROVENANCE: Chapel of the Crucifixion, cathedral of San Venanzio, Fabriano.

REFERENCES: Benigni (1728) 1924, 96; Marcoaldi 1873, 95 no. 56; Voss 1925, 460–61; Mezzetti 1930, 546; Molajoli 1936, 94–95; Molajoli, Serra, and Rotondi 1936, 78; Emiliani 1958b, 51–52; Voss 1960–61, 99–107; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 72–74, vol. 2, 76 no. C.4; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 159–62 no. 32a; Nicolson 1990, 114; Zampetti 1990, 297–98.


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measure on Caravaggesque realism and Bolognese classicism and reflects as well his training in Rome in the 1580s and his essentially conservative approach to spatial composition. Domenichino's contemporary frescoes in the Nolfi chapel in the cathedral of Fano, painted in 1618–19, show a similar archaistic tendency—"a distinctively simple style, a mood more tranquil in its neo-Renaissance, plain piety than had existed before," observes Spear.[5] This analogy raises the possibility that both artists accommodated their styles to suit what they may have viewed as a more conservative clientele—though the variety of artists commissioned to do work for the Marches seems rather to testify to a remarkable openness. It would, in any case, be wrong to underestimate the fundamental modernity of the work Orazio produced for San Venanzio.

In the fresco of the Agony in the Garden, the foreground is audaciously set by the cutoff figures of three sleeping apostles—the kind of Baroque device we might expect of Lanfranco (for example, his *Agony in the Garden,* in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, painted about 1622–23), except that Orazio does not use extreme foreshortenings or illusionistic effects. The composition of the *Crowning with Thorns* is intimately bound up with the great canvas at Braunschweig (cat. 23), which no one would characterize as "archaistic." The truly innovative and modern aspect of both the frescoes and the *Crucifixion* resides in Orazio's handling of light, a light that has a crystalline purity and confers on the figures a quality of physical presence that is key to their devotional affect. The play of the light and shadow on the face and clasped hands of the Virgin at once affirms her actuality and bestows on her the statuesque immobility of a cult object. The model for this achievement was obviously Caravaggio's *Madonna di Loreto,* in the church of Sant'Agostino, except that Orazio's figure conveys greater vulnerability and a less heroic humanity, retaining the quality of a real individual. As commented on elsewhere (cat. nos. 30, 31), the young woman who posed for the Magdalene was also used by Orazio for other pictures. The primary differences between the frescoes and the altarpiece result from the media employed and the effects Orazio sought: a quality of largeness and sculptural solidity in the altarpiece, with saturated colors and dramatic contrasts of light; elegance of design and diffused lightness and transparency in the frescoes. These features seem to me to suggest a date for the chapel decorations—for both the frescoes and the altarpiece—of about 1613–18. The picture has been restored with the generous support of Abramo Galassi.

1. See the evocative and insightful description in Zeri 1957, 80–81.
2. Emiliani 1958b, 51: "Un prolungato tempo di posa, colmo di silenziosi eventi spirituali, par dominare la scena."
3. The resulting altarpiece is by Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri, though it includes a strikingly Gentileschian flying angel that has led to the plausible suggestion that Orazio may have received the commission and begun but not finished the altarpiece. On this see, most recently, Zampetti in Fossombrone 1997, 60, and Carloni, p. 125 in this publication.
4. For a discussion of the different opinions that have been voiced regarding Orazio's name in Artemisia's matriculation in the Accademia in Florence, see Bissell 1999, 399–400 n. 24.
5. Spear 1982, 61.

30.

Vision of Saint Francesca Romana

Oil on canvas, 106¼ × 61⅞ in. (270 × 157 cm)

Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino

ca. 1614 /1618–20

Although she was canonized by Paul V only in 1608 (she was beatified in 1460), Saint Francesca Romana (1384–1440) had long been the object of a cult, having founded an association of noblewomen, who in 1433 formed the Oblate Congregation of Tor de' Specchi at the foot of the Capitoline, in Rome. Within just a few years of her death, a series of panels recording scenes from her life—especially her many visions—was painted, probably for the Roman Olivetan church of Santa Maria Nuova, and a couple of decades later the old church of Tor de' Specchi was decorated with a similar cycle of frescoes. The vision



Orazio depicts, in which the Virgin has granted the saint the privilege of holding the infant Christ, is shown in both cycles and is also recounted, in five different episodes of her life, in a contemporary biography.[1] The inscription beneath the fresco that depicts this scene reads, "How the blessed Francesca, being in a beatific vision as she so often was, saw the eternal God in the arms of the glorious Virgin his mother and how he deigned to come into her arms." This type of mystical experience, with its combination of the physical and the visionary, was especially congruent with seventeenth-century spirituality. The angel who appears with Francesca Romana is her guardian angel, who, according to hagiographic sources, accompanied her as a divine favor.

The altarpiece, among Orazio's most beautiful, comes from the Olivetan church of Santa Caterina Martire in Fabriano, where it is mentioned in early-eighteenth-century guides. The church was extensively restored between 1590 and 1620, and Orazio's altarpiece was doubtless part of the renovation. This would point to a date toward the end of his activity in the Marches, as Gamba and Longhi recognized on the basis of style in their groundbreaking essays of 1922–23 and 1927 (both, however, misidentified the saint as Clare). By contrast, Carloni argues for a date prior to 1615 (see pp. 126–27). How much time Orazio actually spent in Fabriano remains a matter of speculation; his last probable trip to the Marches was in 1619, when Cardinal Bevilacqua put his name forward to fresco the tribune of the church of Sant'Ubaldo in Pesaro. Of course, the altarpiece could well have been painted in Rome as late as about 1620 and then sent to Fabriano.

As with Orazio's other Marchigian commissions—most particularly his frescoed decorations for a chapel in San Venanzio, Fabriano—the simplicity of the composition and emphasis on detailed description have elicited speculation about the possible influence of Florentine art, either that of Santi di Tito (Gamba) or that of fifteenth-century painting (Bissell). Echoes of the Marchigian work of Lorenzo Lotto have also been noted (see especially Emiliani). There is something to be said for each of these suggestions, insofar as they attempt to address the special visual language Orazio employs to convey that quality of the everyday pervaded by the divine. What needs to be stressed is that this visual language is closely bound up with Counter-Reformation attitudes toward religious art that Orazio surely learned in Rome in the 1580s and that must have been even more pertinent in Fabriano, the hometown of Giovanni Andrea Gilio da Fabriano (d. 1584), one of the most conservative critics of artistic practice.[2] Gilio's dialogue on the abuses in art, which appeared in 1564, puts forward the twin principles of faithfulness to the historical—that is, biblical or hagiographic—source and the sense of decorum, or appropriateness. Despite many of his extreme positions—especially his famous diatribe against Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in the Sistine chapel—his notion that good painting should inspire feelings of "chastity, purity, and reverence for religion" in the beholder had widespread resonance and is clearly pertinent to Orazio's altarpiece.[3]

Gilio urged artists to return their craft to its first purity ("la sua purità primiera") and to strive for truth and beauty by painting simply and purely ("farlo semplice e puro, perché mescolarlo col poetico e finto altro non è che un difformare il vero et il bello").[4] These were not hollow phrases, for he wrote a laudatory poem about a representation of Mary Magdalene by the celebrated early Renaissance painter Gentile da Fabriano.[5] Gilio's legacy may have been particularly strong in Fabriano, but we have only to think of certain works by Guido Reni (his 1628–29 *Annunciation* at Ascoli Piceno, for example), Guercino (the *Madonna of the Rosary* in the church of San Marco, Osimo, to pick one of his numerous Marchigian commissions), or Sassoferrato—that proto-Nazarene pupil of Domenichino's—to realize the strength of this current in seicento painting and, most important, its basis in Raphaelesque classicism. In the case of Orazio's *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana* there is the added fact that the iconography is based not simply on a literary text but on fifteenth-century images accessible to him. On all these counts, this altarpiece may be said to encapsulate the various strands that run through all his religious commissions in the Marches.

The composition, with the seated Virgin appearing to the kneeling saint from a bank of clouds, was fairly

Provenance: Church of Santa Caterina Martire, Fabriano (until about 1798); Abbot Silvestro Marcellini, Fabriano (1798–1821); Carlo Rosei, Fabriano; Agabiti Rosei (by 1936); Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.

Related picture: *Head of Saint Francesca Romana* (copy; formerly Milan, Bonomi collection).[9]

References: Benigni (1728) 1924, 98; Marcoaldi 1873, 94 n. 53; Longhi (1916) 1961, 231–32; Gamba 1922–23, 256; Voss 1925, 461; Longhi 1927, 114 n. 1; Molajoli 1936, 132; Emiliani 1958b, 52–53; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 72–73, passim, vol. 2, 76 no. c.5; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 35–37, 40, 70, 76, 165–66 no. 36, 167–69, 208; Zampetti in Ancona 1985, 216–17; Pizzorusso 1987, 73; Nicolson 1990, 114; Zampetti in Sassoferrato 1990, 25; De Grazia and Schleier 1994, 68, 73.

common. It was, for example, the way Domenichino showed the Virgin appearing to Saints Nilius and Bartholomew in his fresco at the abbey of Grottaferrata, and the way he depicted the Virgin appearing to Saint Anthony, who holds the Christ child, in a small painting in the Musée de Toul.[6] The Domenichinos are of interest because of their domestic simplicity. Where Orazio differs most significantly from the rudimentary classicism of Domenichino is in his treatment of the event as an actual occurrence—*vero* rather than *verisimile*—as experienced by the saint herself (here, again, we note the pertinence of Gilio's ideals).

A curtain has been drawn back. The steps—their nicks and joins emphatically described—abut the picture plane, establishing a shallow stage. The simple, cloglike slippers and prayer book of Francesca Romana, like her matronly features, create the impression of the everyday world interrupted by a visionary experience. Behind the vaporous clouds that fill the room and support the Virgin is a glimpse of the golden light of the heavenly hosts (a device Raphael had famously used in his *Sistine Madonna*, then in the church of San Sisto, Piacenza). This diaphanous, angelic radiance, like the depiction of the child as an eight-month-old baby, is a precise realization of the relevant passage in Giovanni Mattiotti's fifteenth-century biography of the saint: "Post haec ductus fuit in aliam maiorem lucem, in qua plures angelici spiritus existebant . . . In qua quidem luce celestis Regina, Filium Dei et suum in bracchiis tenens quantum ad humanitatem parvulum fere in etate octo mensium, stabat."[7] The genius of Orazio is to have drawn a contrast between this divine radiance and the very real, sharp light that falls across the figures in the foreground, creating a magical play of shadows on the faces of the saint and the infant Christ, who raises one hand affectionately. As Longhi wrote in 1916, "Not since some hints were given in the work of Lotto . . . had one seen a work so complex, in which the framework of style, the cohesion of art, is established not by the juxtaposition of areas of color, as in Venetian painting of the early cinquecento, but through scaled relations of luminosity in the colors."[8] This new kind of pictorial unity—"pittura di valori"—Longhi saw as the basis of modern painting. We might say that in this work, Caravaggesque realism has acquired a devotional, as well as aesthetic, character.

The Virgin has the beauty not of the Queen of Heaven but of an ordinary young woman. The model must have captivated Orazio, since he used her for the Magdalene at the foot of the cross in the *Crucifixion* he painted for the cathedral of Fabriano (cat. 29) and for the *Saint Cecilia with an Angel* (cat. 31). Even in the Virgin in the *Annunciation* he sent from Genoa to Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy (cat. 43), there seems to be an echo of this entrancing young woman.

Pizzorusso has noted that between 1616 and 1618, the abbot general of the Olivetans, Ippolito Borghese, was a member of the Sienese branch of the Borghese family. The order's protector was Scipione Borghese, cardinal-nephew to Paul V Borghese. Given the devotion of the pope to the saint, the commission to Orazio may have come through his former patrons in Rome, although by this time he was certainly a well-known figure in Fabriano. This circumstantial evidence would seem to support a date for the altarpiece around 1618. Carloni, however, has argued for a date prior to 1615, based on the motif of the steps in an altarpiece by Guerrieri that was finished in that year (fig. 55). She notes that from 1611, the cardinal-protector of the Olivetans was Sfondrato (see p. 126).

1. See Rossi 1907, 8, and Kaftal 1948, 54.
2. On Gilio, see Di Monte 2000, 751–54.
3. Gilio in Barocchi 1960–62, vol. 2, 79.
4. Ibid., 38–39.
5. See Sassi 1923–24, 275.
6. See Spear 1982, 164 no. 35ix, 229 no. 77.
7. Vision XIII: see Romagnoli 1994, 439.
8. Longhi (1916) 1961, 231.
9. See Bissell 1981, 208 no. x-23.

31.

Saint Cecilia with an Angel

Oil on canvas, 34⅝ × 42½ in. (87.8 × 108.1 cm)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1961.9.73)

ca. 1618–21

From 1621 onward, Orazio frequently repeated his most successful compositions, often, it would seem, with the aid of a tracing from the prime version (see pp. 20–30) and taking only a limited part in their realization. He also used portions of one work as a point of departure for others. This occurs in the Fogg *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* (cat. 28), where the figure of the Virgin was recycled as a Saint Catherine, and in the *Judith and Her Maidservant*, in which the head of Judith served as a model for that of a female musician (cat. nos. 39, 40). Far from being merely a shorthand working method, the process underscores Orazio's interest in the variation of formal solutions. The closely related paintings in Washington and in Perugia (cat. 32) pose just such a problem, not only because similar figures appear in each painting, but because these figures clearly derive from Orazio's altarpiece, the *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana* (cat. 30). The exhibition of all three works together ought to clarify issues of attribution as well as of Gentileschi's working habits, some of which are raised in a detailed article by De Grazia and Schleier that discusses the Perugia and Washington paintings.

Although the pictures at Washington and Perugia are closely related, they differ in motif, interpretation, and execution. In the Washington painting the patron saint of music, Saint Cecilia, plays an organ, while in the Perugia painting she plays a spinet. In the one a youthful angel holds the music for the saint, while in the other the angel appears to follow her performance or sing in accompaniment. In one, it is the presence of the angel alone which attests that the image is indeed of Saint Cecilia and not merely of a young woman practicing (a conflation of sacred and profane typical of Orazio). In the other, the saint has a halo and wears her traditional attribute, a garland of roses. The presence of the garland and halo on the Perugia Saint Cecilia is probably explained by the picture's destination, a Franciscan convent in Todi (where it was discovered in 1972 by Francesco Santi); the picture presumably

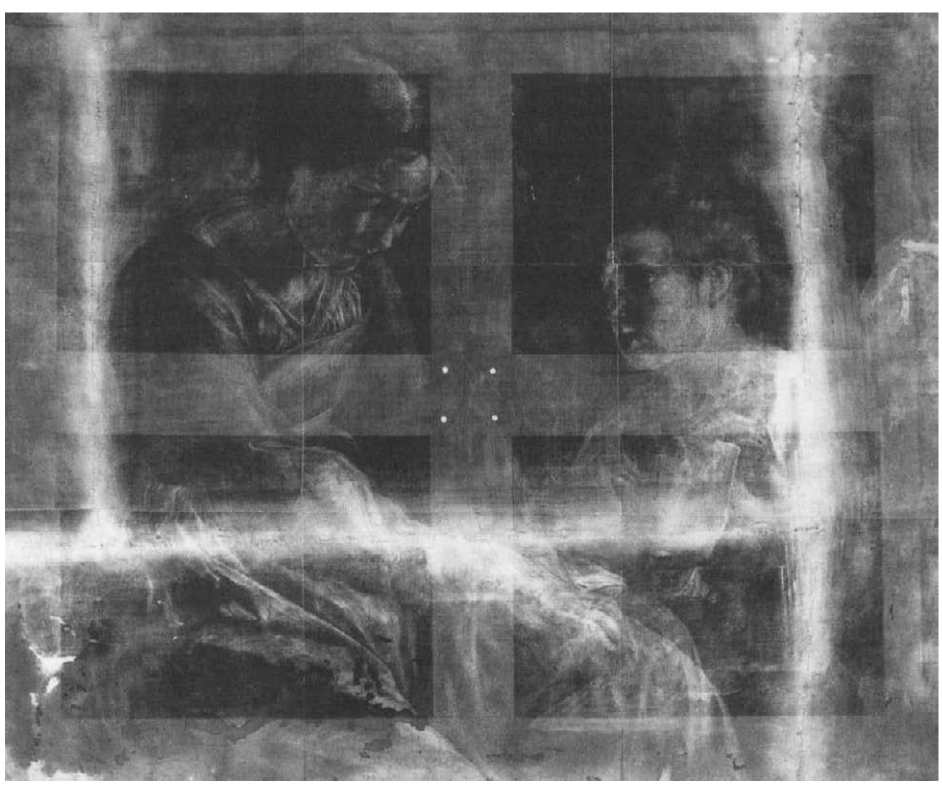


Figure 60. X radiograph of cat. 31



PROVENANCE: Natale Rondanini?, Rome (d. 1627); Alessandro Rondanini, Rome (1627–39); his wife, Felice Zacchia Rondanini, Rome (1639–67; inv. 1662, as by Orazio Gentileschi and Giovanni Lanfranco); Alessandro Rondanini, Rome (1667–40; exh. 1694 and 1710, San Salvatore in Lauro; inv. 1741, as by Gentileschi and Lanfranco); by inheritance to the Del Bufalo della Valle Cancellieri family, Rome; Marchese Paolo del Bufalo della Valle, Rome (by 1840); by inheritance to Monsignor Federico Fioretti, Rome (by 1944); Vitale Bloch, The Netherlands (before 1951–52); The Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York (1952); National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

RELATED PICTURES: Cat. 32; Mrs. Randolph Berens (copy; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 25, 1924).[5]

REFERENCES: Hermanin 1944, 45–46; Milan 1951, 64 no. 107; Emiliani 1958b, 43; Salerno 1965, 280; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 70–72, vol. 2, 76 no. E.1; Shapley 1973, 83; Santi 1976, 43–44; Nicolson 1979, 53; Shapley 1979, 199–200; Bissell 1981, 39–40, 165, 166–67 no. 37; Nicolson 1990, 114; De Grazia and Schleier 1994, 73–78; Negro in Negro and Pirondini 1995, 182; De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 103–12.

belonged to one of the nuns (it is still in its original frame). By contrast, the Washington painting is first mentioned in a 1662 inventory of the collection of Felice Zacchia Rondanini in Rome and was probably acquired by Felice's father-in-law, Natale Rondanini, who was a member of the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia.

In the Rondanini inventory of 1662, it is noted that the heads of the figures in the Washington picture were painted by Gentileschi, while the rest of the painting was by Giovanni Lanfranco, a favorite artist of Natale Rondanini's.[1] X radiographs and a technical analysis undertaken at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, confirm that Orazio left the painting unfinished. He completed the heads and busts of both figures and also painted Saint Cecilia's bodice and skirt. The sleeves of Cecilia's dress, the drapery over her left leg, the sheet of music, the drapery, and the wings of the angel, the hands of both figures, and the organ were painted by Lanfranco, sometimes covering up or modifying portions already painted or begun by Orazio.[2] It is likely that Lanfranco did this around 1620–21, perhaps after Orazio had left for Genoa, and at more or less the same time that he carried out an independent picture of the same subject and about the same size for Natale Rondanini (Bob Jones University Museum and Art Gallery, Greenville, South Carolina). Interestingly, this was not the only unfinished painting by Orazio owned by Rondanini; he also acquired the earliest version of Orazio's *Judith and Her Maidservant* (fig. 46).

The X rays reveal that prior to Lanfranco's completion of the Washington picture, Saint Cecilia's right arm was positioned lower and at a sharper angle (whether Orazio also painted the hands is uncertain). This made it more similar not only to the composition in Perugia but, more important, to the figure of the Madonna in the Santa Francesca Romana altarpiece. Indeed, there can be little doubt that the two figures in both pictures trace their origin to that altarpiece.

De Grazia and Schleier have both suggested that after completing the altarpiece, Orazio blocked out and partially painted the two figures in the Washington canvas. The Perugia painting, which De Grazia does not believe to be autograph, would have been done with reference to the Washington painting for the general composition, and to the altarpiece for the position of the angel's wing, the color of his costume, and the motif of the rolled-up sleeve of Saint Cecilia. I would like to suggest, more simply, that a combination of tracings and drawings may have been used for both, which is why they relate in slightly different ways to the altarpiece and to each other.[3] For example, the puffy-faced angel in the Perugia painting is closer to its counterpart in the altarpiece than it is to the angel in the Washington version, while it is the Saint Cecilia in the Washington painting that is closest to the figure in the altarpiece. A second altarpiece painted for a church in Fabriano, the *Madonna of the Rosary*, recycles the same heads. It has been proposed that that work is a pastiche. But done under Orazio's supervision or independently?

There is no question that the Washington picture is in every respect superior to that in Perugia. Indeed, in the handling of light—sharp, focused, and with a wonderful effect of transparency—the Washington picture is in every way equal to the Saint Francesca Romana altarpiece. One might even posit that it is the Washington painting that conveys more fully the firsthand study of a posed model, right down to the treatment of the bodice of the saint's dress. By comparison, the altarpiece has a more abstracted quality. Did the Washington picture perhaps originate as a study of the models for the altarpiece, and was it subsequently transformed into a *Saint Cecilia with an Angel*? The problem here is drawing a line between Orazio's tendency to combine the worlds of genre and sacred painting and his means of achieving a naturalistic effect. In any event, as Schleier has pointed out, the Perugia *Saint Cecilia* should not automatically be demoted to a workshop variant or a pastiche by another artist. It is certainly not by the Marchigian Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri, as proposed by Bissell (who, however, was unaware that large portions of what he considers Orazio's version are by Lanfranco). There are minor pentimenti (for example, in the wings), and the brushwork of the original blocking in (the *abbozzo*) is visible in the saint's left arm. Definitive judgment should be postponed until the exhibition. A reasonable date for both pictures would be about 1618–21. As is often the case with Orazio's easel-sized pictures, the Washington *Saint Cecilia* is

painted on four separate pieces of plain-weave fabric sewn together. The center piece was prestretched and probably pregrounded.[4]

1. "Un quadro Longo Palmi cinque, alto tre con una Santa Cecilia conle Teste di m[an]i del Gentileschi, il resto di Gio:Lanfranchi con cornice intagliata et indorata nella Galeria del. S.r Card.le." First published by Salerno 1965, 280, the transcription has been corrected and republished by De Grazia and Schleier 1994, 73, and again in De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 103, where a detailed discussion of the painting can be found.
2. For a full report, see De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 104.
3. Related to this issue is the proposal by Pizzorusso (1987, 61–63) that another altarpiece in Fabriano, the *Madonna of the Rosary*, is not by Orazio but is a pastiche of elements, some deriving from the Saint Francesca Romana altarpiece. Regardless of its autograph status, the *Madonna of the Rosary* testifies to the same sorts of issues raised by the paintings under discussion. A figure in a painting formerly in the Wittgens collection derives from the figure of Santa Francesca Romana; see Bissell 1981, 208. To judge from the reproduction, this is only a copy.
4. See De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 103.
5. See ibid., 111 n. 49.

32.
Saint Cecilia with an Angel

Oil on canvas, 35 3/8 × 41 in. (90 × 105 cm)

Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia

ca. 1618–21

See cat. 31.



PROVENANCE: Monastero di San Francesco, Todi (until 1976); Galleria Nazionale dell' Umbria, Perugia.

REFERENCES: Santi 1976, 43–44; Bissell 1981, 167; De Grazia and Schleier 1994, 73–78; De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 106–8; Castrichini et al. 1999, 205–9.

33.
Sibyl

Oil on canvas, 31½ × 28⅜ in. (80 × 72 cm)

The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, The Samuel H. Kress Collection (inv. 61.74)

ca. 1618–21

This engaging composition, in which the sibyl turns to address the viewer, her partly shadowed face animated by the play of reflected light, is something of an anomaly in Orazio's oeuvre. Rarely do his sitters seek to engage the viewer directly. Perhaps only in the Prado *Executioner with the Head of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 20) does one do so in a fashion comparable to the Houston *Sibyl*. Otherwise, it is only an occasional, incidental glance that breaks the lyrical mood which Orazio prefers: a music-making angel in the upper left gazing out of the *Circumcision* in the church of the Gesù, Ancona, or the nursing Christ child in the various versions of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. nos. 34, 35). It is to the earliest version of the latter composition—the one in Birmingham—that the *Sibyl* seems to me closest in style, both for the treatment of light and for the general tonality. (I am not able to agree with Bissell's dating of the picture to after 1620 and see no connection with Orazio's English-period paintings.)



Figure 61. Domenichino (1581–1641), *"Persian" Sibyl*. Oil on canvas. Wallace Collection, London

The richly articulated pose may owe something to the sibyls of both Michelangelo (the turning figure in the *Libyan Sibyl* in the Sistine chapel) and Raphael (the figures in Santa Maria della Pace, Rome), but the key comparison is with Domenichino, who in 1616–17 painted a *Sibyl* for Scipione Borghese (Galleria Borghese, Rome). In that work there is a like emphasis on rich fabrics and an even more elaborate play in the hands, similarly paired on the right side of the composition.[1] The comparison is of more than passing interest, since, according to a 1631 inventory, the Savelli also owned a *Sibyl* by Domenichino that was evidently displayed together with Orazio's and another by Guido Reni. Although the Savelli *Sibyls* cannot be certainly identified with existing pictures by these two artists, it seems possible that Orazio's was designed to form part of a series and that the formal beauty of the pose was intended to meet the challenge of the works of the two leading Bolognese painters (fig. 61).[2] The 1631 inventory also lists, in addition to these three *Sibyls*, one by Dosso Dossi (fig. 8). Could this conceivably be the painting now in the Hermitage?[3] If so, the picture, with its brilliant—one might say proto-Gentileschian—description of silken fabrics, must have been important to the Venetianizing trend in Orazio's work after about 1613, when he is first documented working for the Savelli family.

The pose of Orazio's sibyl has a contemporary counterpart in Angelo Caroselli's comical figure of Vanity (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome), shown as a plebeian girl with an unforgettably toothy smile.[4] Compared with Caroselli's somewhat cheeky interpretation of Caravaggesque naturalism, Orazio's seems, indeed, elevated and poetic, if still at great remove from the classicizing style of Domenichino.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, England (sale, Christie's, June 22, 1951, lot 88, as by Artemisia Gentileschi, to J. Tooth); David Koester, New York; Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York (1952); The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

RELATED PICTURE: Paris (copy; Hôtel-Drouot, sale, March 31, 1995, lot 60).

REFERENCES: Houston 1953, pl. 18; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 75 n. 22, vol. 2, 75 no. A.1; Providence 1968, no. 4; Cleveland 1971, 102–3 no. 31; Shapley 1973, 83–84; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 187 no. 60; Houston 1981, 48 no. 88; Nicolson 1990, 112.



1. For Domenichino's *Sibyl*, see Rome 1996–97, 422 no. 25.
2. For the 1631 inventory, see Spezzaferro 1985, 72. It is perhaps worth noting that the Hermitage Dosso measures 69 × 64 cm. Of the four known *Sibyls* by Domenichino, only that in the Wallace Collection, London, has compatible measurements: 80 × 72 cm. The *Sibyl* by Reni in the Mahon collection measures 74 × 58 cm. Thus, there are paintings by each of these artists that would be appropriate companions to Orazio's. The Mahon *Sibyl*, however, is listed in a 1637 inventory of the collection of Carlo de' Medici and is unlikely to be the Savelli picture (it is also a work of the 1630s). The picture in the Wallace Collection cannot be traced prior to the eighteenth century.
3. See Lucco in Ferrara–New York–Los Angeles 1998–99, 184–87. The picture entered the Hermitage in 1814.
4. For the most recent opinions of this work, see Rome 1999, 78 no. 26.

34.
Rest on the Flight into Egypt

Oil on canvas, 69½ × 86¼ in. (176.6 × 219 cm)

City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham (P. 5 47)

ca. 1620–22

PROVENANCE: Pietro Massei, Lucca (d. 1695; postmortem inv., as by Guercino);[4] his daughter Bianca Teresa Massei Bonvisi (1695–1713; sale, 1713, as by Guercino); Stefano Conti, Lucca (1713–39; in his ms. cat. as by Guercino); by descent, Marchese Cesare Boccella, Lucca (until about 1830); Carlo Ludovico II di Borbone, duke of Lucca (ca. 1830–41; 1840 cat., no. 15, as by Simone Cantarini da Pesaro; sale, Phillips, London, June 5, 1841, lot 38, as by Simone Cantarini da Pesaro); Talbot collection, Margam Castle (from 1841); Miss Emily Talbot, Margam Castle (until 1941; sale, Christie's, London, October 29, 1941, lot 376, as by Artemisia Gentileschi); H.R.H. the duke and duchess of Kent (1941–47; sale, Christie's, London, March 14, 1947, lot 35, as by Orazio Gentileschi); City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham.

One of Orazio's most ambitious as well as masterful multifigure compositions, the Birmingham *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* engendered a series of variants—at least five—over the course of the third decade of the century (see cat. 45). One or another of these variants had an enduring effect on French artists, from Jacques Blanchard and the Le Nain to Laurent de La Hyre (see pp. 210–12). Yet none of the versions attain the beauty of the Birmingham picture. It is, therefore, difficult to understand how Longhi could have questioned whether the picture was entirely the work of Orazio and how both Voss and Bissell—perhaps relying on black-and-white photographs rather than a clear recollection of the paintings—could consider the variants superior. As will be clear to visitors to the exhibition, the more tightly edited composition of the Vienna painting (cat. 45)—to my mind the finest of the variants—is no compensation for the loss of airiness, tonal beauty, and warm humanity that make the Birmingham *Rest on the Flight* one of Orazio's masterpieces. As so often with Orazio, his primary source of inspiration was a print after Raphael, the so-called *Virgin with the Long Thigh* (fig. 62). There we find the reclining Virgin with her child in front of a brick wall, the stepped shape of which echoes her pose. The print includes a cradle, the infant Saint John the Baptist, and the adoring figure of Joseph. These, together with the architectural backdrop, Orazio jettisoned in favor of a more reductive and, it should be emphasized, natural-seeming grouping. His composition is more planar and the effect is of independent motifs drawn from life and, quite literally, collaged together.

As is the case with his finest achievements, the picture combines a subtle instinct for formal arrangement with a keen response to observed phenomena. The stepped profile of the plastered Roman brick wall anchors the simple geometry of the composition (the raised portion of the wall bisects it almost exactly), while the angled placement of the figures, one overlapping the other, and the foreshortened leg of Joseph define the space. Within that structure Orazio puts into play his love of surface variation: the donkey's matted fur and the cottony clouds; the sheen of the Virgin's lavender gray dress and the woolen surface of Joseph's coral-colored coat and orange cloak; the texture of crumbling brick and pitted plaster. The compositional procedures are the same ones that Orazio employs in the *Lot and His Daughters* painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli (cat. 37). Although the figurative arrangement in that picture is more tightly structured and the rocky backdrop opens at the right to admit a distant landscape vista, the two paintings share a like balance of light, form, and surface and must be fairly close in date, suggesting the possibility that the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* is a Genoese rather than a late



Related picture: See cat. 45.

References: Longhi in Milan 1951, 67 no. 113; Sutton 1959, 88; Voss 1959, 163–64; Birmingham 1960, 59–60; London 1960, 27, 143–45 no. 376; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 76 n. 23, vol. 2, 76 no. D.5c; Fredericksen 1972, 45–46; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 39–40, 48, 167–68 no. 38, 169, 184, 187; Nicolson 1990, 113; Marcolini 1996, 69–75; Bissell 1999, 49, 229; Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 58–59 no. 3.



Figure 62. Marcantonio Raimondi (ca. 1470/82–1527/34?), *Virgin with the Long Thigh*. Engraving after Raphael. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Roman work (this would stretch somewhat Bissell's time frame of about 1615–20).

Given the bilateral nature of the composition, it is hardly surprising that two of the surviving variants show only the Virgin and child (although these are almost certainly cut-down fragments of the full composition). In the exquisite Burghley House *Madonna and Child* (cat. 38), Orazio himself was to develop the right side of the picture into an independent composition. The idea of contrasting the maternal care of the young Virgin for her child with the aged Joseph's fatigue and of irreverently linking him with the donkey has a long history. As had Caravaggio more than two decades before in his *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Doria Pamphili, Rome), Orazio seized on this tradition as an opportunity to create a study of contrasts: of gender, age, type, and activity. This, too, is an aspect we encounter in Orazio's work only toward the end of his long activity in Rome, and it is worth noting that the model for Joseph resembles the model used for the Sauli *Lot*.

The earliest notice of the picture is in the 1695 postmortem inventory of the collection of the rich Lucchese merchant Pietro Massei. There it is ascribed to Guercino—a not far-fetched idea, given the similarity of Orazio's approach to that of Guercino in the late 1630s and 1640s.[1] Bearing in mind the greater naturalism of Orazio's picture and his continued reliance on the posed model, it is nonetheless remarkable how apt Calvi's description of these works by Guercino seems: "His manner of composing was very judicious and governed by a certain ingenuous simplicity; by devoting himself to this and by concentrating both on the real world and on the nature of objects, he often ended up by discovering original details that he knew how to choose and dispose wisely, and to embellish with pleasing accessories. And always, perhaps even more in his late style, he used such delicious, clear, and natural hues, which led to a magical enchantment."[2] It is not known when or where Pietro Massei acquired the picture. The incorrect attribution points to a second- or thirdhand purchase. Although Bissell tentatively suggests that this Tuscan provenance might indicate a Florentine origin and a date of 1616, when he believes Orazio was in Florence,[3] it is difficult to draw any conclusion from Massei's ownership. The picture might just as easily have been purchased in Rome or Genoa.

1. The classic treatment of this is that of Mahon in Bologna 1968, 160–64, and Bologna and other cities 1991–92, 217–19.
2. Calvi 1808, 39; translation in Bologna and other cities 1991–92, 253 n. 18.
3. On the interpretation of the very ambiguous documentary evidence, see Pizzorusso 1987, 72 n. 53, and the discussion in Bissell 1999, 399–400 n. 24.
4. For the early provenance of the picture, see Marcolini 1996, 69–70.

Opposite: Detail of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. 34)





Orazio Gentileschi in Genoa

MARY NEWCOME

The artistic importance of Genoa has usually been thought of in terms of its having been a rich maritime city where the Flemish painters Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) worked and where two of its streets, via Balbi and via Garibaldi, are still lined with magnificent palaces built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The presence of both Rubens and Van Dyck in Genoa and the surge of architectural development came about as the result of Andrea Doria's establishing Genoa as a republic in 1528. Under his leadership, Genoa became the leading banking and commercial center of the Spanish Hapsburg empire in northern and central Europe, the Mediterranean, and the New World. This development re-energized the social and political structure of Genoa, and the Genoese began to use their abundant financial resources to reshape their city. Frugality was abandoned as the wealthy competed with one another to have well-designed, stately palaces and churches filled with paintings, sculpture, and lavish furnishings. With the help of this expansive and ambitious patronage, Genoa was idealized as a New Athens and became known as "La Superba."

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a local art school under the leadership of Giovanni Battista Paggi. The work of many non-Genoese artists also found a conspicuous place in the city. Federico Barocci's (ca. 1535–1612) sentimentally exquisite *Christ on the Cross Adored by Saints* for the Senarega chapel in the cathedral of San Lorenzo arrived from Urbino in 1596; Guido Reni's (1575–1642) *Assumption of the Virgin,* commissioned by Cardinal Stefano Durazzo for his family chapel in the Gesù, was sent to Genoa in 1617; and Rubens's *Circumcision,* commissioned from the artist when he was in Genoa by Nicolò Pallavicino for the high altar in the Gesù, was installed for the Feast of the Circumcision on January 1, 1606. Pallavicino also commissioned Rubens to paint another altarpiece, the *Miracle of Saint Ignatius,* for his family chapel in the Gesù. Completed in Antwerp in 1619, the picture arrived in Genoa the following year.

Rubens had first visited Genoa in 1603 and was much attracted to the city, where both he and his work were appreciated by collectors. Although he painted several mythologies for Giovanni Vincenzo Imperiali, his main occupation was painting portraits. Through them, outsiders became aware of a city filled with wealthy patrons, such as Paolo Agostino Spinola and his wife, who sat for Rubens in 1606. Rubens also made outsiders aware of the special quality of Genoa's new buildings: after returning to Antwerp, he published a book of engravings (1621) showing the plans and elevations of the city's palaces.

Orazio Gentileschi became part of this remarkably diverse, international setting when he was invited to the city by the Genoese nobleman Giovan Antonio Sauli (or Saoli). Assured of employment, Gentileschi arrived from Rome in February 1621. Given the eagerness of the Genoese to collect art and his own forwardness, one has to wonder why he had not come sooner, especially since his erstwhile partner, Agostino Tassi (1578–1644), had been to Genoa in 1605,[1] and his brother Aurelio Lomi (1556–1622) had lived and worked in the city from 1597 to 1604. Lomi, in contrast to Orazio, was an extremely prolific painter and draftsman. Two of his paintings, the *Last Judgment* and the *Resurrection of Christ,* were commissioned by the Sauli for their basilica of Santa Maria in Carignano;[2] and the date of 1603, a year after the structure was completed to the designs of Galeazzo Alessi (1512–1572), suggests they were perhaps the very first pictures to be installed in the church. Admittedly, these pictures are quite different from the sensual, predominantly single-figure compositions Gentileschi would paint for Giovan Antonio Sauli; perhaps they reflect the taste of his uncle Anton Maria Sauli, who was archbishop of

Opposite: Detail of *Danaë* (cat. 36)

Genoa from 1585 to 1591 and who was made a cardinal by Pope Sixtus V in 1587. However, they establish that Sauli patronage of the Lomi / Gentileschi family was long-standing, and they give a different slant to Soprani's account in his 1679 biography that Sauli was so impressed by Gentileschi's work in Rome that he persuaded the artist to accompany him back to Genoa.

With Sauli's promise of patronage, Gentileschi probably did his first work in Genoa for him. According again to Soprani,[3] for Sauli the artist painted a *Magdalene* (cat. 35), a *Danaë* (cat. 36), a *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 37), and "altre tavole di molta esquisitezza."[4] Among these "other pictures" by Gentileschi may be the tender image of the *Madonna and Child* (cat. 38), since a copy of it bears an inscription on the back of its frame stating that in 1867 it was given to Brignole de Ferrari di Galliera by Maria Sauli in memory of her mother, Maria de Ferrari Sauli (Palazzo Rosso, Brignole Sale, Genoa).[5] The poetic sensuality of these paintings must have reflected the taste of Orazio's patron, for although Benedict Nicolson has remarked that "Sauli remains too shadowy a personality for any deductions to be drawn about his artistic inclinations,"[6] in his 1780 guidebook to the city, Ratti listed paintings in Domenico Sauli's palace that were similar in character and subject.[7]

Our knowledge of Genoese collections is based in large part on Ratti's guidebook. To judge by what it itemizes as belonging to the Sauli family, they were not major collectors, although the Sauli's palace on via San Lorenzo, where their major pieces were housed, had many of its rooms frescoed by the leading local artists active in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, including Domenico Piola, Paolo Gerolamo Piola, and Lorenzo de Ferrari. Rather, the Sauli family's importance in promoting the arts in Genoa was in acquiring for its basilica (whose position on a hill dramatically frames the city on one side, just as the lighthouse does on the other) paintings and sculpture by local and foreign artists: Giulio Cesare Procaccini from Milan, Guercino from Cento, Carlo Maratta from Rome, and Pierre Puget from Toulon.

Gentileschi's direct contact with another patron, Pietro Maria Gentile, is less clear, but Ratti records at least four paintings attributed to the artist in the family's palace: a *Cleopatra*, a *Judith*, a *Lucretia* (now ascribed to Artemisia), and a *Sacrifice of Isaac* (cat. nos. 17, 53, 39, 67, and fig. 63). Listed by Ratti as in the Palazzo Pietro Gentile on Piazza Bianchi, they were transferred to the Palazzo Cattaneo-Adorno before 1846.[8] Judging from the *Catalogo di quadri vendibili in Genova* (dated September 11, 1640),[9] Ratti's list, and an 1811 inventory of the collection,[10] Gentile was an avid collector, acquiring paintings by Rubens, Reni (fig. 75), and Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647), as well as by local artists.[11]

Pietro Gentile may not have acquired all his paintings ascribed to Orazio directly from the artist; recently, Boccardo has suggested that Gentile bought the *Lucretia* in the sale in Genoa in 1637 of the collection of the duke of Alcalá.[12] The matter remains very problematic, but Gentile's *Cleopatra*, thought on grounds of style to date from before Orazio's arrival in Genoa, could also have been purchased through sale. As it anticipates the *Magdalene* and the *Danaë* that Orazio painted for Sauli, one wonders if it played a part in their genesis, or if Gentile saw Sauli's paintings and then bought the *Cleopatra* (see also p. 98).

Ratti's 1780 guidebook also cites paintings by Gentileschi in the collection of Carlo Cambiaso: "S. Sebastian, cui le Matrone Romane cavan le frecce," "David trionfante di Golia," "Giuditta," "mezza figura di femmina che suona il violino."[13] Cambiaso's interest in collecting art[14] is obvious from Ratti's long list of items, and what is special about him is that he put his collection (either inherited or formed by him) into a palace that was not his but instead belonged to the Brignole Sale family, who had restored it in 1711. Whether all the paintings listed in the palace in 1780 actually belonged to Cambiaso is unclear, but the agreement on the part of the Brignole Sale family to have Cambiaso as a renter and the fact that Cambiaso's example was followed by two other collectors (Carlo Dongi and Giacomo Pierano,[15] who kept their paintings in the palace), imply that the Brignole Sale family already had plans for using the palace as a museum (now known as the Palazzo Bianco).[16] Unfortunately, the Gentileschi paintings did not stay in the palace. In 1805, Andrew Wilson purchased the half-length figure of a woman playing the violin (cat. 40), and the suspicion arises that much of the collection was dispersed shortly after Ratti's listing. Lost is any record of the picture *Saint Sebastian Tended by Women*,[17] but, thanks to Orazio's practice of repeating compositions, we perhaps know what the *David Triumphing over Goliath* (see cat. 12) and the *Judith* (see cat. 39) looked like.

Among other lost paintings by Gentileschi that are recorded in Genoese collections are the *Virgin with a Sleeping Putto/Christ Child* in the Palazzo Paolo Spinola;[18] a half-length figure of Saint Francis acquired by Ridolfo I Brignole Sale in 1678;[19] a *Danaë* in the

collection of Camillo Gavotti in 1679 (possibly the picture now in the Cleveland Museum of Art; see cat. 41); a *Portrait of a Woman*, showing a figure with a feather or pen in her hand, also said to be a self-portrait by Artemisia, in the Palazzo Giacomo Balbi,[20] which may be the same composition as the *Saint Catherine* in the Palazzo Negrone;[21] and a painting of an unidentified subject in the Palazzo de Fornari in 1780.[22] Lost also are his frescoes in the now destroyed "delizioso casino" located on the grounds of the palace of Marc Antonio Doria in Sampierdarena, outside Genoa.[23] This is probably the same casino for which in August 1605 Marc Antonio (brother of the collector Giovanni Carlo Doria) tried, unsuccessfully, to engage Caravaggio to fresco "la loggia" (this is usually interpreted as the casino).[24] In 1618, Caravaggio's Neapolitan follower Battistello Caracciolo began work in the casino[25] and one of the two ceilings was perhaps by him.[26] But the project must have been left unfinished. There remains the question of why the family did not ask Simon Vouet (1590–1649), then in the employ of Giovanni Carlo, to complete the frescoes when he visited the Doria villa in Sampierdarena in September 1621 to paint their portraits.[27] Had Gentileschi already been commissioned to carry out the task?

As Orazio had enjoyed considerable success in frescoing Scipione Borghese's casino with Tassi in Rome in 1611–12, it is perhaps understandable that Doria chose him. However, instead of the contemporary figures shown standing behind a fictive balustrade that decorates the vault of the Borghese casino (fig. 6), Doria had the artist fresco Old Testament subjects. It is impossible to know exactly what the frescoes looked like. By the time Ratti described them in 1768, one of the vaults, showing Saint Jerome trumpeting the Last Judgment, was already in shambles, and by the late eighteenth century the casino was destroyed. Nonetheless, we can gain some sense of the complexity of the decoration of one ceiling from Ratti's rather lengthy description.[28] Using the old-fashioned system of *quadri riportati*, whereby an independent composition is embedded into a decorative scheme, the artist frescoed the *Sacrifice of Isaac* in the center of one vault and surrounded it with four stories of Jacob (the Benediction of Jacob, Esau Selling His Birthright, the Dream of Jacob, and Jacob Wrestling with the Angel). Lunettes showed additional biblical scenes (Moses Parting the Red Sea, Job Afflicted, Tobias Raised from the Dead, the Curing of Tobias, and so forth), as well as depictions of Old Testament figures (Moses, Aaron, Joshua,



Figure 63. Orazio Gentileschi, *Sacrifice of Isaac*. Oil on canvas. Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Spinola, Genoa

Jonah, David, Judith, Job, and Samson). Sibyls adorned the corners.[29] The casino frescoes were Gentileschi's most ambitious undertaking, and they may have been finished only in 1624, since in a letter to Marc Antonio Doria dated August 13, 1624, Caracciolo offered to do the estimate. To have designed at least nine different scenes in a decorative ensemble far exceeded Gentileschi's earlier work in San Venanzio in Fabriano, where he frescoed four scenes on the walls of a chapel (figs. 50, 51). With the sole exception of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, he did not repeat any of the subjects on canvas. For this complicated project, Orazio's main assistant was probably his son Francesco (1597–ca. 1665). During the years 1621–24, Francesco helped him in the studio and was also his courier, taking an *Annunciation* to the duke of Savoy in Turin in 1623 as a follow-up to Orazio's *Lot and His Daughters*—gifts aimed at securing a position at the court of Carlo Emanuele (cat. nos. 42, 43). A son



Figure 64. Bernardo Strozzi (1581–1644), *Paradise* (a *modello*). Oil on canvas. Accademia Ligustica, Genoa

was born to Francesco in 1623, and when his father left for France in 1624 (after having sent a picture to Marie de' Medici), Francesco stayed on with his family. One gets the impression that much of his activity was based on enhancing family matters.[30] If this was, in fact, the case, then it seems only appropriate that, from 1628 to 1641, Francesco would have chosen to live in the seaside suburb of Sampierdarena, where he could meet and be seen by the wealthy Genoese nobility.[31] Francesco's brother Giulio, listed as "un procuratore per affairi" in 1630, lived in the city until at least 1656.[32]

While Orazio was working in the casino, the Genoese painter Giovan Andrea Ansaldo (1584–1638) was using a similar layout for his frescoes in three rooms on the piano nobile and in four rooms on the ground floor of Marc Antonio Doria's palace in Sampierdarena (now known as the Palazzo Bagnara).[33] Here, too, the subjects were biblical: the Sacrifice of Isaac, Tobias and the Angel, and the Dream of Joseph. The choice offers a striking contrast to the mythological and historical scenes that were being frescoed around 1621 in other palaces in Sampierdarena, such as those by Bernardo Strozzi in the Palazzo Centurione, and those by Giovanni Carlone in the Villa Spinola di San Pietro. Ansaldo's repetition of some of the subjects treated by Orazio emphasizes not only the role of a patron in dictating the themes but also Doria's desire to unify the decoration in his palace with his garden casino. The repetition also implies that the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac had a special significance for Doria, since it formed the center medallion in Gentileschi's ceiling and was the center medallion in two rooms on the piano nobile of the palace, one frescoed by Calvi, the other by Ansaldo.

For many reasons, patronage was at its peak during the years of Gentileschi's stay. Fresco decoration was undergoing a revival led by a trio of painters (Domenico Fiasella and Bernardo Castello and his son-in-law Giovanni Carlone) who had worked in Rome in the 1610s. All three must have known Gentileschi in Rome, and his casino frescoes of 1611–12 may have inspired Carlone's frescoed frieze in the Palazzo Lomellini Patrone, in Genoa. Painted about 1621, it shows figures in contemporary dress standing on balconies.[34] In the same period, the vault in the apse of the cathedral of San Lorenzo was frescoed (in 1622) by Lazzaro Tavarone. For Giovanni Stefano Doria, Strozzi frescoed a *Paradise* in the apse of San Domenico (ca. 1620–21; fig. 64), and for the Centurione family palaces in Genoa and Sampierdarena he painted decorative medallions on the ceilings (ca. 1621–25). The activity of Genoese artists and their patrons also involved the northern colony of artists who ably transcribed some of the narrative images in these panoramic frescoes into highly intricate silver objects.[35]

Gentileschi arrived in Genoa the same year Van Dyck came from Antwerp, in November 1621, to stay with Cornelis and Lucas de Wael. Called upon to paint fashionable portraits of the Genoese nobility who remembered what Rubens had done for them, Van Dyck succeeded in promoting his sitters, their city, and himself. (He returned to Antwerp in the winter of 1627.) Van Dyck's subject matter, although completely different from Gentileschi's, perhaps increased the desire on the part of the nobility to have



Figure 65. Aurelio Lomi (1556–1622), *Annunciation*. Oil on canvas. Santa Maria Maddalena, Genoa

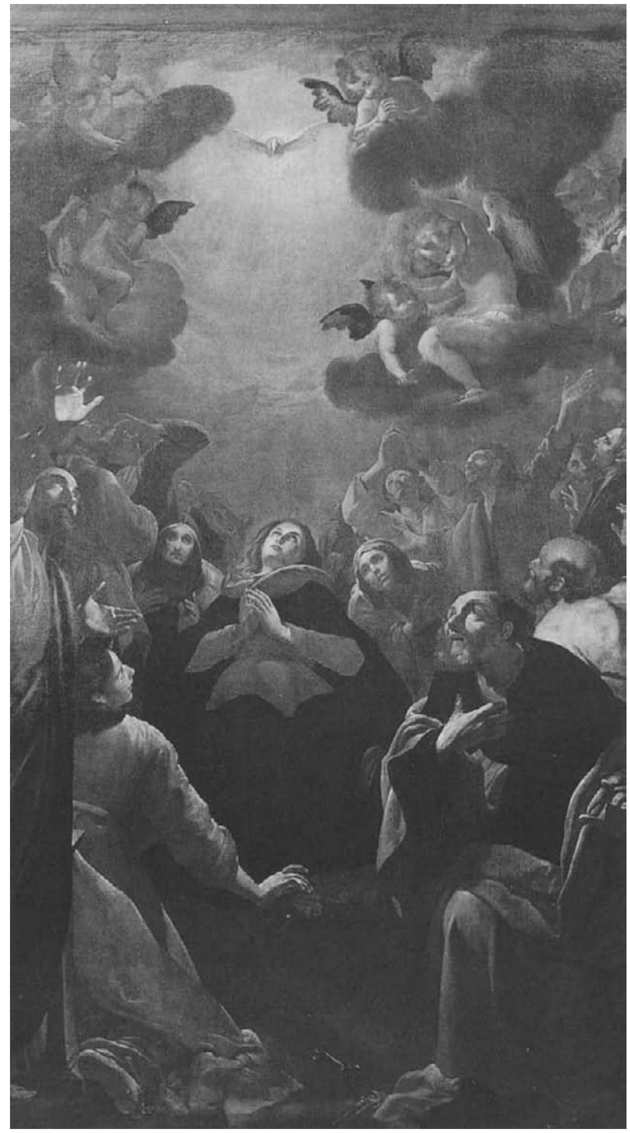


Figure 66. Castellino Castello (1576–1649), *Pentecost*. Oil on canvas. San Matteo, Laigueglia

elegant pictures—which in turn may have inspired Orazio to make his figures even more refined during this period. Van Dyck recorded Orazio's *Judith* (cat. 39) in his Italian sketchbook (fig. 74). As both artists worked for the Doria (as they did, later, for Charles I), their paths must have crossed a number of times in Genoa.

Gentileschi responded to his Genoese patrons by adjusting his painting style as well as by taking on new subjects; several times his paintings repeat subjects previously painted in Liguria by his brother Aurelio Lomi. The differences between the brothers' work are easily seen by comparing Lomi's *Annunciation* (fig. 65), commissioned in 1603 by the Spinola family, with Gentileschi's (cat. 43). Stylistically, they have little in common. Lomi may have taught Orazio to paint, and he shared Orazio's skill and interest in describing draperies with sharp accents of light, but his figures were never Caravaggesque and remained tubular, while Gentileschi's naturalistically conceived figures became increasingly refined.

Unfortunately, Gentileschi's refinement and compositional layout, apparent especially in his paintings in Genoese collections, had no great impact on local artists. One has only to look at the tall, demure figure of the Virgin standing against a dark background in the *Annunciation* to realize that it is unlike any other treatment of the subject in Genoa. Unique also is the compact cluster of large, foreshortened figures who fill the foreground, pointing toward a distant landscape, in his *Lot and His Daughters*



Figure 67. Domenico Fiasella (1589–1669), *Pompey's Widow Receiving the News of His Death*. Oil on canvas. Formerly Cattaneo Adorno collection, Genoa

(cat. 37). His reclining female figures (cat. nos. 35, 36) have an elegance that makes the Magdalenes painted by Bernardo Castello look heavy and rustic. Strozzi painted the subject of Judith, as did Luciano Borzone, but their canvases lack the Caravaggesque substance of Gentileschi's. Nor can his compositions of half-length female figures bathed in a strong, raking light be related to anything known in Genoese painting, although in the 1620s Genoese artists used dramatic lighting effects to model their figures. This is true of Paggi in his *Last Communion of Saint Jerome* (San Francesco da Paolo, Genoa), dated 1620, and of his student Castellino Castello (who is said to have painted Van Dyck's portrait) in his *Pentecost* (San Matteo, Laigueglia; fig. 66), dated 1623. These light effects were probably not the result of Gentileschi's influence. Nor did they derive from Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Ursula,* commissioned by Marc Antonio Doria (Banca di Napoli). They were a sign of the times: a reference to the local example of Luca Cambiaso, as well as a reaction to the few Caravaggesque paintings that could be seen in Genoa, among them Gerrit van Honthorst's *Christ Crowning Saint Teresa* (Santa Anna). Of the local artists, only Ansaldo is known to have enjoyed patronage from Gentileschi's patrons Marc Antonio Doria and Pietro Gentile (for example, his frescoes in the Palazzo Gentile-Bickey in Cornigliano of ca. 1625).[36] This may be why Ansaldo's frescoes sometimes have crisply defined, colorful figures remotely resembling the manner of Gentileschi.

However, Gentileschi's legacy—such as it is—remained mainly in the hands of Domenico Fiasella (1589–1669), who had been a pupil of Lomi and Paggi before going to Rome. In Rome, from 1607 to 1615, Fiasella absorbed a knowledge of Caravaggio's followers and those of the Carracci, painted for the Giustiniani, and worked with Domenico Cresti (il Passignano) and the Cavaliere d'Arpino. Considered by Federico Alizeri "the best naturalist of our school,"[37] Fiasella produced paintings that, like those of Orazio, are characterized by their static compositions. Similarities between his work and Orazio's can be seen in the intricate twisting drapery folds, the strong whites, the skillful modeling, and the variety of color tonalities of his paintings of the 1620s (*Martyrdom of Saint Barbara,* 1622, San Marco al Molo, Genoa; *Saint Ursula with the Holy Family,* 1624, San Quirico parish church; and *Pompey's Widow Receiving the News of His Death*, fig. 67). The connections between the two artists, both personal and stylistic, were further advanced in Genoa when Orazio's son Francesco (four years younger than Artemisia) studied with Fiasella. In so doing, Francesco would have been working with the painter whose style most closely resembled that of his father. This does not help identify Francesco's work, and without documentation one can only suggest that he may have been responsible for making replicas of his father's paintings and that some of the paintings and frescoes traditionally given to Fiasella but not quite typical of his work may be by Francesco, particularly those done in Sampierdarena, where he lived until 1641. Two paintings (location unknown) have been given to Francesco,[38] and the *Man Playing a Guitar* (Carige collection, Genoa), monogrammed on the guitar F. G., has tentatively been attributed to him.[39]

In summary, Gentileschi left very little record of his presence in Genoa besides his paintings. Although we might think his style memorable enough to be imitated, few tried. In contrast, he benefited substantially from his stay in the city. He arrived when patronage in La Superba was at its height, and it was patronage that forced him to expand his subject matter, to refine his painting style, and to increase his productivity.

1. Belloni 1988, 13–15.
2. Ciardi, Galassi, and Carofano 1989, nos. 37, 38.
3. Soprani 1674, 317–18.
4. Ratti, in updating Soprani in 1768, left out this last phrase; Ratti 1768, 452.
5. Ponzi 1994, 51–71.
6. Nicolson 1985, 12.
7. Ratti 1780, 112.
8. Ibid., 119–22. With the exception of the *Judith* (see cat. 39), which is perhaps the picture listed in an 1811 inventory as by Valentin (see Boccardo 2000, 212).
9. Campori 1870, 140–42; Boccardo 2000, 211 n. 30.
10. Boccardo 2000, 205–13. The "Gentilischi" paintings listed in the December 2, 1811, inventory are:

    Quadro di Orazio Gentileschi che rappresenta Cleopatra colla vipera, palmi 6 altezza, 7 larghezza, stima 1000

    Detto di Orazio Gentileschi rappresentante Lucrezia Romana, palmi 5½ altezza, 4½ larghezza, stima 150 [now attributed to Artemisia]

    Detto del Gentileschi rappresentante Esau che vende la Primogenitura a Giacobbe, 7 altezza, 9½ larghezza, stima 300 [ascribed by Ratti (1780, 122) to Fiasella]

    Detto di Scuola Veneta rappresentante il Sacrifizio di Abramo, palmi 7 altezza, 9½ larghezza, stima 150

    Caravaggio rappresentante la coronazione di Spine di N.Sig., 7 altezza, 9½ larghezza, stima 1000 [Boccardo 2000, 213, as by Gentileschi?].
11. Gentileschi's *Sacrifice of Isaac* is listed (as Venetian school) at the end of the 1811 Gentile inventory together with three other paintings of the same size: *Rebecca Giving Drink to the Servant of Abraham,* by Giovanni Andrea de Ferrari (perhaps the painting in the Zerbone collection, October 1994); *Hercules,* by Reni (identified as *Samson Wrestling the Lion,* private collection); and the *Crowning with Thorns,* by Caravaggio, suggested by Boccardo (2000, 213 n. 17) as possibly the composition by Gentileschi that Van Dyck recorded in his Italian sketchbook. Unfortunately, its size (175 × 237 cm) does not correspond with either of the known versions. Boccardo further suggests that Gentile could have been responsible for commissioning the *Annunciation* for San Siro, since the Grimaldi-Ceba chapel was not finished until 1639. Although the identical dimensions of the five paintings (three of which have had attributions to Gentileschi) might indicate they were done as a series, it is quite possible these paintings were acquired at different times and perhaps made to fit into prescribed stucco frames on the wall by 1811. The Gentile *Sacrifice of Isaac* could thus be the same picture listed in the collection of Giovanni Luca Doria in 1678. See Belloni 1973, 63.
12. Boccardo 2000, 206.
13. Ratti 1780, 264–65.
14. Gardner 1998, 176.
15. Torriti 1971, 273.
16. The palace remained in the family until Maria Brignole Sale de Ferrari bequeathed it, together with a number of paintings, to the city in 1884. The museum was opened to the public in 1892 to celebrate the anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus—ten years after the family had given the family residence across the street (now called the Palazzo Rosso) to the city.
17. A painting of the subject was recorded as being in the Palazzo Reale in Turin; Bissell 1981, 221 no. L-67.
18. Poleggi and Poleggi 1974, 173, as a pendant to an oval Christ carrying the cross by Strozzi.
19. Tagliaferro 1995, 158.
20. Pesenti in Genoa 1992, 194.
21. Bissell 1981, 220 no. L-56.
22. Ibid., 224.
23. Ratti 1768, 452.
24. Pesenti in Genoa 1992, 108.
25. A document dated December 12, 1618, records payments for a fresco begun for M. A. Doria by Caracciolo; see Bissell 1981, 222.
26. Da Morrona 1787–93, vol. 2 (1792).
27. Vouet wrote in a letter of September 4, 1621, that he was going with Signori Doria to their country residence in Sampierdarena, where they want him to paint their portraits; see Crelly 1962, 29.
28. Ratti 1768, 452–53.
29. See Genoa 1992, 45, 107.
30. Letters note (Bissell 1981, 113–14) that Francesco bought art in Italy for King Charles I in 1627–28, presented Orazio's *Finding of Moses* (fig. 87) to Philip IV in Madrid in 1633, and acted as business manager in Italy for his sister in 1635 (see ibid.).
31. Francesco's household included his wife, two children, his wife's mother and her daughter, recorded on December 29, 1635, as living "nel quartiero del Mercato e Ponte: Francesco Gentileschi pittore 36 anni; Geronima moglie 34 anni; figli: G.B. anni 12; Maria Prudenzia anni 7, ivi battezzata il 13 agosto 1628; Battina Giane suocera 60 anni, Anna Maria di detta Battina 26 anni (Chiesa di S. Martino e di S. M. della Cella in Sampierdarena, registro B.M.D. 1602–1626, carta 563 verso, famiglia num. 23)." See Alfonso 1976, 45.

    Francesco stayed at least until 1641, the year when the death of his son Giovanni Battista, on October 25, is listed in the records of the church of San Martino della Cella in Sampierdarena.
32. The earliest record of Giulio's existence is on May 10, 1630, when Giulio Gentileschi di Orazio, "civis Romae," was named "un procuratore per affari." His problematic business affairs were cited in testaments of July 9, 1638, and January 3, 1648, the latter concerning a transaction on April 4, 1645, that remained unpaid.

    With five children, Giulio's household was considerably larger than Francesco's. He stayed in Genoa, where he is last listed on February 7, 1656: "Giulio Gentileschi fu Orazio; Barbara moglie, figlia di Marcello Marana, figli: Orazio, Laura Maria, Gio. Carlo, Maria Maddelena, Giobatt (Chiesa di N. S. delle Vigne, stato delle Anime del 7–2–1656)." See Alfonso 1976, 45–46.
33. Ciliento and Boggero 1983, 187–90.
34. Poleggi 1995.
35. For example, the basin and ewer for the Lomellini, dated 1619 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); the basin and ewer for the Grimaldi, after designs by Lazzaro Tavarone and made by GAB / Giovanni Aelbosca Belga, dated 1621 and 1622 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London); the basin for the Giustiniani, after designs by Bernardo Strozzi, ca. 1620–25 (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles); see Frankfurt am Main 1992, nos. 150–52.
36. Di Fabio 1988, 85–97.
37. Alizeri 1846–47, 344.
38. Bissell 1981, 114.
39. Pesenti in Genoa 1992, 80, ill. (with bibliography).

The Sauli Paintings, cat. nos. 35–37

In his 1674 biographical notice on Orazio, Raffaele Soprani recounts how, as part of the Genoese delegation sent to Rome in 1621 to honor the newly elected pope, Gregory XV, Giovan Antonio Sauli became so enamored with Orazio's paintings that he invited the artist to Genoa. (The Sauli were an old and prominent Genoese family; Giovan Antonio's kinsman Anton Maria was archbishop of the city and, from 1585, cardinal; he had been one of the papal candidates.) For Sauli, Orazio painted "a penitent Magdalene, a Lot fleeing his burning city with his two daughters, [and] a Danaë with Jupiter [appearing] in a shower of gold, and other paintings of great exquisiteness." Soprani suggests that Orazio's success in Genoa was the direct result of these three paintings, and we should not be surprised that multiple versions survive for each. It was a version of the *Lot* that Orazio sent to the duke of Savoy in 1622 to solicit a court appointment (cat. 42).

Sauli's pictures remained together well into the eighteenth century. According to Ratti, in 1780 they were installed in the same room in the palace of Domenico Sauli. Ratti particularly admired the *Lot and His Daughters*, which he described as "one of the best and best-preserved paintings by this master."[1] Yet, by 1792 Da Morrona could locate only the *Danaë*. And after this date all trace of the pictures is lost until the twentieth century, when there appeared in Arenzano, near Genoa, versions of all three compositions.[2] These were acquired by the London dealer Thomas Grange and have since been sold (the *Magdalene* and the *Danaë* are cat. nos. 35, 36; the *Lot* is in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid).

There is a presumption that the three ex-Grange pictures are those Orazio painted for Sauli and, indeed, two of them—the *Penitent Magdalene* and the *Danaë*—are unquestionably autograph versions of the highest quality. X radiographs of the *Danaë* reveal major compositional changes, and pentimenti in the *Magdalene* attest to its high status. The Thyssen *Lot*, however, which is lackluster in tone, has the characteristics of a workshop replica or even of a later copy.[3] It is smaller in both size and scale than the other two paintings and can hardly be the picture Ratti praised so highly. Fortunately, a far more likely candidate reappeared in 1997 (cat. 37). This version can be traced back only to the early twentieth century, when it was in a Genoese collection. Exported to England between 1925 and 1928, it remained with the same family until its acquisition by the J. Paul Getty Museum. Not only do X rays establish that this is the prime version of the composition, it is also one of Orazio's most beautiful and, in the words of Ratti, among his best-preserved paintings, possibly even retaining traces of the original varnish.[4] The lower corners of the *Lot*, like those of the *Magdalene*, have been cut diagonally; all four corners of the *Danaë* have been cut, though more on the bottom than the top. Because this feature, probably done to adapt the pictures for new frames, can be found in none of the other versions of any of the compositions, it is convincing evidence that these are indeed the three Sauli paintings. They are reunited here for the first time since the eighteenth century.

The fact that Soprani mentions the three pictures together and that Ratti says they were in the same room raises the issue of whether the pictures were in some way intended as a group. All the canvases have been trimmed, but they must have been about the same height; the *Lot* and the *Magdalene* were evidently also of matching width.[5] Each painting has as its protagonist a female—or, in the case of the *Lot*, two females. Ubiquitous though each of the subjects is in the seventeenth century, the combination strikes an

unusual note and is unlikely to be casual. Far from being a cycle of Old Testament, New Testament, or mythological themes, they offer a compendium: the subject of one is taken from classical mythology, another from the New Testament, and the remaining one from the Old Testament. It might also be argued that one is erotic, the other (Lot's seduction by his daughters) moral in tone, while the third is distinctly devotional, or that they all have to do with themes involving women. But beyond these factors we may note that one is a complex, multifigure narrative composition, while in the other two a reclining female figure is used to convey contrasting subjects: the Magdalene seeking divine illumination through penitential exercises and Danaë experiencing physical union with Jupiter. In one the figure is modestly draped, while in the other she is provocatively veiled; in one the setting is an isolated cave, in the other a richly appointed bedroom. These analogies and contrasts seem to call attention to the parameters of Orazio's poetic language and to emphasize the importance of variation within a rigorously restricted formal vocabulary. It is in this sense that Soprani may well have been right that this group of pictures established the artist's fame and served as a notice to other potential patrons.

These three large and impressive canvases were the most celebrated of Sauli's pictures by Orazio, but Soprani also mentions "other paintings of great exquisiteness." Among these may have been the small copper *Madonna and Child in a Landscape* now at Burghley House (cat. 38). But here we are on extremely shaky ground. When, in 1768, Ratti put out a revised edition of Soprani's *Lives*, he eliminated any mention of additional paintings in the Sauli collection. Had Giovan Antonio's heirs already begun to sell off his remarkable group of paintings by Orazio—a smaller collection than that owned by the artist's principal Roman patron, Paolo Savelli, but certainly equal in quality and interest?

Bissell laments the tendency in Orazio's Genoese paintings toward an aristocratic refinement—a final severing of the Caravaggesque basis of his Roman production. And he believes that Orazio's contacts with Genoese noble families and the increasing importance of private commissions both contributed to an art in which "it appeared uncertain whether the figures . . . were living out human experiences or acting out roles." My own sense is that, on the one hand, Orazio's renewed contact in Genoa with the paintings of Rubens, as well as with those of Van Dyck, had a greater impact on his art than the taste of his patrons and that, on the other, the increased emphasis in his work on surface effects and formal arrangement was part of a general trend in Italian painting. Regardless, the seeds for these qualities were sown in Rome, and in many respects the Genoese paintings represent the climax of that continuous dialogue between naturalism and *maniera* that is at the core of his art.

1. Ratti was the editor of a 1768 edition of Soprani, and there he singled out the *Danaë* as the finest.
2. In 1906, Suida recorded a version of the Magdalene in the collection of Marchese Pierino Nerotti, whose family owned a villa at Arenzano.
3. Not only do the colors have a hard, steely quality, but the picture seems to have been carefully drawn in and painted section by section. This is particularly clear in the case of Lot, where the brown preparation is visible around the figure as well as between the color divisions. The wine flask and drinking cup have no texture, the shadows no transparency, and the grass is painted in mechanically.
4. See Leonard, Khandekar, and Carr 2001, 7–10.
5. The *Magdalene* has been examined in the Metropolitan's conservation studio. The canvas has been trimmed on all sides; painted canvas has been turned over the top and sides of the stretcher for tacking. It is not possible to establish precisely how much has been lost.

35.
Penitent Magdalene

Oil on canvas, 58⅞ × 72 in. (149.5 × 183 cm)

Private collection

1622–23

New York

It was Correggio who first painted the full-length Magdalene reclining in a landscape.[1] But it is Titian's half-length depiction in the Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (fig. 68), and its later variants that best elucidate the religious psychology that underlies Orazio's *Penitent Magdalene*, painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli.[2] Titian's painting was unquestionably the most celebrated and influential devotional image of the saint, and the one that exemplifies the very different cued responses of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century, as opposed to modern, viewers. In it Mary Magdalene is shown nude, sensually robust, her gaze directed heavenward, her luxuriant hair gathered up by her hands in a gesture that recalls a Venus *pudica* but leaves her breasts exposed. Ridolfi believed that Titian based his figure on an antique statue. Certainly his image, like Orazio's, plays on the convention of the beautiful female nude derived from ancient sculpture. Titian later varied this composition, showing the figure draped, standing before a rocky outcrop and a distant landscape. Tears—the emblem of contrition and penance—course down the saint's cheeks. An open



Figure 68. Titian (ca. 1485/90–1576), *Penitent Magdalene*. Oil on canvas. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

PROVENANCE: Giovan Antonio Sauli, Genoa (from 1621); Palazzo Sauli, Genoa (until at least 1780); Marchese Pierino Negrotti, Genoa (by 1906); Marchesa Carlotta Cattaneo-Adorno, Arenzano, near Genoa (until 1975); Thomas P. Grange, London (from 1975); his wife (until 1999); private collection.

RELATED PICTURES: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (variant);[15] Richard L. Feigen, New York (variant);[16] Pinacoteca, Lucca (copy);[17] Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (copy with a traditional attribution to Jean Tassel);[18] private collection, Madrid (said by Pérez Sánchez to be a copy of the Vienna version).[19]

REFERENCES: Soprani 1674, 317; Ratti 1768, 452; Ratti 1780, 112; Suida 1906, 156; Voss 1925, 460; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 173–74 no. 46, 177–78, 182; Nicolson 1985, 11–14; Nicolson 1990, 115; Bissell 1999, 50, 229; Leonard, Khandekar, and Carr 2001, 5–6; Matthiesen 2001, 162.



Figure 69. Jean Tassel (?) (ca. 1608–1667), *Penitent Magdalene*. Oil on canvas. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon



Bible is propped on a skull to one side while on the other is an ointment jar, symbolic of the perfumes she used to bathe Christ's feet and brought to anoint his body following the Crucifixion.

To modern eyes, the Pitti prototype and its variants are provocatively ambiguous images—devotional pretense seeming barely to mask overt eroticism. Many later critics have found Titian's depictions lacking in religious decorum. In their groundbreaking monograph of 1881 on the artist, Crowe and Cavalcaselle declare, "It is clear that Titian had no other purpose in view than to represent a handsome girl," and more recently another scholar has questioned how many sixteenth-century viewers responded to the image in a spiritually edifying fashion.[3] This modern attitude seems prefigured in Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti's 1582 *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane,* in which the Counter-Reformation churchman condemned the

practice of depicting mistresses in the guise of the Magdalene.[4] However, it is a matter of record that sophisticated sixteenth- and seventeenth-century viewers responded to the many versions and copies of Titian's *Magdalene* as a devotionally efficacious image, at once beautiful and devout. Of the version sent to Philip II, king of Spain, Vasari writes, "Raising her head, with her eyes fixed on heaven, she reveals remorse in the redness of the eyes, and in her tears [she shows] repentance for her sins: wherefore the picture greatly moves all who look at it, and, what is more, although she is very beautiful, it does not inspire lust but compassion."[5] A copy of the Pitti picture was owned by Paleotti's fellow churchman Federico Borromeo, who noted that Titian showed the saint "consumed with grief and love but nevertheless full of life. In order to express all this the painter represents [the Magdalene] in the flower of youth, going perhaps against the evangelical story."[6] Borromeo's response touches on the mainspring of the painting, what we might call a poetics of contrapposto. Revealingly, in 1531 Federico Gonzaga had asked Titian to paint him a Magdalene "as beautiful and as tearful as possible."[7] (The picture was intended as a gift to that paragon of piety Vittoria Colonna, who was hardly interested in sublimated erotica.) Virtually every religious poem about the Magdalene written in the seventeenth century plays on the twin themes of the saint's beauty and the redeeming power of her tears, almost inevitably compared to precious pearls. Richard Crashaw's "Saint Mary Magdalene, or The Weeper" (stanza 14), exemplifies the genre: "Well does the May that lies / Smiling in thy cheeks, confess / The April in thine eyes. / Mutual sweetness they express. / No April e'er lent kinder showers, / Nor May return'd more faithful flowers." Titian sought not to depict the ascetic Magdalene but to evoke both aspects of the saint's life: as a prostitute redeemed through contrition and as the personification of sensual beauty transfigured through penitence. Without Titian's painting and the responses it inspired, we would be ill equipped to understand a whole series of seventeenth-century depictions of the Magdalene by artists as diverse as Guido Reni, Simon Vouet, Rubens, Bernini—and Gentileschi.

Orazio must have decided on a reclining Magdalene as a thematic counterpoint to the *Danaë* (cat. 36)—the one an encomium to sensual love, the other, "with her eyes fixed on heaven," to divine love. As in Guido Reni's full-length *Penitent Magdalene* painted for the Barberini (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome)—shown seated rather than recumbent—the devotional effect on the viewer is achieved not by any overt expressivity but with a pose of great formal beauty.[8] It was through penance and the renunciation of her life of sin that the inner purity of the Magdalene's soul was made manifest, and in Orazio's painting the Magdalene—her beauty given added poignancy by the presence of the skull (a conventional emblem of *vanitas*)—literally turns her head away from earthly matters and, inspired by the text she has been reading, sorrowfully gazes upward. Through an opening in the cave the sky can be seen. The Magdalene's head is propped on her arm—a pose denoting contemplation, used by both Reni and Vouet, among others. The figure's hair has suffered from abrasion; originally, the highlighted golden tresses against the nude torso suggested yet another devotional meditation, since the Magdalene is shown scorning those attributes most admired in beautiful women.[9]

That the picture catalogued here is the one owned by Sauli cannot be doubted (see p. 30). That it is also the prime version is another matter (see pp. 172–73). The contour of the skull was moved to the left, but X radiographs (fig. 28) demonstrate that the figure was laid in with no significant adjustments. The landscape, by contrast, is painted very loosely, and it further develops Orazio's sense of atmospheric effects seen initially in his small paintings on copper. The picture is darker in tonality than its companion pictures and, like the *Danaë*, sets the figure against an almost black background. The resulting quality, first explored in the Fogg *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* (cat. 28), is of exceptional elegance. Because the painting is less well preserved than the *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 37), the face does not appear as crisply drawn and the sheen on the drapery and hair lacks an equal brilliance. This is, nevertheless, a stunning picture. The *Penitent Magdalene* must be contemporary with Sauli's other paintings. The success of the

composition is indicated by two variants (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna [fig. 26], and Richard L. Feigen, New York), as well as copies (see under related pictures).

Bissell suggests the possibility that the picture was painted in Rome and given to Sauli or that it was based on a still earlier version—perhaps the picture now in the Pinacoteca, Lucca.[10] The painting in Lucca seems, however, to be no more than a copy of the Sauli picture, though with differences in the landscape. Its primary interest is the additional testimony it provides to the fame of the Sauli picture, since it was given to the Pinacoteca in 1847, by Leopold II of Tuscany. To my mind, there is not much reason to believe a lost Roman prototype ever existed. It is true that a *Magdalene* ascribed to Orazio is listed in 1700 as in the Palazzo Borghese, but what kind of composition this was—half-length, full-length?—is unknown, and the reliability of the attribution is problematic at best.[11] An engraving by Claude Mellan, who was active in Rome between 1624 and 1636, has been presumed to reflect his knowledge of Orazio's composition, and Bissell has adduced it as further proof for the existence of a lost Roman prototype.[12] However, the relationship does not seem to me sufficiently close to presuppose a dependence on Orazio's painting.[13] And can we be sure that Mellan did not see the Sauli painting in Genoa, en route to Rome, or a version sent to Paris?[14] The latter possibility is suggested by a copy ascribed to Jean Tassel (fig. 69) that certainly does derive from the Sauli picture or a closely related version. It has a provenance from the Convent des Lazaristes, near Dijon (appropriately, given the destination of the picture, the saint's breasts have been covered with drapery and abundant hair). With this provenance, it seems more likely that the copy was painted in France rather than in Rome and that it derives from a version of Orazio's picture which was sent to Paris (see p. 213 n. 23).

1. For Correggio's much copied composition, formerly in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, see Gould 1976, 279–80. Correggio's composition was known widely and was, for example, crucial to Giovanni Lanfranco's picture in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.
2. See Aikema 1994, and Goffen 1997, 171–92. Goffen reviews the various literary responses noted below, and the reader is referred to her for a fuller discussion. My one reservation about Aikema's groundbreaking article is his assertion that the Counter-Reformation so changed attitudes that Titian's image became incomprehensible. I believe that the evidence suggests that many seventeenth-century artists—including Gentileschi—understood exactly what Titian was about and constructed their images along the same lines.
3. Mormando in Boston 1999, 117. There is some confusion in many of these discussions between the general censure of nudity in religious art by sixteenth-century reformers and the specific iconography of the Penitent Magdalene, in which nudity is at the very core of the picture's meaning. See, for example, Brown in London–Rome 2001, 286–88. Of course, for some beholders nudity was always associated with arousal.
4. Paleotti in Barocchi 1960–62, vol. 2, 266 and 367.
5. Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 7, 454.
6. See Quint 1974, 230.
7. Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1881, vol. 1, 451.
8. For an interesting, psycho-sexual discussion of Reni's depictions of the Magdalene, see Spear 1997, 163–80.
9. Aikema 1994, 48 n. 4, quotes from F. Luigini da Udine's *Il libro della bella donna*, in which "crini d'oro" and breasts "simili a due rotondi dolci pomi" are praised. The illustration for Penitence in Philip Galle's *Prosopographia* is a young woman with bared breasts who holds a scourge in one hand.
10. Bissell 1981, 174, and Bissell 1999, 229.
11. See Sterling (1958, 117), who notes that in the same inventory a picture by Lelio Orsi was also erroneously ascribed to Orazio. The *Magdalene* appears in no other Borghese inventories. This seems to me very shaky evidence on which to build a thesis.
12. For Mellan's print, see Thuillier 1960, 92; Brejon de Lavergnée 1979; and Rome 1989–90, 254–56.
13. Another picture has been introduced into this discussion by Bissell 1999, 228–30, a *Penitent Magdalene*, in a collection in Naples, which has been ascribed to Artemisia. I know the picture only from reproduction, but it does not appear to me to be by Artemisia. Its relation to Orazio's composition strikes me as generic.
14. Da Morrona (1792) 1812, 476, asserted that Orazio sent a picture to Marie de' Medici to solicit her patronage, but he does not mention a subject. The basis of his statement is not known, but see p. 203 in this publication.
15. For this splendid, fully autograph picture, see Bissell 1981, 108–9, 182–83; Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 17; and cat. 45. It belonged to the duke of Buckingham and is inventoried at York House in 1635. It may, however, have been painted in France (or even Genoa), since it is known that Gentileschi sent the duke two canvases prior to his arrival in London. There is record of a payment for a Magdalene in the accounts drawn up in 1629 by Balthazar Gerbier, who acted on behalf of the duke. In the Vienna version, the right foot of the Magdalene is extended in a more horizontal position than in the Sauli painting and the skull sits on the open book, which is rotated ninety degrees; the cave and the landscape are completely different. When a tracing from the Sauli picture is laid over the Vienna painting, there is a part-to-part match, except for the foot. See p. 30 in this publication. Clearly, a tracing or cartoon was used to lay in the composition.
16. See, again, Bissell 1981, 181–82. The provenance of this picture cannot be firmly established before 1805, when it was bought in Paris by the seventh earl of Elgin. To my eyes, it is the latest of the known versions (see Bissell for a contrary view) and could conceivably

be the picture Sandrart saw in Orazio's London studio in 1628 being painted for Charles I. However, the matter is far from clear.

17. For the Lucca picture, see, in addition to Bissell 1981, Florence 1986, 197, and Borella and Giusti Maccari 1993, 269. The picture has all the earmarks of a copy: overly emphatic definition and exaggerated contrasts of light and dark.

18. See Ronot 1990, 285, and the essay by Jean-Pierre Cuzin in this publication, p. 213 n. 23.

19. See Pérez-Sánchez 1965, 503; and Bissell 1981, 183. Pérez-Sánchez has kindly informed me that the whereabouts of the picture, which he knew only from a photograph made during the Spanish civil war, are not known.

36.
Danaë

Oil on canvas, 62¼ x 89¼ in. (159.4 x 226.7 cm)

Richard L. Feigen, New York

1621–23

New York

PROVENANCE: Giovan Antonio Sauli, Genoa (from 1621/22); Palazzo Sauli, Genoa (as late as 1792); Marchesa Carlotta Cattaneo-Adorno, Arenzano, near Genoa (1975); Thomas P. Grange, London (1975–79); Richard L. Feigen, New York.

RELATED PICTURES: See cat. 41.

REFERENCES: Soprani 1674, 317; Ratti 1768, 452; Ratti 1780, 112; Da Morrona (1792) 1812, 475; Suida 1906, 156; Voss 1925, 460; Bissell 1969, 20, 30–31; Nicolson 1979, 51–52; Bissell 1981, 45–46, 49, 174, 176–77 no. 49, 178; Mann 1985, 383–87; Nicolson 1985, 11–12, 16, 21; Garrard 1989, 242; Nicolson 1990, 112; Genoa 1997, 160; Bissell 1999, 6, 7, 49, 50, 312; Leonard, Khandekar, and Carr 2001, 5–7, 10; Matthiesen 2001, 162.

The *Danaë* is one of Orazio's most brilliant creations—arresting in its formal beauty and dazzling in its depiction of light playing across the varied surfaces of satin, linen, and gilt metal. Only in the *Annunciation* in Turin (cat. 43), painted for Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy, in 1622–23, did Orazio produce a work of comparable descriptive richness and splendor, although in that work the effect is of quiet intimacy rather than bravura display.

Danaë is shown reclining on a bed, locked in the secret chamber to which her father, King Acrisius of Argos, had confined her so that she would never meet a man and bear the son whose hand would deprive him of his life. Jupiter, who had seen and fallen in love with her, appears in a shower of gold coins and shavings (the latter detail is unprecedented in depictions of the subject and, so far as one can establish, an invention without literary source).[1] Cupid, his genitals suggestively exposed between the crisp folds of the coverlet, draws back the curtain as the god enters the closed room and Danaë extends one hand in a rhetorical gesture signifying her acceptance or solicitation (Guercino gives a similar gesture to Potiphar's wife as she tries to seduce Joseph, in his painting of 1649 in the National Gallery, Washington, and Orazio used it for his altarpiece in the Brera, Milan, in which Saint Cecilia receives her crown of roses from an angel). As pointed out by Bissell, her pose has been adapted from a *Danaë* designed by Annibale Carracci (destroyed; formerly Bridgewater House, London), in which, however, the extended hand is used to push back the curtain while Cupid kneels beside the bed, drawing an arrow from his quiver.

The closeness of Danaë's pose to that of the figure in the companion *Magdalene* (cat. 35) has the effect of pointing up the contrast between two kinds of union—spiritual and sexual.[2] Although the subject is an erotic one, Orazio's protagonist is a far cry from the Danaës of Correggio's and Titian's canvases (or, indeed, from his own *Cleopatra*; cat. 17). Orazio was familiar with Titian's celebrated painting in the Farnese collection, Rome, which Vasari describes appositely as "a nude woman portrayed as Danaë."[3] As with Guido Reni's and Guercino's heroines, Orazio's Danaë is curiously chaste. The contrast with Artemisia's earlier, small rendition (cat. 54)—an image of sexual greed, emphasized by the coins in the princess's lap and those she holds tightly in her fist—could not be greater. (In Orazio's picture the coins, which bear the images of Jupiter and thunderbolts, fall not in her lap but toward her face.) The real frisson in Orazio's picture comes from the way Danaë's ivory-skinned body is set off by the icy sheen of the citron-colored satin coverlet.

The comparison with Reni's work may extend beyond a modest approach to depicting the female nude. Reni's great *Assumption of the Virgin*, installed in the Gesù in Genoa in 1617–18, with its striking use of pale-colored fabrics in the upper register and its composition constructed on the basis of echoing diagonals, cannot have failed to impress Orazio. But perhaps even more important for the new emphasis in his work on the sheen of fabrics—apart from the fact that Genoa was a major center of textile production—was the arrival in 1620 of Rubens's spectacular altarpiece



showing a miracle of Saint Ignatius of Loyola. Installed in the transept of the Gesù opposite Reni's *Assumption*, this picture must have struck Orazio as unsurpassed in its depiction of costumes: the eye-catching magenta silk dress worn by the mother in the center of the composition, the gold-threaded chasuble worn by Saint Ignatius, and the red curtain of the baldachin over the saint (a motif Orazio was to use to great advantage in his *Annunciation* sent to Turin in 1623). Rubens enjoyed great prestige in Genoa, where during his Italian sojourn he had painted a number of aristocratic portraits, and although the Fleming's restless, spatially complex compositions were well beyond Orazio's abilities, it would be surprising if the Pisan did not respond in some way to his art. It should, moreover, be remembered that one of Orazio's Genoese patrons, Pietro Gentile, owned a *modello* for the Gesù altarpiece (see cat. 39). Then there is the factor of Van Dyck, who arrived in Genoa for a three-month stay in November 1621, returning to the city for several months every year from 1623 until 1627. What Orazio's work shares with Van Dyck's is an emphasis on refinement and elegance rather than drama and expressivity. Might we not see Danaë's citron coverlet as Gentileschi's answer to, for example, the shimmering red robe in Van Dyck's portrait of Agostino Pallavicino (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles): an attempt to match the virtuosity of the

Flemish master on his own terms? On one of his later visits to Genoa, Van Dyck sketched two of Orazio's compositions (cat. nos. 74, 94), but in the *Danaë* it is perhaps Van Dyck who has spurred the Italian to greater heights.[4]

Garrard draws an analogy between Rembrandt's and Orazio's treatment of the theme, going so far as to suggest that the Dutchman knew the Italian's painting. Given the location of the picture in Genoa, this can be ruled out.

1. The primary sources for the story of Danaë are Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Boccaccio's *De genealogia deorum gentilium*. In the *Genealogia*, Boccaccio recounts how Jupiter became enamored of the princess and transformed himself into a shower of gold that seeped through the tiles of the roof and dripped onto Danaë's lap. The same account is given by Comes and is also found in Michel de Marolles, *Tableaux du Temple des Muses* of 1655. It is as a shower of gold that Jupiter appears in Correggio's depiction. Horace, however, speaks of *pretium* (money), and this is what the coins in Titian's, Tintoretto's, and Orazio's pictures convey.
2. A medieval tradition saw Danaë's impregnation by Jupiter as an analogue to the Virgin birth of Christ, but another tradition, going back to Augustine, saw her as an antitype to the Virgin and an emblem of immodesty and sexual licentiousness—someone paid in gold for her services. On this, see Settis 1985. Whether Orazio was aware of either tradition may be doubted, but the pairing is suggestive.
3. Perhaps, significantly, a version or copy of Titian's canvas was in the Doria collection in Genoa. See Genoa 1997, 214.
4. Gamba (1922–23, 246) interprets the influence as running in the opposite direction.

37. *Lot and His Daughters*

Oil on canvas, 59¾ × 74½ in. (151.8 × 189.2 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (98.PA.10)

ca. 1621–22

PROVENANCE: Giovan Antonio Sauli, Genoa (from ca. 1621–22); Palazzo Sauli, Genoa (sold after 1780); Teophilatus (d. 1910) collection, Genoa; Margaret Pole, her villa at Diano Marina, near Impèria (until 1925/28) and England (from 1925/28); by descent, Jean Milne, Hertfordshire (d. 1986); her niece (1986–98); Johnny van Haeflten, London (1998); The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

RELATED PICTURES: Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (workshop variant);[2] National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (variant);[3] Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid (reduced copy of the Getty picture);[4] Castello di Carrù, near Turin (copy related to Ottawa version);[5] private

The third (though probably not the latest) in the triad of paintings Orazio carried out for Giovan Antonio Sauli and the one that most attracted Soprani, our primary source for the commission, shows Lot, the nephew of the Old Testament patriarch Abraham, asleep in the lap of one of his daughters. She leans over him, pointing into the distance—toward, one supposes, the burning city of Sodom and their mother, who was transformed into a pillar of salt for disobeying God and looking back at the sinful city, which the sisters had fled in the wake of its destruction. Father and daughters, we are told in Genesis 19:30–38, took refuge in a cave and there the daughters, fearful that the human race had been extinguished and that they would find no husband with whom to bear children, got their father drunk and slept with him.

The story of Lot and His Daughters was often taken as a warning against drunkenness. Lot was also an old man made a fool by love. The daughters were sometimes interpreted as examples of pride or carnal desire—despite the fact that some biblical commentators had excused their actions because they were based not on desire but on fear of extinction.[1] The story was seldom illustrated before the sixteenth century;



Figure 70. Marcantonio Raimondi (ca. 1470/82–1527/34?), *Man Sleeping at the Edge of a Wood*. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

in the seventeenth it became enormously popular and we find it included in cycles of paintings with biblical themes, such as the three canvases Guercino painted for Cardinal Ludovisi in 1617. These showed Lot and



collection, Rome (copy of the Ottawa version);[6] Burghley House, Stamford (reduced copy of a lost picture);[7] Musée de l'Assistance Publique, Paris (copy of lost picture).[8]

References: Soprani 1674, 317; Ratti 1768, 452; Ratti 1780, 112; Bissell 1969, 30, no. 1; Bissell 1981, 174–75; Laskin and Pantazzi 1987, 114; Leonard, Khandekar, and Carr 2001, 4–10.

His Daughters, Susanna and the Elders, and the Prodigal Son. The theme is also sometimes included in cycles relating to celebrated or notorious females (*femmes fortes*). In the late 1620s, Claude Mellan made a number of engravings, not all of his own design, on precisely this sort of theme—Judith and Holofernes, Samson and Delilah (fig. 79), Herodiae, Caritas Romana, Lot and His Daughters. As in Guercino's paintings, Mellan shows Lot being plied with drink by his daughters, and the Latin inscription carries the admonition "What good was it to flee those flames if a harsher fire inflames chaste breasts with an incestuous torch?" ("Quid flammas fugisse iuvat; si saevior ignis / Incesta accendit pectora casta face?") This is precisely the sort of moralistic conceit we would expect to be attached to the subject.

Orazio's painting departs from such depictions by showing Lot asleep, having emptied the discarded flask of wine, while his daughters, one of whom is obviously disheveled, discuss their fate. The daughters are hardly the revelers so often encountered, but there is no question that they are the protagonists. Lot is a passive presence, the spent object of his daughters' schemes. In this resides the psychological fascination



Figure 71. Marcantonio Raimondi (ca. 1470/82–1527/34?), *Climbers.* Engraving after Michelangelo. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Figure 72. Orazio Gentileschi, *Lot and His Daughters.* Oil on canvas. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

of a picture that is conspicuously lacking in conventional narrative action. As in the Hartford *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 39), the effect is of a tableau vivant. The psychological dimension emerges from formal juxtapositions: the exposed legs of Lot and those of his daughter, paired suggestively as mirror images (X radiographs show that Orazio significantly altered the position of the daughter's legs to achieve this effect; see fig. 13); Lot's right hand on the leg of the daughter in whose lap he rests his head; the prominent, phallic spout of the emptied flask of wine. The use of demonstrative gestures—which becomes almost pedagogical in his later depiction of the subject for Queen Henrietta Maria (cat. 46)—must reflect Orazio's awareness of such artists as Giovanni Lanfranco and, especially, Simon Vouet, whose *Birth of the Virgin* was installed in San Francesco a Ripa, Rome, not long before Orazio left for Genoa. (Has there ever been more activity generated by the mere passing of a piece of linen from one person to another?) But in conceiving this composition Orazio may also have turned to his collection of prints, in particular to Marcantonio Raimondi's engravings of a man sleeping at the edge of a wood (fig. 70), with its combination of a sleeping male figure and an emphatic pointing gesture, and the so-called *Climbers* (fig. 71), based on Michelangelo's cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina.* In Orazio's painting, the emphasis is on elegance of design (not least the splendid triad of rose, blue, and citron set off by white) and refinement of execution—the keynotes of his Genoese paintings.

The Getty *Lot* was known from a photograph taken in the early years of the twentieth century, but the picture came to public attention only in 1997. Its whereabouts were unknown to Bissell, who mistakenly put forward as the Sauli painting what I believe to be no more than a copy, now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid. X rays of the Getty picture (fig. 12) show significant changes (these are published and discussed at length by Leonard, Khandekar, and Carr). What is not clear is whether Orazio painted the composition over a previously used canvas. Beneath the daughter at the left is a figure shown leaning back, in an attitude of abandon. Is this a first idea for the *Lot*, or possibly the remnants of an

unfinished composition? The scale is different from that in the completed picture and the style of the figure—so far as can be judged—does not look particularly Gentileschian. A companion figure was depicted in close proximity, turning back and glancing upward—very much like the *Young Woman Playing a Violin* (cat. 40). This figure suggests Gentileschi's habit of recycling in other compositions poses he had already used.

In 1622, Orazio, in an effort to procure a position at court, sent a version of the Sauli picture to Carlo Emanuele, duke of Savoy (he refers to this in a letter of April 2, 1623). The picture is usually identified with the version of the composition in Berlin (fig. 72), which was painted by Orazio's workshop using a tracing of the Sauli picture (see pp. 22–26). In his 1674 biography, Soprani writes that Orazio also sent pictures to Marie de' Medici in France. This statement was picked up by Da Morrona, who notes that *a* picture was sent to Marie de' Medici. No subject is mentioned, but the version of the *Lot* now in Ottawa (cat. 42) has occasionally been identified with that picture. However, a copy of the Ottawa picture has been noted in a Savoy castle, the Castello di Carrù, and it now appears likely that the Ottawa rather than the Berlin version was sent to Carlo Emanuele (see note 2, below). It does not attain the quality of the Getty picture and was produced with the aid of a tracing, but like the Cleveland *Danaë* (cat. 41), it appears to be an autograph replica.

1. For a history of the various interpretations attached to the story, see Kind 1967.
2. See Bissell 1981, 175–76. Ever since it was published by Oertel (1971, 237–42), this version, which comes from the nineteenth-century collection of José Madrazo in Madrid, has often been identified with the painting sent by Orazio to Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy, in 1622. Also in the Madrazo collection was a version of Orazio's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* that, it was asserted in the 1856 catalogue, was a gift of Carlo Emanuele's son Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy to the marquis of Leganés, who was Spanish governor of Milan from 1635 until 1641. (Cardinal Maurizio's brother Vittorio Amedeo I, who succeeded Carlo Emanuele as ruler of Savoy, died in 1637, and Maurizio relinquished his cardinal's hat in 1642, when he married Ludovica di Savoia.) Both pictures are listed in Leganés's inventories of 1642 and 1655, without attribution but with the cardinal of Savoy provenance noted for the *Rest on the Flight*. Whether the *Lot* was a Savoy picture and whether either painting belonged to Carlo Emanuele is speculative, although pictures from the duke's collection are known to have been used as diplomatic gifts. Carlo Emanuele's *Lot* can be traced in successive Savoy inventories of 1631, 1635, and one drawn up before 1646; no *Rest on the Flight* by Gentileschi is mentioned in any of these. On balance it therefore seems more likely that Cardinal Maurizio owned his own versions of Orazio's pictures. There is a copy, moreover, of the *Lot* composition in the Carrù, near Turin, that repeats the Ottawa picture (see note 3 below); see Bava in Romano 1995, 246 n. 158. In the 1856 catalogue of José Madrazo, the *Lot* is described as depicting in the background the burning city of Sodom; this was shown on an additional strip of the Berlin picture that has since been removed.
3. The most thorough treatment of this picture is in Laskin and Pantazzi 1987, 113–16. The picture, invariably accepted as autograph, was at one time thought to be the *Lot* sent by Orazio to the duke of Savoy in 1622; see Bissell 1969. It has a provenance from the collection of the duke of Orléans, where it is recorded after 1737. Curiously, the illustration in the 1808 catalogue of the Orléans collection (by Couché) shows not the Ottawa picture but a version now in the Musée de l'Assistance Publique, Paris, which includes in the background the burning city of Sodom. Evidently, Couché did not have a drawing of the Orléans picture, which had been sold in 1790, and took his design from another available version (see note 8 below). In the Ottawa painting and the copy of it in a Roman private collection, the face of the daughter on the left, beautifully foreshortened in the Sauli picture, is viewed—rather unsuccessfully—in strict profile. Bissell (1981, 180–81) suggested, very hypothetically, that this picture was sent by Orazio from Genoa to Marie de' Medici, but the existence of a copy in the Castello di Carrù, near Turin, makes it probable that the Ottawa—not the Berlin—picture was sent by Orazio to Carlo Emanuele; see Bava in Romano 1995, 246 n. 158, and note 2 above.
4. See Bissell (1981, 174–75), who incorrectly confuses this with the picture now in the J. Paul Getty Museum. Its provenance prior to the early twentieth century is not known.
5. See Bava in Romano 1995, 246 n. 158.
6. See Marini (1981, 179), who ascribes it to Orazio and his workshop. To judge from the reproduction, the quality does not attain this level.
7. See Bissell 1969, 31 no. 3. This small picture (48.5 × 60.5 cm, on panel) records a composition identical to one engraved in the 1808 catalogue of the Orléans collection (see note 8, below). Bissell notes that, as with the *Madonna and Child* (cat. 38), the *Lot* was given to the ninth earl of Exeter in 1774 by Pope Clement XIV. I am informed by John Culverhouse, curator at Burghley House, and by John Somerville, that this is incorrect. It seems to me worth considering the possibility that the Burghley House picture, which was ascribed in early guidebooks to Velázquez and then (even more surprisingly) to Mantegna, is identical to the painting sold at Le Brun in Paris on April 11, 1791. That work, also ascribed to Velázquez, was described as "un petit tableau du grand dans la coll. du Palais d'Orléans. Bois. H. 9 pouces L. 12½ pouces" (about 24 × 33 cm.). In a copy of the ninth earl's 1753 *Abécédario* he made a note opposite the entry for Velázquez (p. 141): "Lot & his 2 daughters by d[itt]o in the Orleans pallace in Paris. d[itt]o by d[itt]o in the Royal Collection at Turin. d[itt]o by d[itt]o but smaller at Burghley."
8. This is evidently the picture reproduced by Couché in the 1808 *Galerie du Palais Royal*. Couché began his engravings for this

publication in 1786, four years prior to the dispersal of the Orléans collection. The Revolution occasioned delays, and although Couché based his engravings on previously made drawings, in this case he seems, exceptionally, to have copied the version in the Musée de l'Assistance Publique rather than the actual Orléans painting, which is now in Ottawa and does not include the detail of the burning of Sodom in the background. It should be noted that both the Paris copy and the small Burghley House copy (for which, see note 7 above) show the same composition and background—except that there is more landscape in the Burghley House painting. Presumably the Paris picture has been cut down. The picture suffers from flaking. I have not been able to examine the original, but have studied photographs procured by Stéphane Loire at the Louvre.

38.
Madonna and Child in a Landscape

Oil on copper, 11⅜ × 8½ in. (28.8 × 21.5 cm)

Burghley House, Stamford

ca. 1621–22

New York, Saint Louis

PROVENANCE: Probably the Jesuit order in Rome (by 1771, as by Castiglione); Clement XIV, Rome (until 1774); the ninth earl of Exeter (1774–93); the earls of Exeter (first recorded in Burghley House in 1797).

RELATED PICTURE: Palazzo Rosso, Genoa (slightly reduced copy).

REFERENCES: Burghley House 1797, 78–79; Waagen 1854, vol. 3, 405; London 1960, 24 no. 23; Nicolson 1960, 76–77; Oertel 1960, 95; Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 145 n. 15; Pérez Sánchez 1965, 502; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 39 n. 69, vol. 2, 76 no. c.4; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 165, 167, 168 no. 39, 208; Nicolson 1990, 113; Giffi Ponzi 1994, 51–66; Brigstocke and Somerville in Pittsburgh 1995, 82–83 no. 21; London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 60–61 no. 4.

This exquisite picture was a gift of Pope Clement XIV (r. 1769–74) to the ninth earl of Exeter in 1774.[1] At the time, it was thought to be by the Genoese painter Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione; this attribution is recorded in an inscription on the back of the painting: "Del Fo. Gio. Benedetto Castiglione da Comp[ani]a di Gesù Genovese" (by Father Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione of the Genoese Society of Jesus). Interestingly, three years earlier the art dealer James Byres had attempted to acquire for the earl a small picture attributed to Castiglione from the Jesuits in Rome. He reported that "the Jesuits will not part with their little picture by Castiglione . . . [for] it is the only thing they have of that Father's work."[2] Clement signed a papal brief dissolving the Jesuits on July 21, 1773, and it is possible that the small picture passed into his possession at this time. That the two are the same work is suggested by the confusion between the seventeenth-century Genoese painter Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609–1664) and the eighteenth-century Jesuit lay brother-painter Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766). While we can only speculate about how the picture came into the possession of either the Jesuits or the pope, an indication of its first owner is provided by a second version now in the Palazzo Rosso, Genoa. The interest of that picture, which Giffi Ponzi published as an autograph replica of the Burghley House copper but which I believe to be no more than a copy,[3] is that it has an inscription stating that it belonged to the Sauli family.

In his mention of the series of paintings Orazio carried out for Giovan Antonio Sauli, Soprani notes, in addition to the *Danaë* (cat. 36), the *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 35), and the *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 37), "other paintings of great exquisiteness."[4] This description certainly applies to the Burghley House copper. Did Giovan Antonio's heirs make a gift of the painting to the Jesuit order, replacing it with a copy? The attribution to Castiglione, which has no stylistic basis, must derive from the picture's Genoese provenance. Castiglione, of course, was also a master of the miniature format, and the poetic beauty of the distant blue trees and the sky colored by the setting sun may have contributed to the erroneous attribution. In this picture, Orazio seems to have passed from the Elsheimerian, proto-Nazarene purity of the landscape of the *Saint Christopher* (cat. 27) into a more modern, plein-air vision. The picture is redolent with recollections of Rome. The brick wall with its chipped surface and crumbling plaster is typically Roman, and the figures recall, on a more intimate scale, the large *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. 34). In no other work does Orazio communicate a like sense of the fragility of life and the poignancy of the passage of time at day's end. Bissell dates the work to about 1615–20. As this entry suggests, I am inclined to think it a Genoese picture, of about 1621–22.

1. The details are found in Pittsburgh 1995, 82.
2. Ibid.
3. I have examined the picture on two occasions, the second time with Mary Newcome and Erich Schleier, and we were all of the mind that it is not conceivably by Orazio. The modeling throughout is hard and metallic. There is no quality of vibration to the light. The brickwork is dull, and the ivy leaves without life. While I would not want to eliminate the possibility of the picture's being a workshop replica, I think it more likely a later copy.
4. Soprani 1674, 316–17.



39.

Judith and Her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes

Oil on canvas, 53¾ × 62⅞ in. (136.5 × 159 cm)

Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, Conn., The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection Fund (1949.52)

ca. 1621–24

Of Orazio's depictions of the theme of Judith and Her Maidservant, the one in Hartford is the most refined and compelling. As in an earlier treatment in Oslo (cat. 13), the two women, united by their common task, are shown after Judith has beheaded the drunken Assyrian general and before they have made their successful escape to Bethulia. A noise has caused them to turn their heads, Abra glancing furtively backward, and Judith upward, as though seeking divine guidance. The moment is seized upon by Orazio as an occasion to describe the differences between the two women and their responses.[1]

Isolated against a plain black background, they appear almost excised from their setting and context (the black background must refer to the night); it is the viewer who must make the narrative connections. The contrasts of dress and character so brilliantly alluded to in the Oslo painting are here even more pointed. The highborn Judith, inspired by God and dedicated to a sacred mission, is blonde, blue-eyed, and richly attired. Abra has a more swarthy complexion, she is brown-haired, and there is an incipient mustache on her anxious face. Even in the shared action of carrying Holofernes' head, whose beautifully painted, pale features exert a repellent fascination, the strong yet delicate and manicured hands of Judith contrast with the thicker hands and dirty nails of Abra. In operatic terms—and the staged effect of this picture is undeniable—Judith is the soprano to Abra's dusky contralto. There is an interesting analogy with Federico della Valle's handling of the characters in his drama *Iudit,* written about 1600 and published in Milan in 1627. In one scene, Della Valle has the two women pause in the valley of Bethulia, where they have gone to pray. Abra confides her doubts and fears to Judith: "I confess my fear . . . but often my soul, trembling,

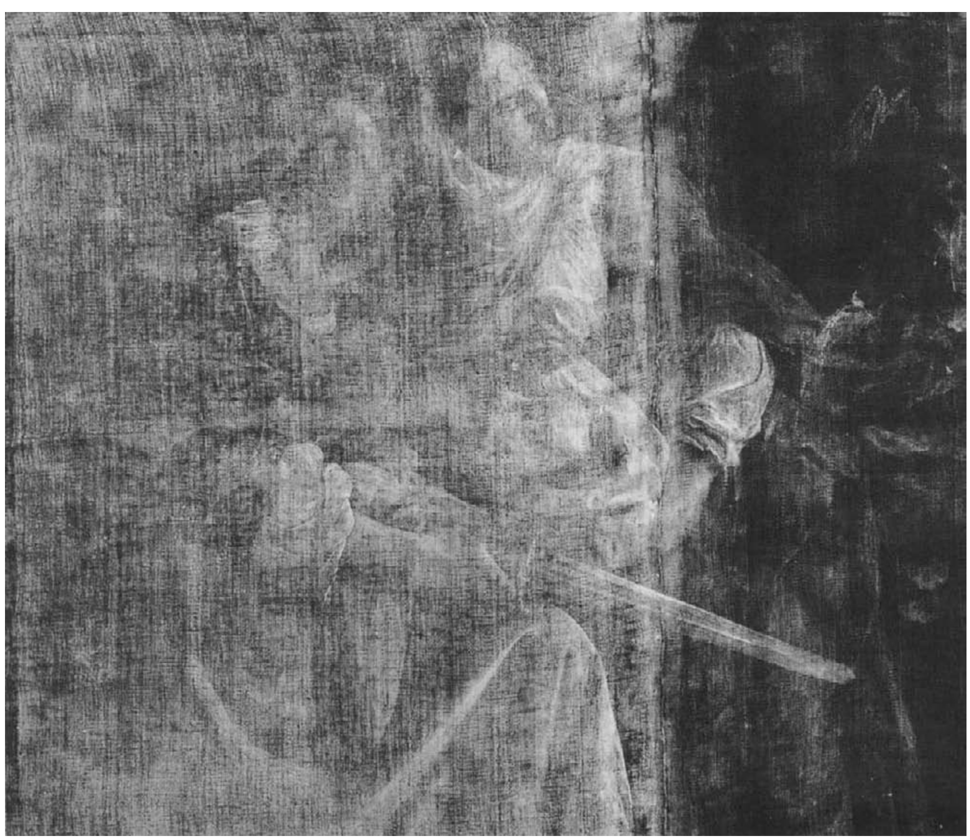


Figure 73. X radiograph of cat. 39, without added strips





Figure 74. Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), folio 115v from the *Italian Sketchbook*, with drawing of Orazio Gentileschi's *Judith and Her Maidservant*. Pen and ink on paper. The British Museum, London



Figure 75. Guido Reni (1575–1642), *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown

PROVENANCE: Possibly Pietro Maria I Gentile, Palazzo Gentile, Genoa (until 1640/41); Gentile collection, Genoa (1640/41–1811/18; inv. 1811, as by Valentin) or, alternatively, Carlo Cambiaso, Palazzo Brignole, Genoa (by 1780–ca. 1805?); Sir Hugh Cholmeley; Koester Gallery, New York (1948–49); Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, Conn.

RELATED PICTURES: Pinacoteca Vaticana (workshop replica); ex Ugo Jandolo, Rome (copy; sold Sotheby's, New York, October 8, 1993, lot 197); another apparent copy was seen by Sterling in a private collection in France in 1958 and still another, recorded by Papi, was seen by Gregori in an Italian collection (see Bissell 1999, 324).

turns back, or lingers or stays fast." Judith responds: "Raise your soul, dear Abra, or if you cannot do that, then raise your eyes. Look at those stars in the sky. . . . And shall you fear that . . . the great and pious God who rules and governs them does not fight for us . . . ?"[2] Originally the staged effect would have been even stronger, for the canvas strips 13 centimeters wide at the top and left seem to be later additions.[3]

The date of the Hartford picture is often placed around 1611–12, contemporary with Orazio's frescoes of musicians in the Casino della Muse (fig. 6). In keeping with this date, the composition has been related by Garrard to an ancient sarcophagus of Orestes. That the composition was determined by narrative considerations rather than archaeological interests is suggested, among other things, by the resemblance it bears to Guercino's picture of the same subject painted in 1651 for a certain Giacomo Zagnoni (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brest).[4] The relatively early dating is closely bound up with two other, admittedly tendentious, conjectures. The first is that the model for Judith was the nineteen-year-old Artemisia, who, it is asserted, reappears as an elaborately attired spectator in the casino fresco (frontispiece, p. 282).[5] The second is that Artemisia is the author of a replica of the composition in the Pinacoteca Vaticana and that that picture may be identical with a painting mentioned in the proceedings of her rape trial of 1612.[6] To take up these points in reverse order: the Vatican picture is a fine workshop replica based on a tracing of the Hartford painting and has no special claim to being by Artemisia (see p. 22); it certainly has nothing to do with the painting mentioned in the rape trial, for which a plausible candidate has now emerged (see fig. 46). That Artemisia was the model for the figure in the casino fresco is possible but far from certain. Her features are known from a medal and an engraving (fig. 95), both apparently dating to the 1620s.[7] These show, to my mind, only a generic likeness with the figure in the fresco, which, of course, was not intended as a portrait. Whether or not Artemisia was Orazio's model, the similarities between the heavy-featured, plebeian woman in the fresco and the more delicate, aristocratic Judith seem to me tenuous at best. Which brings us to the matter of style. Like Pepper, Papi, Schleier, and Giffi Ponzi, I would date the Hartford

References: Ratti 1780, vol. 1, 119–22, 265; Genoa 1788, 58–59; Da Morrona 1787–93, vol. 2, (1792), 261–62; Adriani 1940, 77 fol. 115v; Bissell 1967, 73; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 70 n. 10; Spear in Cleveland 1971, 100 no. 30; Volpe 1972, 67; Capozzi 1975, 162–64; Freedberg 1976, 732; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 22–27, 67, 68, 153–55 no. 25, 155–56, 165, 173; Pepper 1984a, 316; Gash 1985, 257; Garrard 1989, 29, 31–32, 200, 310, 313–15, 330; Nicolson 1990, 113; Mahoney in Cadogan 1991, 148–50; Papi in Florence 1991, 99–102; Spike 1991b, 733; Schleier 1993, 196; Giffi Ponzi 1994, 53; Bissell 1999, 318, 323–24; Boccardo 2000, 210 n. 17.

picture considerably later than 1611–12. With its simple pyramidal structure, its refined use of pattern, and its masterly rendition of finely gradated, transparent shadows, it seems characteristic of Orazio's work of about 1621–24, when he was in Genoa. The grouping of the pictures at the exhibition ought to settle this matter definitively.

That the picture came from a Genoese collection is virtually certain. The composition is recorded in Van Dyck's *Italian Sketchbook* (fig. 74) of 1621–27,[8] and eighteenth-century guidebooks to Genoa mention a painting by Orazio of Judith in the collection of Carlo Cambiaso and another in the collection of Pietro Maria III Gentile.[9] In the event that two pictures of the same composition, both from Orazio's shop, survive, it seems likely that Pietro Gentile owned one version and Carlo Cambiaso the other. What remains uncertain is whether it was the Hartford picture or the Vatican replica that was owned by the Cambiaso. By 1780, each collection had three other works ascribed to Orazio: the Cambiaso collection a *Saint Sebastian Tended by Women* (lost), a *David and Goliath* (possibly cat. 12), and a *Young Woman Playing a Violin* (cat. 40); the Gentile collection a *Sacrifice of Isaac* (fig. 63), a *Cleopatra* (cat. 17), and a *Lucretia* (cat. 67).[10] Aside from the *Young Woman Playing a Violin*, the Cambiaso paintings cannot be traced. By contrast, the Gentile *Cleopatra, Lucretia*, and *Sacrifice of Isaac* remained together in the Cattaneo-Adorno collection until 1967 and can be identified today; all record of the *Judith* is lost after 1811.[11]

Despite these ambiguities, several factors have a possible bearing on the question. Ratti's description of the two collections leaves no doubt that Pietro Gentile's was outstanding. Gentile's forebear Pietro Maria I Gentile is known to have been a collector of uncompromising taste and was probably a patron of Orazio, as he was of Guido Reni.[12] And an 1811 inventory of the Gentile collection gives the dimensions of Orazio's *Judith* as 6 × 6½ Genoese *palmi*, or about 150 × 162 centimeters. This is closer to the Hartford painting, with its additions, than to the Vatican replica, which measures 126.5 × 146.5 centimeters. Interestingly, all the paintings in the Gentile collection ascribed to Orazio also had strips added so that they might be hung with other paintings in the same gallery. For example, in the 1811 inventory, the *Lucretia* is listed after a *Judith* by Reni having the same dimensions (fig. 75) and the *Sacrifice of Isaac* appears with three other pictures of the same size, including a *Samson and the Lion* by Reni.[13] The added strips on the Hartford picture would have transformed it into a pendant for a *Saint Peter in Prison*, alternatively ascribed in guidebooks to Guercino or Reni.[14]

The Hartford picture is without question the prime version of this composition. Not only is it qualitatively of the highest order (the Vatican picture is universally recognized as inferior and was, indeed, done with the aid of a tracing), but there are a number of adjustments. The blue lining of Judith's robe, for example, was extended over the yellow dress; the edge of the red robe to the left of the hanging towel is painted over the yellow; Holofernes' head was painted over Abra's hand and Judith's dress; and the towel was painted over the basket and Judith's red robe.

1. Stocker (1998, 19) has commented on how, "like a Janus-face, the double-headed effect [of the composition] also implies Judith's two-faced nature, an exploitation of her duplication in the maid." She then goes on to propose that the painting probably began as a Salome with Herodias, "their anxious expressions registering belated shame," and that Orazio—perhaps at the instigation of a patron—transformed the subject into a Judith and Holofernes by the addition of the implausibly held sword. Unfortunately, this sort of reading—at once determinist and fictional—has become a staple of much feminist criticism. Far more interesting, though equally determinist, is Griselda Pollock's characterization: "Judith is made Phallic with her sword but maternal with her bounty, the male baby-head" (1999, 121).
2. Della Valle 1627, vol. 1, ll. 134–71, in Stassi 1995, 12–13. Della Valle was connected with the Sabauda court at Turin.
3. The painting has been examined and x-rayed at the Metropolitan Museum. The main canvas, containing virtually the whole figural composition, measures 122.5 × 145 cm (roughly the same dimensions as the Vatican replica) and is made up of two pieces of herringbone canvas stitched together vertically. Each piece was pregrounded, and at least one of the pieces was also prestretched, since there are cusps, or stretch marks, and nail holes along the vertical seam. There are cusps along the perimeter of the made-up canvas as well as signs of a common stretcher. To this canvas, strips were added at the top and left of a different and finer weave and differently grounded. They have been stitched onto the original two-piece canvas (but with finer stitching than that making up the herringbone canvas). The strips are old but unlikely to be original to Gentileschi's composition. Indeed, the folds of Judith's dress that extend into the added strip are self-evidently later.
4. See Salerno 1988, 347. Guercino's picture, however, takes the more conventional tack of showing Abra as an old woman and

Judith as actively putting Holofernes' head into a sack. His picture was, interestingly, paired with a depiction of Jacob being shown the bloodstained coat of his son Joseph.

5. This is argued in Bissell 1981, 154, 157.
6. This was proposed by Redig de Campos when, in 1939, he published the Vatican picture. At that time the Hartford painting was still unknown. Redig de Campos has been followed by Emiliani (1958b, 43) and by Garrard.
7. On these, see Levey 1962; Loire 1998, 164; and Bissell 1999, 38–39.
8. See Adriani 1940, 77.
9. Ratti 1780, 119, 265. Brusco (1781, 35–36) notes only those in the Gentile collection. Ratti mentions the picture in the Cambiaso collection simply as a *Judith*, while both he and Brusco describe the Gentile painting as a *Judith and Her Maidservant*. Bissell (1981) mistakenly believes the references to a *Judith* in the Gentile collection were actually to a painting by Reni. In fact, the Gentile owned a *Judith* by each artist; see Boccardo 2000.
10. On Pietro Gentile's collection, see Boccardo 2000. It is unclear whether the *Sacrifice of Isaac* is the same picture listed in an inventory of 1678 in the collection of Gio Luca Doria; see Belloni 1973, 63; and Genoa 1992, 195–96. If it is, then it was acquired from the Doria by one of Pietro Maria Gentile's heirs. The other possibility is that Doria and Gentile owned versions of the same composition.
11. In 1803–5, several pictures from the Gentile collection were acquired by the rival Scottish painter-dealers Andrew Wilson and James Irvine; see Buchanan 1824, vol. 2, 103, 129, 135; Brigstocke 1982; and Boccardo 2000. They seem not to have been interested in Orazio's *Judith*, which is listed in the Gentile inventory of 1811 (though, curiously, as a work by Valentin). The picture must have been sold prior to 1818, when a guidebook remarks that the Gentile collection was dispersed. Unlike the three companion Gentileschis, it was not purchased by the marchese Adorno, since it is not mentioned in Gandolfi's guidebook of 1846 or in Alizeri's of 1846–47. All that is known of the Vatican replica is that it was a gift to Pope Pius XI by Agnese De Angelis Gammarelli.
12. See Boccardo 2000.
13. Alizeri (1846–47, 432) states that when they were displayed in the Palazzo Adorno, both the Gentileschis and the Renis were hung on one wall.
14. Boccardo (2000, 211 n. 34) remarks on the difficulties posed in identifying works listed in the 1811 inventory with surviving paintings, as added strips have often since been removed and the dimensions changed. In the case of the works ascribed to Gentileschi, the additions to the *Lucretia* were removed after 1967, while one strip was removed from the *Cleopatra*, leaving two others. The latter case serves as a reminder that the 1811 dimensions may include more than one set of additions.

40.

Young Woman Playing a Violin

Oil on canvas, 32¾ × 38½ in. (83.2 × 97.8 cm)

The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mrs. Edsel B. Ford (68.47)

ca. 1621–24

New York, Saint Louis

In his guidebook to Genoa of 1780, Carlo Giuseppe Ratti described a painting by Orazio in the collection of Carlo Cambiaso showing a "half-length figure of a woman playing the violin." Cambiaso owned three other works ascribed to the artist—a *Judith and Her Maidservant* (see cat. 39), a *David and Goliath* (see cat. 12), and a *Saint Sebastian*; whether he inherited the collection or assembled it has not been established.[1] In 1805, the *Young Woman Playing a Violin* was sold by the Cambiaso to the Scottish painter-dealer Andrew Wilson, who put it up for auction in London two years later.[2] In the sale catalogue it is described as "St. Cecilia; a beautiful clear and animated picture, with all the force of Caravaggio, without his sombre tints. —The figure completely alive. From the Cambiaso Palace."[3]

Although these two references date to over a century and a half after the painting was made, they encapsulate the issue of whether it was intended to be read as a genre or as a religious work. (Unlike the *Lute Player* [cat. 22], there really are not enough musical paraphernalia to suggest that it is an allegory of music.) In his canvases of Saint Cecilia now in Washington and Perugia (cat. nos. 31, 32), Orazio had given a genrelike slant to a religious subject, showing the saint as a young woman in contemporary dress intently playing the organ, the instrument most closely associated with the patron saint of music. An angel holding a sheet of music securely identifies the subject. Here, there is no attribute, and we are left with a work that allows—even encourages—simultaneous or layered readings as a secular and a religious work. Analogies



for this sort of ambiguity—an ambiguity that serves to enrich the viewer's experience—can be found in the work of other artists, such as Bernardo Strozzi[4] and Artemisia, whose *Lute Player* in the Galleria Spada was identified as a *Saint Cecilia* in 1637 (obviously because of the rapt expression rather than the instrument she plays; see cat. 63). Indicative of Orazio's ultimate source for this approach is Ottaviano Parravicino's characterization of Caravaggio's art as in a style halfway between the sacred and the profane ("in quel mezzo fra il devoto, et profano").[5] Where Orazio's painting differs most significantly from a work such as Caravaggio's *Penitent Magdalene* (fig. 126), which Bellori read as a genre scene in the guise of a religious painting,[6] is in its recourse to a well-understood and standard repertory of gesture.

Since the time of Raphael and his landmark depictions of Saint Catherine (National Gallery, London) and Saint Cecilia (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), the contrapposto attitude, with the head turned upward, in a direction opposite that of the body, was used to contrast divine inspiration, or heavenly aid, to earthly

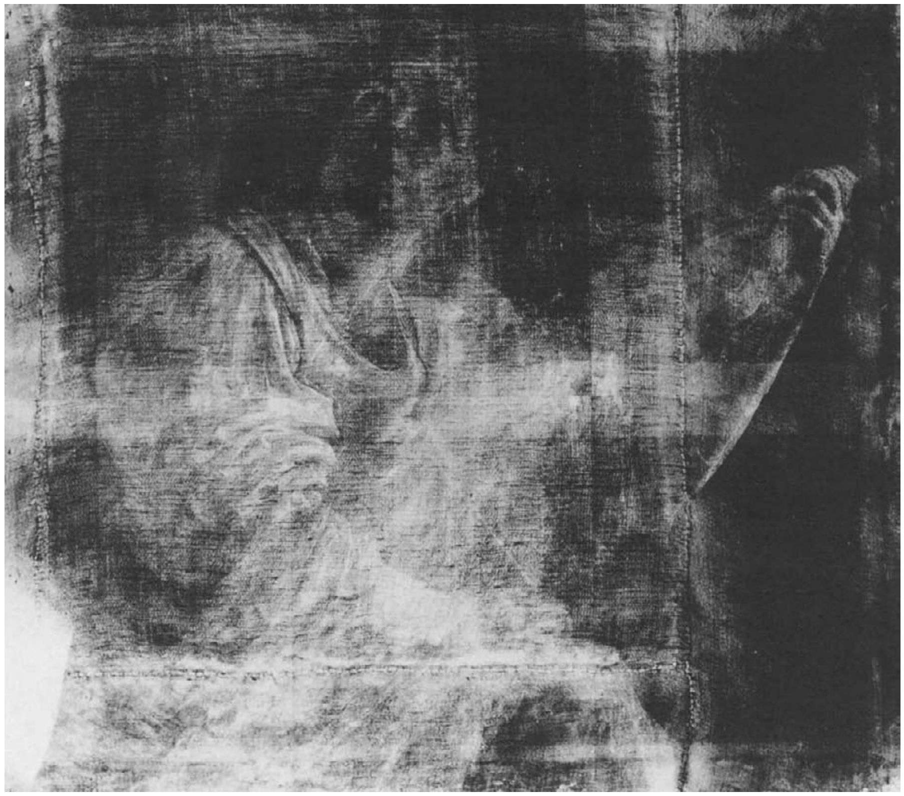


Figure 76. X radiograph of cat. 40

Provenance: Carlo Cambiaso, Palazzo Brignole, Genoa (by 1780–1805); Andrew Wilson (1805–7; sale, Peter Cox, London, May 6, 1807, lot 7, as by Gentileschi); Thomas Trevor Hampden, second viscount, Hampden (from 1807); W. A. Coats, Esq.; Major J. A. Coats and Thomas H. Coats, Levernholme, Nitshill, and Renfrewshire (sale, Christie's, London, April 12, 1935, lot 83, as by Vermeer); Bennett; Anthony Rau; Arthur Appleby, London; Wildenstein, New York; gift of Mrs. Edsel B. Ford, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1968.

Related pictures: R. Monaco, Rome (copy or workshop replica with addition of open part-book on a table in lower right);[10] Piero Corsini (variant composition of Saint Mary Magdalene).[11]

References: Ratti 1780, vol. 1, 265; Longhi 1943, 47 n. 38; Bissell 1967, 71–77; Pepper 1969, 28–35; Bissell 1971, 276; Volpe 1972, 67; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 24–27, 35, 38, 67, 78, 153, 156 no. 28, 166; Brigstocke 1982, 8, 447, 449, 489; Garrard 1989, 28, 493 n. 24; Nicolson 1990, 115; Mahoney in Cadogan 1991, 150; Papi in Florence 1991, 102; Giffi Ponzi 1994, 52–53; De Grazia and Garberson 1996, 97, 104; Bissell 1999, 189, 194, 321–22, 328.

activities. This pose became a visual cliché in Baroque art. Yet, precisely because of its ubiquity, it allowed artists to play on its meaning by varying secondary features.[7] As a Saint Cecilia, Orazio's image could be read in terms similar to those Bellori ascribed to Reni's depiction, painted for Cardinal Sfondrato (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena): "Then that man had [Reni] paint a half-length figure of the same saint, bowing the violin, turning her head and her eyes toward harmony."[8] However, whereas Reni strove for a standard devotional affect through modest dress and pious expression and attitude, Orazio emphasizes human warmth and spontaneity, thereby suggesting a private musical performance that has been momentarily interrupted.

As has been remarked by a number of scholars, the same figure in an analogous pose appears in the Hartford *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 39). The fact that in the Cambiaso collection the Hartford picture (or the replica of it in the Vatican) was exhibited alongside the *Young Woman Playing a Violin* suggests that this sort of variation on a formal pose (what amounts to a rhetorical figure) was understood and appreciated by collectors. Nonetheless, the paintings can hardly have been made as pendants; the Detroit picture, unlike the Hartford *Judith*, is seen from a low viewing point and may have been conceived as an overdoor.

The picture has always, and correctly, been considered contemporary with the Hartford *Judith and Her Maidservant*. As with that work, I prefer a date of about 1621–24—during Orazio's Genoese period—to the one of about 1610–12, which is frequently accepted. The brilliant handling of the white blouse and general effect of transparency are, to my mind, hallmarks of the later moment, as is the elegance of design. The Detroit picture is of exceptional quality. X radiographs (fig. 76) reveal a painting freely worked up (though with no significant changes). Like the *Judith*, it is painted on a canvas support made up of prestretched and evidently pregrounded pieces (four in all).[9]

1. Mahoney (in Cadogan 1991, 150) tentatively identifies Carlo Cambiaso with one of the brothers of Doge Michelangelo Cambiaso (1738–1813).
2. On Andrew Wilson and the record of his payment for the picture, see Brigstocke 1982.

3. Graves's *Art Sales*, vol. 1 (1918), 351, seems to have originated the idea that the picture in the Cambiaso collection was ascribed to Artemisia. The 1807 sale catalogue ascribes it to Gentileschi, which conventionally meant Orazio.
4. In his paintings of a woman playing a violin, Strozzi sometimes includes a martyr's palm branch and/or an angel to identify her as Saint Cecilia and sometimes he does not, thus leaving the matter (intentionally?) ambiguous. See Mortari 1995, nos. 126–30, 282–85, 363.
5. See discussion in Calvesi 1990, 196–200.
6. Bellori 1672, 215. For the archclassicist Bellori, this was a defective approach and revealed an overly strong dependence on nature.
7. Few things elucidate the adaptability of these stock poses as does a picture from Orazio's workshop showing Mary Magdalene. The figure was clearly taken directly from the Detroit picture, with the hands rearranged so as to rest on a skull. See *Important Old Master Paintings* (Piero Corsini, Inc.), 1986, no. 18.
8. Bellori 1672, 495.
9. The central piece is of a herringbone weave; the added pieces on the sides and bottom—of unequal width—are of a modified plain weave. The central piece shows stretch marks along the bottom seam; the pieces on the left side and bottom seem to have been pregrounded. A misunderstanding of this procedure—common in Orazio's work—is responsible for Garrard's notion that the model was originally shown with her hands in her lap and transformed into a musician only later.
10. Photograph from Heim Gallery, on file at the Detroit Institute of Arts. See Nicolson 1990, 115.
11. Exhibited in Corsini's New York gallery in 1986.

41.
Danaë

Oil on canvas, 63¾ × 90 in. (162 × 228.5 cm)

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Fund (1971.101)

ca. 1622–23

When the Cleveland *Danaë* appeared on the art market in 1971, it was identified as the lost work painted about 1621–22 for Giovan Antonio Sauli. "An exciting addition" is how one critic (Pepper) responded to its inclusion in the landmark exhibition *Caravaggio and His Followers*, held in Cleveland that year. Yet it is worth noting that Volpe, one reviewer of the show, felt that the style of the painting pointed to its being a later work, perhaps done in France. The picture is, in fact, an extremely fine, probably autograph replica of the Sauli canvas (cat. 36), and the strong impression it made when seen in isolation serves as a reminder of why there was such a demand for copies and variant compositions of Orazio's best work and how poorly, by and large, these replicas hold up to the prime version when direct comparison is possible. This is the first time the Sauli and the Cleveland pictures have been shown together, but those who have had the opportunity of studying the two pictures on successive days will find it difficult to subscribe to Bissell's observation that "more often than not autograph replicas in Gentileschi's oeuvre represent improvements upon his initial conception." This is rarely true (but see cat. 45). Gone is the effect of transparency, the coloristic brilliance, and the dazzling rendition of light playing on silk and gilt metal. In the Cleveland painting, there is a leaden quality that borders on dullness. Some of this effect must be ascribed to the very process by which the picture was made.

There can be no question that a template, probably in the form of a tracing, was used to lay in the design on the brown ground. This process is discussed elsewhere in the catalogue (see pp. 21–22), but the differences between the two pictures are worth describing in some detail, since in many ways the Cleveland picture can be taken as a paradigm (in the best sense of the word, since the quality of the picture is so much finer than is the norm among paintings produced in Orazio's workshop).

There is not complete conformity between the two pictures. Rather, when a tracing of the Sauli picture is laid over the Cleveland painting (as I was able to do in December 2000), the correspondences prove to be part to part. For example, the lower part of Danaë's torso and legs in both pictures align closely, but when her breast, left arm, and hand align, her head is out of register with the tracing, being slightly higher in the Cleveland painting, and her right hand is farther extended. A shift in the tracing brings the features of the face into almost perfect alignment (except for the

PROVENANCE: Probably Q. Camillo Gavotti, Genoa (by 1679);[4] possibly Lord Sunderland, England (before 1752); private collection, England; Hazlitt Gallery, London (1971); Cleveland Museum of Art.

RELATED PICTURE: See cat. 36.

REFERENCES: Spear in Cleveland 1971, 103–5; Pepper 1972, 170; Volpe 1972, 67–68; Lurie 1975, 75–81; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 45–46, 49, 177–78 no. 50; Garrard 1989, 56, 200, 242, 244, 271; Nicolson 1990, 112; Mann 1996, 40–41; Barnes in Genoa 1997, 160; Bissell 1999, 312.

lips). The position of Cupid is the same in both paintings, but he has a broader torso and his arms are marginally thicker in the Cleveland painting. His head and genitals, however, align with the tracing. In a similar fashion, while the main folds of the satin coverlet match, the silhouette of the white sheet, where it is raised to expose the red mattress, is wider in the Cleveland version. The bed frame does not align completely; the bedposts are broader and the artichoke-shaped finials have an added row of petals, giving them a rather unfortunate, flatter shape. The coins and gold shavings are placed differently in the Cleveland painting and were not transposed from a tracing. The differences between the tracing of the Sauli picture and the composition of the Cleveland painting can be accounted for by a combination of slippage, carelessness (the tracing was perhaps in sections anyway), and intentional adjustments, but that they are the result of a mechanical transfer process cannot be doubted. In X radiographs (fig. 11) the contours of Danaë's arms, torso, and legs can be seen to be as sharp as one would expect from tracing a design. Similarly, there is a clean division between the satin coverlet and the white sheet, as well as in the arrangement of their folds. Even to the naked eye, the signs of working from a predetermined design are evident, for the shapes of the various figures were clearly held in reserve (the brown ground is especially visible around Cupid). In contrast to the Sauli picture, where Orazio has constantly adjusted contours and shapes, in the Cleveland painting everything has been prefixed. For example, the right-hand bedpost does not overlap the bedsheet, and the white bedsheet was not painted over the red mattress. And there is none of the variation in brushstrokes found in the Sauli picture. The general effect of dullness is due less to abrasion than to thinness in the application of the paint (the ground was sometimes left exposed in shaded areas).[1] Over time, the transitions between light and shade have become harder and an overall darkening (or "sinking") has taken place.

Orazio's object in the Cleveland picture was to produce a replica, but, as was usual in such works, changes were introduced. Bissell notes the "pained" expression of the Cleveland Danaë, but more important is the change in the curtain from green to bluish and of the satin coverlet from citron to dull olive, with an almost total loss of those electrifying effects of sheen. Is the work autograph? On balance, I believe the answer is yes. The matter will certainly be debated during the exhibition, but it is important to remember that a conclusion based only on a comparison of the two works is misleading. A proper evaluation would require comparison with other cases in which Orazio replicated a composition—works that have not been included in the exhibition because of their inferior (what I deem to be workshop) status. Among these is the Berlin *Lot* that was, it has been thought—incorrectly—sent by Orazio to Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy, as a demonstration of his abilities. The picture gave a good idea of his *invenzione* but not of his technical abilities, since the painting was mainly a workshop production. The following year, he made a more assertive attempt to acquire a place at the Savoy court in Turin, sending to Carlo Emanuele the prime version of an *Annunciation*—an incomparable display of his *arte*—while the inferior replica (workshop, in my opinion) was delivered to the church of San Siro in Genoa (see cat. 43). Surprisingly, the San Siro *Annunciation* is widely accepted as a fine autograph work and has even been accorded precedence over the Turin picture.[2] It provides a meter for evaluating the quality and the date of the Cleveland *Danaë*, with which it shares a general leaden effect.

A *Danaë* by Orazio is listed in the 1679 inventory of Camillo Gavotti in Genoa, and between 1742 and 1752 George Vertue recorded a "Gentilesco. a Danaë" belonging to Lord Sunderland.[3] Bissell has suggested that these might refer to the same picture. Certainly the style of the Cleveland painting suggests a Genoese rather than an English-period picture.

1. This was already noted in a conservation report the Cleveland Museum made in 1978, after the Feigen picture had appeared.
2. See the evaluation of Pesenti in Genoa 1992, 194.
3. Vertue 1940–42, 55–56. For the Gavotti inventory, see Belloni 1973, 64.
4. It measured 15 or 16 × 8 *palmi*. A Genoese *palmo* is equivalent to 25 cm: thus 375 × 200 cm. Whether this included the frame cannot be said.



42.

Lot and His Daughters

Oil on canvas, 62 × 77 in. (157.5 × 195.6 cm)

The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (inv. 14811)

1622

This is the finest variant of the work Orazio painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli and the most likely candidate for the picture he gave to Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy, in 1622, in an attempt to secure a position at the court in Turin. Orazio refers to a picture of this subject in a letter that accompanied the *Annunciation* (cat. 43), which he sent to the duke in April of the following year: "I have always maintained a lively affection for you, and for that reason I sent you the painting by my hand of the Flight of Lot, and having heard from my son [Francesco] how it pleased Your Highness and, being honored beyond my merit by those sentiments . . . I have been encouraged to send you another [picture], larger and better than the first, which is [of] the most holy Annunciation."

The means of production of the Ottawa picture and its relationship to the ex-Sauli painting and the inferior version in Berlin are discussed on pages 22–26. Here, it is enough to note the revised cave setting and more extensive landscape, as well as the somewhat pedestrian profile view of the face of the daughter on the right (which has sustained damage). In 1989, Galante Garrone published a copy of the picture (fig. 77) in the Savoy castle at Carrù, near Turin, and this copy provides the strongest evidence that the Ottawa version was sent to Carlo Emanuele. It would now appear that Carlo's son Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy owned the workshop replica in Berlin, which he gave to the marquis of Leganés when the latter was the Spanish governor of Milan between 1635 and 1641. (He also owned and gave to the marquis a version of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*; see cat. 45). For the confusing evidence relating to the early provenance of the various versions of the *Lot* pictures and their bibliography, see catalogue no. 37.

PROVENANCE: Probably Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy, Turin (1622–30; inv. 1631, as by Gentileschi); probably the dukes of Savoy (from 1630; inv. 1636, as by Gentileschi; inv., before 1646, as by Gentileschi); Louis, duke of Orléans, Palais Royal, Paris (after 1737–52; inv. 1752, as by G. Canlassi [i.e., Guido Cagnacci]); Orléans collection (1752–90; inv. 1785, as by Caravaggio); Walkners, Brussels (1790); M. Laborde de Mereville; (exh. with ex-Orléans collection at Pall Mall in 1798, no. 166, as by Velázquez); Henry Hope, London (1798–1816; sold, Christie's, London, June 29, 1816, lot 34, as by Velázquez); Croome (anonymous sale, Stanley's, London, June 12, 1832, no. 88, as by Gentileschi); John Rushout, 2nd Lord Northwick, Thirlestane House, Cheltenham (until 1859; sale, Philips, Thirlestane House, August 9, 1859, as by Velázquez; bought in by his nephew George, 3rd Lord Northwick); George, 3rd Lord Northwick, Northwick Park (1859–87); by descent to Capt. Edward George Spencer-Churchill (until 1964; sale, Christie's, London, May 28, 1965, lot 22, as by Gentileschi); National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

REFERENCES: Couché 1808, vol. 2, pl. 87; Barry 1809, 97; Buchanan 1824, vol. 1, 146; Waagen 1854, vol. 2, 498, vol. 3, 204; Stryienski 1913, 176; Gamba 1922–23, 262; Voss 1925, 115, 460; Longhi 1943, 23; Sterling 1958, 117; Pérez Sánchez 1965, 503; Moir 1967, 76 no. 7, 78; Bissell 1969, 16–33; Schleier 1970b, 342; Bissell 1971, 294 n. 18; Spear in Cleveland 1971, 30; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 44–46, 52, 76, 176, 180–81 no. 53, 182, 203; Laskin and Pantazzi 1987, 113–16; Galante in Abrate 1989, 171–74; Nicolson 1990, 112; Bava in Romano 1995, 246 n. 158.

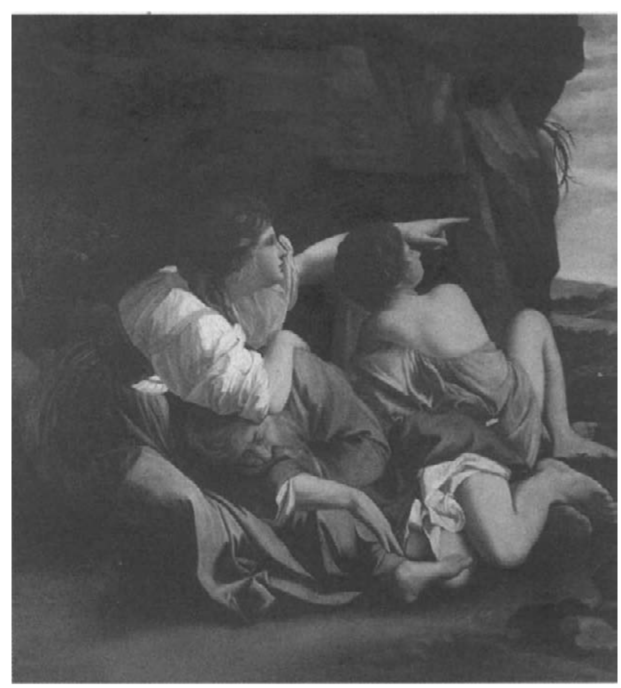


Figure 77. Copy after Orazio Gentileschi, *Lot and His Daughters*. Oil on canvas. Castello di Carrù, Cuneo (Italy)



43.

Annunciation

Oil on canvas, 112⅝ × 77⅛ in. (286 × 196 cm)

Galleria Sabauda, Turin

1623

Rome, New York

Orazio had been in Genoa for two years when, on April 2, 1623, he sent to Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy, this extraordinary painting of the Annunciation. It was accompanied by his son Francesco with a letter in which Orazio noted that the previous year he had given the duke a painting of Lot and His Daughters which, he understood, had been much admired. "And so, animated by such exalted favor, I have been encouraged to send you another [picture], larger and better than the first, which is [of] the most holy Annunciation, so that Your Highness may better judge the point at which my art has arrived." The *Lot and His Daughters* was a replica of the picture Orazio had painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli (cat. 42). That he did not send an original composition of the highest quality suggests that the first gift was intended merely to test the waters of the duke's interest. Having received a positive response, he then followed up the gift with a work of truly exceptional character: one that he must have known would appeal to the duke's religious fervor. A lackluster variant was instead painted for the church of San Siro in Genoa, a clear sign that Orazio's ambitions were to leave Genoa and gain employment at one of the courts of Europe. He seems also to have sent a painting to Marie de' Medici at about the same time (according to his seventeenth-century biographer Soprani), and it was to France that he eventually moved.

Curiously, there is no record of Orazio's having received any compensation for the picture, which was installed in the chapel adjacent to the duke's apartments in the Savoy castle. Indeed, until recently there was no evidence that he received any employment at the Savoy court in Turin. However, we now know that on April 17, 1624, Carlo Emanuele wrote his son, urging him to see to the payment of 150 ducats owed by Gentileschi to an innkeeper in order to ensure that Orazio would begin the task he had been contracted to carry out.[1] Presumably, Orazio had already been in Turin to discuss this matter with the duke. Whether this has anything to do with a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* that Carlo Emanuele's son Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy later gave to the marquis of Leganés is impossible to say (see cat. 45), though it seems unlikely that the duke's "task" would have been no more than the repetition of an already existing composition.

The character of the *Annunciation* has provoked much comment. Longhi's bizarre description of it as "superb human nonsense . . . a woman of the aristocracy who listens attentively to the words of a young gentleman in her bedroom" seems very wide of the mark—a singular lapse of his normally acute critical faculties. Others—most notably Bissell—have found the combination of refinement, grace, and dignity reminiscent of Florentine art—of Donatello and Filippo Lippi in the fifteenth century and of Santi di Tito in the late sixteenth.[2] In so doing, he pinpointed the outstanding feature of the painting: its seemingly archaic conception.

Gentileschi's interpretation of the subject, with the Virgin standing in a carefully described bedchamber, her left arm modestly grasping the hem of her cloak, her right hand raised in a gesture that might be interpreted alternatively as reflection or as dutiful submission at the message conveyed by the angel Gabriel, shown kneeling before her and holding a lily, is reminiscent of a whole series of fifteenth-century Florentine paintings.[3] Orazio may have stopped in Florence en route from Rome to Genoa in 1621, though when he wrote to the grand duke of Tuscany from London in 1633 he declared that he had not been there for fifty-five years. Regardless of whether he made such a trip, there would still be the matter of the motivation behind his purported interest in earlier Florentine art. As was the case with Orazio's Marchigian paintings (see cat. nos. 29, 30), the answer would seem to be bound up with his Counter-Reformation perspective on religious painting.

What the *Annunciation* testifies to is an acute interest in a specifically devotional style of painting. We

PROVENANCE: Carlo Emanuele I, duke of Savoy (from 1623; listed in the castle chapel, inv. 1631 and 1635, as by Gentileschi); the dukes of Savoy, Turin (taken to Paris under Napoléon from 1799 to 1815–16); Galleria Sabauda, Turin.

RELATED PICTURE: San Siro, Genoa (a smaller workshop replica with variations).[11]

REFERENCES: D'Azeglio 1836–46, vol. 1, 15, 24, 80 n. 102; Campori 1870, 103; Baudi di Vesme 49 n. 369; Longhi (1916) 1961, 241–42; Voss 1925, 459; Baudi di Vesme 1932, 319–20; Griseri 1961, 27–28; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 75, 197 n. 4, 256–57 n. 10, vol. 2, 76 no. C.1; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 42–43, 66, 89 n. 11, 169, 171, 179–80 no. 52, 204; Nicolson 1990, 114; Bava in Romano 1995, 62, 248; Arena in Romano 1999, 85.



may deduce that this was a real issue at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century not only from the writings of ecclesiastical theorists such as Gilio da Fabriano and Gabriele Paleotti, but from the work of various artists as well. There is, for example, Ludovico Carracci's *Annunciation* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), painted about 1584, with its reminiscences of the work of Francesco Francia. Malvasia records the esteem Guido Reni felt for his Bolognese compatriots of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who, he declared, "knew how to represent a holiness, a modesty, a purity, a gravity, that any modern painter, despite all his studies and powers would not know how to express."[4] Even the archclassicist Giovan Pietro Bellori seems to have appreciated Reni's desire to recapture a purity of expression. In his encomium of Reni's altarpiece of the Annunciation in the chapel of Paul V in the Quirinal palace—a work that Orazio knew well—he describes the angel as "humbling himself before the Virgin, bending a knee [while the Virgin], the obedient servant of the Lord, folds her arms, lowers her gaze, and receives the Holy Spirit that infuses her. The more her beauty shines, the greater is the humility of her face, which, in looking at the ground, partakes of the heavenly."[5] We might almost think this description was written with Orazio's painting in mind, were it not for the fact that Reni's response to the problem of a devotional style was, in fact, diametrically opposed to Orazio's. In Reni's painting, everyday reality is transformed by the artist's imagination into an ideal, timeless realm. The ethereal beauty of his Virgin, with that much admired "dolce aria di testa," is at the opposite pole to that of Orazio's Virgin, in which we recognize the same young woman who modeled for the *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana* (cat. 30) and who wears on her head the artist's favorite sheer scarf banded in gold. Reni's example reminds us that an interest in earlier art did not necessarily result in a retrospective style.

It is worth noting that in 1603, Orazio's brother Aurelio Lomi painted an *Annunciation* for the Genoese church of Santa Maria Maddalena that has some of the domestic traits—though none of the aesthetic merits—of Orazio's painting (see fig. 65).[6] More pertinent, perhaps, is the example of that paradigmatic Counter-Reformation painter Scipione Pulzone, who in 1587 painted an *Annunciation* for a Dominican church in Gaeta (Capodimonte, Naples). Although based on a brilliant composition by Titian, Pulzone's painting has a distinctly archaic flavor—one emphasizing devoutness over artistic demonstration ("verso un significato non 'honesto' e 'devoto', ma onestissimo e devotissimo," in the words of Zeri).[7] This Pulzone accomplished by tempering expressivity and by emphasizing a meticulous attention to surface description. The rudimentary synthesis of a Raphaelesque classicism with Flemish realism that stands at the core of his work is, to a degree, what Orazio also attempts, though with an inspired sensibility and breadth of experience for which Pulzone's art can have offered no real model. Whether Orazio found inspiration in some of the early Netherlandish paintings that existed in abundance in Genoa is difficult to say, but the way in which the radiance that surrounds the dove of the Holy Spirit as it flies through the open window (its panes evidently of oiled parchment rather than glass) contrasts with the soft daylight of the room certainly recalls such works.[8] So, too, does the passage of light over the white linen sheets, like a sermon on the purity of the Virgin. He had achieved a similar effect of the natural world miraculously invaded by the divine in the *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana*.

Yet Orazio, for all his emphasis on the description of the event as though taking place in a real-life setting, was no less eager to respond to the challenge in Genoa offered by Rubens's overwhelming genius, for there can, I think, be little doubt that the stunning red curtain behind the Virgin—its folds animated by the light falling through the window—is Orazio's answer to the dazzling curtain Rubens uses to theatrical effect in his altarpiece showing a miracle of Saint Ignatius in the church of the Gesù. What we end up with, then, is a work that, motivated by the Counter-Reformation concerns for a devotionally effective art, transposes the terms of quattrocento painting into those of post-Caravaggesque realism. This was, in short, a work perfectly suited to Carlo Emanuele, who took an active part in his various artistic projects, wrote religious poetry, and showed a marked appreciation

for Caravaggesque painting.[9] Almost twenty years earlier, Orazio had painted an altarpiece (fig. 5) for a Capuchin church founded by the duke—a fact to which he alludes in the letter that accompanied the *Annunciation*[10]—and he must have been keenly aware of the character and tastes of the person he was dealing with.

The Turin *Annunciation* is Orazio's finest achievement as a religious artist and one of the masterpieces of seventeenth-century painting. That it, and not the related picture, in San Siro, Genoa, is the prime version is attested, in the first place, by its sublime quality, which is even more evident since its cleaning in 1982. There are also a number of subtle alterations and visible pentimenti: a piece of lavender drapery was painted over the angel's right heel; there are refinements in the contour of the angel's citron drapery and in the fold hanging from the left knee; the shape of a higher or differently placed step can be seen below the window. Although the San Siro version was thought by Bissell to precede the Turin painting, it lacks Orazio's response to the play of light. Its color is drab and its execution hard, and Orazio is unlikely to have had a hand in its realization.

1. Bava in Romano 1995, 248.
2. Chiarini (1962, 28) makes the most comprehensive case for the importance of Santi di Tito, though whether we have to do with a parallel culture or influence remains problematic.
3. On the various mental states of the Virgin at the time of the Annunciation, see Baxandall (1972) 1988, 49–56.
4. Malvasia (1678) 1841, vol. 1, 34.
5. Bellori (1672) 1976, 502.
6. For a discussion of the relation of Aurelio's art to Counter-Reformation ideas with his *Annunciation,* see Ciardi, Galassi, and Carofano 1989, 29–32, 220–21.
7. Zeri 1957, 73.
8. It is worth noting that in 1506, Gerard David painted an elaborate polyptych for Vincenzo Sauli, an ancestor of Giovan Antonio Sauli, for the abbey of San Gerolamo della Cervara, near Genoa; see Ainsworth in New York 1998–99, 296–301.
9. For an overview of Carlo Emanuele's collecting, see Bava in Romano 1995, 212–52. For Caravaggesque paintings in the Savoy collections, see Arena in Romano 1999, 82–95.
10. In the letter, Orazio states that he has no other ambition than "to show Your Highness my ancient servitude that I have dedicated to you since my youth." This has usually been taken as a reference to a commission, of which the Cappuccini *Madonna in Glory with the Holy Trinity* is the most plausible—indeed, the only—candidate. The picture was used as a shutter or curtain for an altar constructed in 1636. Initially, it must have been intended as an altarpiece; see Arena in Romano 1999, 83.
11. Bissell 1981, 178–79, and, most recently, in Genoa 1997, 162.



Gentileschi and France, Gentileschi and the French

JEAN-PIERRE CUZIN

Little is known about the approximately two years that Orazio Gentileschi spent in France or about what he may have painted there, and we can only guess at what his role and influence may have been. Under these circumstances, it may appear presumptuous—even after more than forty years have passed—to attempt to expand upon Charles Sterling's article "Gentileschi in France," which was published in 1958, given that the information he provides remains reliable and the insights he offers remain pertinent.[1]

Let us review some of the biographical data that has been discussed elsewhere in this volume, much of which has become clearer since Sterling's article appeared. Gentileschi seems to have left Genoa for France in the summer or autumn of 1624 to place himself in the service of the queen mother, Marie de' Medici (1573–1642). How long did he stay? Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688) writes that he did not stay long, as he was unhappy there. But, in fact, we know that he remained for two years, since he arrived in London, at the invitation of the duke of Buckingham, in September or October 1626. Raffaele Soprani, the Genoese historiographer, whose work was published posthumously in 1674, tells us that Orazio had sent a painting to Marie de' Medici from Genoa and that it pleased her a great deal. Perhaps, Sterling adds, Gentileschi's Florentine origin also appealed to the queen, reminding her of her own family. Which work (one canvas or several?) was sent from Genoa? A *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*? A *Mary Magdalene*? Was this picture—or one of them—related to those later given to George Villiers, duke of Buckingham? We do not know. What we do know is that it belonged either to Cardinal Richelieu or to Marie de' Medici and that it was, in all likelihood, a picture of one of these subjects (see cat. 45).[2]

Why this relatively brief stay? Perhaps, in fact, the artist was not happy in France; very likely, he did not receive the commissions he was hoping for. In any case, it seems probable that Gentileschi's departure for London was related to the marriage of Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Marie de' Medici and sister of Louis XIII, to Charles I. In May 1625, the duke of Buckingham—the king's chief minister—was in Paris to accompany the future sovereign to her new country, and he may have met Gentileschi at that time. Balthazar Gerbier, Buckingham's artistic adviser and more or less his agent, may have recommended the painter to him, and it is very possible that Gentileschi accompanied François de Bassompierre, France's new special ambassador to London, who assumed his post in late September 1626. In their essay (pp. 223–24), Gabriele Finaldi and Jeremy Wood assume, probably correctly, that the painter's entry into service at the English court was part of a series of diplomatic agreements between Buckingham and Bassompierre.[3] In any event, in 1633, in a letter to Ferdinand II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, Orazio indicates that it was with the agreement of the queen mother that he left for England. Whether he was pleased or resigned we will never know.

Thus, we can only conjecture about the work—or works—that Gentileschi sent to Marie de' Medici, and which convinced her to call the painter to Paris. The results of his Parisian stay seem meager; we know of only one painting that was certainly executed there: the *Public Felicity* (cat. 44), painted for the Palais du Luxembourg and today in the Louvre. Originally attributed to Jean Monier, it was identified by Sterling in 1958.[4] The painting, monumental in its beautiful *di sotto in sù* effect, with a clear-toned blue, white, and yellow color scheme, was obviously executed by a painter hoping to obtain major commissions by convincing patrons of his "decorative" skills. The figure's apprehensive expression has not been adequately noted. She holds to herself, almost protectively, a kind of jumble of crowns and scepters, together with a cornucopia, and she looks upward as though

Opposite: Detail of *Public Felicity* (cat. 44)



Figure 78. Michel I Corneille (1603–1664), *Marriage of the Virgin*. Oil on canvas. Private collection

fearful of something above. The cloudy sky, so often rendered by Gentileschi, is particularly dark and menacing as in none of his other pictures. The caduceus that she holds in her left hand is an emblem of peace (in Peter Paul Rubens's *Conclusion of Peace* [Louvre, Paris] it is the attribute of Mercury, who brandishes a similar object while entering the Temple of Peace), but the snakes, as they writhe about it, seem to allude to the dangers that threaten the kingdom. Orazio undoubtedly wished to treat the theme not only of public felicity, but of public felicity tested by dangers and vicissitudes. Is this an allusion, as in the last episodes of Rubens's "saga," to the misfortunes of Marie de' Medici, who was enmeshed in a dispute with her son? Or to broader threats to the peace and prosperity of the land? Indeed, we should perhaps title the painting, with its decidedly nontriumphant figure, *Public Felicity Threatened* rather than, as Sterling did, *Public Felicity Triumphant over Dangers*. The choice of the latter title, in its reference to the theme of the painting, could have come only from Marie de' Medici and her advisers. In any case—although we have no direct commentary to support this view—to judge by the absence of subsequent commissions and the fact that everyone so quickly forgot that Orazio was its creator, we are obliged to conclude that the picture was not well received.

I have said that the *Public Felicity* is the only painting that was certainly executed in France. *Diana the Huntress* (cat. 47) is a picture that has also been thought to have been made there. It is now known to be a work executed in London, thanks to a document discovered by Laurence Lépine, which states that the painting was paid for in 1630 by Roger du Plessis de Liancourt, duke of La Roche-Guyon, Louis XIII's special ambassador to Charles I.[5] This point merits careful attention, since the *Diana* seems to have had a direct influence in France and is, even more perhaps than the *Public Felicity*, in perfect harmony with the spirit of Parisian painting (if that expression does indeed have any meaning). At least, it is in perfect harmony with the spirit of Parisian painting in the years 1630 to 1640, a spirit believed to have been inspired by Gentileschi. Are we to imagine that there was a first version of the *Diana* painted in France, of which the Liancourt painting would be a repetition executed four or five years later, and that this first version was the source of the French copies? The hypothesis of two versions is not untenable, as Orazio was a painter who did not hesitate to repeat his compositions, at the request, no doubt, of his patrons. But we must rather assume that the canvas, installed in the Liancourt mansion on the rue de Seine, was admired upon its arrival and quickly imitated by French painters. Arguments based on sources other than the rediscovered document convince us that the *Diana*—despite the difficulty we have in proving it—is a product of the English period. The color harmonies, with their delicate shot greens, are very different from the more clear-toned blues, yellows, and whites of the *Public Felicity*, and the complex, pivoting pose of the figure—seen from the back—which pushes the limits of anatomical verisimilitude, is similar to that of Joseph in *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, at Hampton Court (fig. 88), made in England about 1632. As Finaldi and Wood remark, it is also similar to the attitude of one of the Muses in *Apollo and the Muses* (fig. 93), also painted

in England, before 1630.[6] In his catalogue entry for the *Diana* (cat. 47), Keith Christiansen has noted how intimately in harmony that painting is with French sensibilities, evoking the painters of Fontainebleau and Jean Goujon's (ca. 1510–ca. 1565) *Nymphs* for the Fountain of the Innocents.[7] In the *Public Felicity,* the fluid and complex arrangement of both the nude and draped parts of the body in a narrow, vertical format brings to mind many figures of the school of Fontainebleau; let us recall that *Diana the Huntress*,[8] originally narrower than it is today, could have decorated a fireplace mantel—as did perhaps Gentileschi's canvas.[9]

How to describe the painters' Paris at the time Gentileschi arrived, in the fall of 1624? The most popular studios were probably those of Georges Lallemant and Quentin Varin—both younger than Gentileschi. Did he see Lallemant's *Pietà* (1620), on an altar of the church of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs? Or Varin's *Wedding at Cana*, on the high altar of the church of Saint-Gervais (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes), probably painted only a short time before? Did he see the canvases of Martin Fréminet, who was a few years younger (he died in 1619)? Louis Finson's *Circumcision* (ca. 1615), on the high altar of Saint-Martin-des-Champs? Or, on the high altar of Saint-Leu-Saint-Gilles, the *Last Supper* (1618; Louvre, Paris) by Frans Pourbus, who had died two years earlier in Paris, after spending twelve years in the capital? Gentileschi may have found the *Last Supper* quite striking. It was quickly to become famous—it is reputed to have been admired by Nicolas Poussin himself—and, in the eighteenth century, was still cited in guides to the capital as "one of the marvels of Paris." The picture's somewhat weighty realism, its sharp and chiseled forms, even its austerity move decidedly away from the late-Mannerist style of Lallemant, Varin, and Fréminet. Pourbus's taste for rendering materials, with very specific fabrics, in a perhaps too insistent manner, may have fascinated Orazio, who was sensitive to such effects. Other religious compositions painted by Pourbus in Paris must also have interested the artist: the *Annunciation* (1619) and the *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (1620) for the convent of the Jacobins on the rue Saint-Honoré (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy, and Louvre, Paris)—or the *Vic Family Virgin* (ca. 1616?), which has remained at Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, with its complex Italianism and naturalist set pieces. Let us recall that Pourbus, born in Antwerp six years after Orazio, was closely connected to Marie de' Medici and did many portraits of her. Marie's sister Eleonora was duchess of Mantua, and Pourbus worked in Mantua for the Gonzaga beginning in 1600. Thanks to their intervention, he went to Innsbruck, Turin, and Paris, where, in 1606, he made portraits of Marie de' Medici and her son the dauphin, the future Louis XIII (r. 1609–43). After 1610, Pourbus returned definitively to Paris as painter to the queen; in 1618, he became a French citizen. Pourbus lived at the Louvre, and he died in the French capital. His art represented the most "advanced" Parisian painting of the day. Let us say, to simplify matters, that Orazio found a Parisian mode of painting that was at times attached to the last moments of Mannerism, at times tempered by a strained naturalism, and, on the whole, somewhat Northern in its tradition.

The activity centered on the Palais du Luxembourg presents a completely different view. Is it possible to define a taste peculiar



Figure 79. Claude Mellan (1598–1688), *Samson and Delilah*. Engraving. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris



Figure 80. Jean Monier (1600–1656), *Allegory.* Oil on canvas. Musée de Château de Blois

to Marie de' Medici and to characterize her artistic patronage? Certainly, it is not an easy task. Antoine Schnapper, who has recently taken it on, has told of the queen's (Florentine) fondness for tables embellished with hardstone marquetry and, more generally, for precious objects.[10] I have spoken of her attraction to the works of Pourbus, but this seems to have been limited to his work as a portraitist—which is hardly surprising, given that the sovereign liked portraits very much. The undertaking of the Luxembourg palace and its painted décor are, of course, what mattered, and the connections to the queen's native country, especially through the familial ties to the court of Mantua, were of major significance.[11]

This is not the place to focus on the history and importance of the commission Rubens received from Marie de' Medici for the gallery of twenty-four paintings devoted to her life, or to analyze their iconographic richness. Let us, instead, look again at the Italian context of that enterprise, entrusted to an artist who had been given a variety of commissions by the Gonzaga and who was acclaimed for having spent eight years in Italy. The paintings (today in the Louvre, Paris) were installed at the Palais du Luxembourg in 1625, and unveiled at the festivities for the marriage of Henrietta Maria to Charles I. Orazio could not have failed to see and study them; this is what he was up against.

Another series of paintings at the palace was also significant. This time, it was a gift to the sovereign. In 1624, Ferdinando Gonzaga, sixth duke of Mantua, in order to obtain the title of Highness, and on the advice of Giustiano Priandi, his ambassador to Paris, sent to Marie de' Medici a series of ten paintings by Giovanni Baglione, *Apollo and the Nine Muses* (on deposit at the Musée d'Arras; the *Melpomene* is lost). These had been commissioned a few years earlier by the duke and executed in Rome in 1620.[12] In a letter to the court of Mantua, Priandi had emphasized quite pointedly that to please the sovereign, the figures had to be "eccellenti e non del tutto ignude ne troppo lascive" (excellent, with no nudity, and not too lascivious). This gives an idea, if not of the queen's tastes, then at least of her bias. The paintings, in a somewhat gentle Caravaggesque style, elegant and a little loosely painted, were very much admired by the courtiers, some of whom judged Baglione superior to Rubens.

The third and last series of paintings was commissioned by Marie de' Medici in 1623 as decoration for the Cabinet Doré. The ten large canvases were executed by artists active in Florence, and their subjects, most of which alluded to marriages of the Medici, were chosen by the queen at the beginning of the following year. Seven of the ten—those by Jacopo Ligozzi, Giovanni Bilivert, Jacopo da Empoli, Francesco Bianchi Buonavita, Passignano, Marucelli, and Anastasio Fontebuoni—still survive in a private collection; three of the canvases—by Vignali, Ligozzi, and Zanobi Rosi—are lost.[13] The paintings arrived in Paris only in December 1627. This great undertaking, dedicated to the glory of the Medici family and carried out by many of the finest Florentine painters of the day, was an affirmation by Marie of her origins in her (very Florentine) palace in Paris, built by Salomon de Brosse as a tribute to the Palazzo Pitti.

The queen's patronage was not, however, limited to works for the Luxembourg palace. Indeed, she bestowed works of art on several religious institutions, notably the Carmelite convent on the rue Saint Jacques, which she founded in 1603 and for which she commissioned Guido Reni's (1575–1642) *Annunciation*, now in the Louvre. This was the first large painting by that artist to have



Figure 81. Laurent de La Hyre (1605–1656), *Allegory of Arithmetic.* Oil on canvas. Hannema-de Stuers Foundation, Heino, The Netherlands



Figure 82. Philippe de Champaigne (1602–1674), *Madonna and Child.* Oil on canvas. Musée Baron Gérard, Bayeux

come to France; it appears to have been contracted in 1624. Reni deliberated over it a long time, and it did not arrive in Paris until early 1629.[14] It was almost certainly upon receiving the *Annunciation* that Marie de' Medici decided to ask Reni to Paris to decorate one of the galleries at the palace. The invitation, as we know, went unheeded. There had earlier been a plan to have the Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640) undertake the task, but this was abandoned because of the painter's advanced age. Guercino (1591–1666) was subsequently approached, also to no avail.

The influence of Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566–1643) on the development of French art is certainly negligible (though he perhaps exerted some on Mathieu Le Nain, with his taste for figures in feathers, for musical instruments, and for very clear-toned reds and blues). The mark left by Rubens was considerable, but it was not felt until the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. What role could Gentileschi's paintings have played in France? It remains a matter of conjecture, since, with one exception, we are not sure which canvases he painted there, or which may have been there during his stay and subsequently. Nevertheless, historians of French painting have always considered his role to be a major one.

Did Simon Vouet (1590–1649) have a sympathy with Gentileschi? That he did can be argued, but, beyond a shared taste for ample forms and sharp, clear-toned colors, their worlds are irreducibly different. I also remain unconvinced by the arguments that link the half-length female figures painted by Vouet in Rome to those by Orazio, since the work of Orazio's daughter, Artemisia, could have contributed to this connection. In the same vein, the similarities between the *Public Felicity* and Vouet's *Allegory of Wealth* (Louvre, Paris) do not seem particularly notable.[15] Nevertheless, in the rich and diverse visual material accumulated by Vouet during his travels, the memory of one Gentileschi or another, whether the father's or the daughter's, seen in Genoa or elsewhere, may have been a contributing factor in his artistic development. Some paintings by close followers of Vouet are not dissimilar to Gentileschi's in manner. A half-length *Jael* (present location unknown), for example, was obviously made within the master's immediate orbit—either in the final years in Rome or in Paris shortly after 1627[16]—with its authoritative sense of volume and subtle rendering of white fabric.

At present, no one is bold enough to state definitively that Vouet's return to the French capital in 1627 constituted the sole event that set a new course for Parisian painting, one that reflected the painter's lyrical, largely decorative vision, marked by bright colors and a broad technique. It has been said often enough that Vouet's visual language at the end of his stay in Italy was complex, marked by Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647) and by the time spent in Venice, Genoa, and Naples. It was a long way from his experience of Caravaggio, even if that experience was harmoniously integrated to support a healthy naturalism. Had they been painted in Paris, Vouet's canvases from the beginning of his stay in Rome, such as the *Fortune-Teller* in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome, or the painting of the same subject in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, might have determined or reinforced completely different currents. They are intimately Caravaggesque and in close harmony with the French tradition of gesture and mime, which derive from the theater. Vouet's role in Parisian art as a whole, beginning about 1630, is quite evident, and there is a style specific to Vouet—that of the master's studio and family—to which Michel Dorigny, Charles Poerson, Eustache Le Sueur, and the young Charles Le Brun were connected: the

physical types, the color schemes, the sense of monumentality, and the taste for decoration all are, with subtle variations, similar, and in every way far removed from Caravaggism.

Sometimes, however, artists closely associated with Vouet appear to have also been in tune with Gentileschi. What is striking in his work—the tranquil weightiness of figures in vivid colors and immobilized in a bright light, with blues and yellows tempered by whites—is very similar to what one finds in the work of Michel I Corneille (1603–1664), a nephew and student of Vouet, whose style can be distinguished from that of his master by the attentive and careful rendering of realist set pieces, by an occasional ungainliness, and often by a taste for white, citron yellow, bright blue drapery, and milky carnations. As an example, let us cite the large *Marriage of the Virgin*, recently on the art market (fig. 78).[17]

Claude Mellan (1598–1688) also deserves a few words. "Gentileschiano del bulino" (Gentileschian with the burin), said Roberto Longhi, drawing attention to the stylistic affinity between the engraver from Abbeville (fig. 79) and the painter from Pisa. The clear, almost transparent, craft of the engraver, who captures figures that are sharply depicted in the light, instantly intelligible, stands as an equivalent to the painting style of Gentileschi, whether the engravings are executed after Vouet, after Poussin, or after his own creations. In certain cases, Mellan's work is directly Gentileschian: his *Saint Mary Magdalene in Penitence* is often cited as an example. The preparatory drawing for the engraving still survives (Musée Boucher de Perthes, Abbeville). The drawing, made around 1629, according to Jacques Thuillier, was obviously influenced by Gentileschi's canvas of the same subject (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; fig. 26).[18]

Other, more modest artists, not in the circle of Vouet, must also be mentioned. Foremost among them is Jean Monier (or Mosnier; 1600–1656), a painter from Blois, who, in spite of himself, has helped to expand our knowledge of Gentileschi's activities in France. As noted earlier, the *Public Felicity* was for a long time attributed to Monier, until correctly identified by Sterling. In his article, Sterling explains how the picture may have been confused with a work by a painter who also worked at the Palais de Luxembourg and who appears, according to testimony given in 1682, to have served as Gentileschi's replacement when he left for London and when Monier was returning from Rome.[19] Monier's participation in the decoration of the palace is still unclear, and it is not certain which passages perhaps executed by him remain.[20]

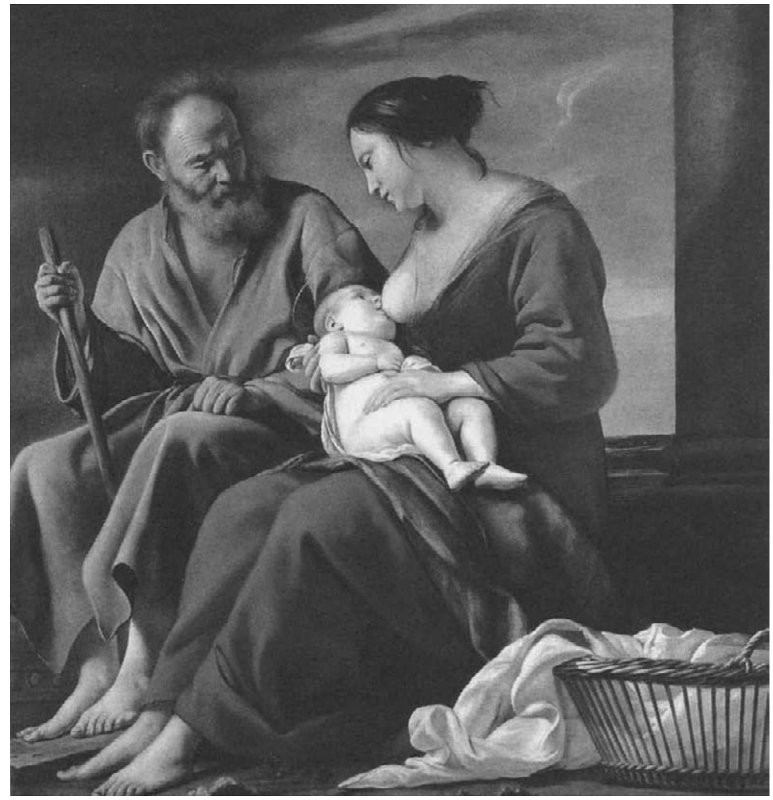


Figure 83. Louis Le Nain (ca. 1600–1648), *Holy Family*. Oil on canvas. Private collection

The works that are generally attributed to Monier, especially the beautiful series of mythological subjects at the château de Cheverny, the *Allegory* in the museum of the château de Blois (fig. 80) originally installed at Cheverny, and the decoration for the château de Chenailles (now in the Toledo Museum of Art), are restrained in expression and similar to those of Gentileschi in the depiction of massive figures seen *di sotto in sù,* elegant and with a quality of pleasing quietude.[21] No one has ever challenged the claim that Monier was responsible for a copy executed after Gentileschi's *Diana*. That painting depicts only the upper body. It was published by Sterling in 1964 and assigned to Monier.[22] But Sterling noted its stylistic similarities to the mythological compositions at Cheverny before the original by Gentileschi had been identified. I wonder now how convincing that explanation is, and whether the argument does not too easily lend itself to making the work conform to documents that link the two artists. The attribution of the copy of the *Diana* to Monier, though certainly not impossible, must remain hypothetical.[23]

It is interesting to link to Gentileschi the name of another painter of the same generation, still relatively unknown: Nicolas

Prévost (1604–1670), who was rescued from oblivion by the work of John E. Schloder on the decoration at the château de Richelieu, with which the artist's name remains linked.[24] Prévost, a student of Varin, was chosen by Cardinal Richelieu in the 1630s to decorate his sumptuous château in Poitou. If we are to judge by the few elements of that decoration which can be identified, he would appear to have practiced a complex, rather eclectic art, reminiscent of Jacques Stella, Lubin Baugin, and Laurent de La Hyre. Prévost was strongly influenced by classical statuary filtered through the sensibility of the school of Fontainebleau, a sensibility reflected in the series *Strong Women* (private collection), which are among the relics of the château de Richelieu. The *Kiss of Justice and Peace* (now in the Musée de Richelieu), which once decorated the mantel in the queen's antechamber, displays a manner fairly close to that of La Hyre, somewhat stilted and with a certain naïveté, but in which, despite the choice of warm colors, there are obvious echoes of Gentileschi's art.[25]

With Laurent de La Hyre, Philippe de Champaigne, and the Le Nain brothers, we must imagine artists of a very high stature, all active in Paris, none of whom made the trip to Italy (was this by chance?), and who were, to varying degrees, profoundly marked by Gentileschi. La Hyre (1605–1656), whose first works (ca. 1623–24?) can be placed within the tradition of the second school of Fontainebleau, with elongated, fluid forms, a softness in the modeling of the figures, and foliage that is unnaturalistic and fancifully decorative, certainly cast an envious eye toward Gentileschi, as Sterling has aptly pointed out.[26] La Hyre was between eighteen and twenty years old at the time of Gentileschi's stay in Paris, certainly the determining moment, when his work displayed a new concern for monumentality with heavy sculptural forms, a more defined modeling in strong light, and an interest in the analysis of "bits of reality," which led him to describe in fine detail the tactile surfaces of rocks and plants and trees, and the soft fur of animals. The connection to Gentileschi, particularly to the *Public Felicity*, is very evident. Chipped stones, worn rocks, and abandoned buildings are a constant in La Hyre, as are volumetric forms seen in almost palpable changing light that brings them into strong relief. With the victory of Christianity over Greco-Roman paganism their underlying theme, La Hyre's paintings are a meditation on the passage of time. Similarly, split and fissured stones are part of Gentileschi's vocabulary—the balustrade in the *Public Felicity*, the broken steps in the *Vision of Saint Francesca Romana* (cat. 30), and the heavily indented rocks in the *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* in Rome (cat. 25). The last painting (and its smaller version; cat. 26)—its Italian lyricism and feeling expressed in the execution of the plants and in the saint's robe and cord—seems almost a La Hyre "avant la lettre."[27] Gentileschi's luminous colors, his whites and pale grays, his mastery of color relationships—yellows, blues, lilacs—that are both audacious and refined, exerted a lasting influence, as did his forms, which served as the prototype for La Hyre's classical and sculptural female figures. His series of the Liberal Arts, now dispersed (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Hannema-de Stuers Foundation, Heino [fig. 81]; National Gallery, London; and private collection, New York),[28] is a good indication that the Gentileschian manner, of figures with vast polychromatic drapery and beautiful still-life details in the spirit of the *Public Felicity*, was not lost on him.

Philippe de Champaigne (1602–1674), who was slightly older than La Hyre and, like him, did not go to Italy, may have known Gentileschi personally. Shortly after Champaigne's arrival in Paris from Brussels in 1621, he worked, between 1622 and 1626, under the direction of Nicolas Duchesne on landscapes for the Palais du Luxembourg. After his return to Brussels in 1627, he was called back by Marie de' Medici to succeed Duchesne, with the title of painter ordinary to the queen; he lived at the palace. Champaigne settled in Paris in January 1628, before marrying Duchesne's daughter in November of the same year. His first years in Paris thus seem to gravitate toward the Palais du Luxembourg, and there is no doubt that he saw and carefully studied Gentileschi's *Public Felicity*. As an example of the Italian painter's mark on Champaigne, R. Ward Bissell offers *Anne of Austria as Minerva* (formerly Henri Rouart, Paris), the attribution of which is not certain.[29] But it is clear that many elements in Champaigne's work are Gentileschian, once allowances are made for his Flemish temperament (fig. 82): the perfect and pronounced definition of forms in space; their sculptural weight, even massiveness; the careful description of materials, in a cold, precise light; the taste for bright, gay colors, which almost contradicts the naturalism of the figures; and the yellow, pale blue, and rose color schemes.

The influence of Gentileschi on La Hyre and Champaigne has to do with tactility in the rendering of materials and, in a certain sense, with light and color. On the Le Nain brothers (Antoine, ca. 1600–1648; Louis, ca. 1600–1648; Mathieu, ca. 1607–1677), the influence



Figure 84. Jacques Blanchard (1600–1638), *Allegory of Charity*. Oil on canvas. Toledo Museum of Art. Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey

is more profound; indeed, we can discern a real spiritual kinship. Here, the execution itself and the color schemes are very different from those of the Italian painter. But the somber figures, the patches of soft light, and the discretion of feeling, with facial expressions turned inward, are all similar. Bissell has very aptly analyzed these elements. The figures in Gentileschi's depictions of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt (cat. nos. 34, 45), their quality of measured realism, their restrained elegance, and even the gentle melancholy that emanates from them, have often been compared with several figures by the Le Nain, as have many female faces, almost childlike, with slightly puffy cheeks, tangled blonde hair, and a closed, almost obstinate expression. The combination of refined, aristocratic elegance with working-class simplicity seen in the paintings of the Le Nain brothers—the *Magdalene* (formerly Vitale Bloch), the *Holy Family* (fig. 83), and their most ambitious altar paintings, the *Saint Michael and the Virgin*, in the Église Saint-Pierre in Nevers, and the *Birth of the Virgin*, in Notre-Dame de Paris—are also evocative of the Italian painter. Let us recall as well the often-reproduced figure with lowered eyes from *The Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Louvre, the *Small Card Players* from the queen's collection in England, and the strangely grave and chastely immodest figure in the *Victory*, also in the Louvre. These reflect Gentileschi at his most intimate, his most tender: the Gentileschi of the *Saint Francesca Romana* (cat. 30), the *Saint Cecilia* (cat. 31), and the various paintings of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt that the works of the Le Nain brothers most resemble. The Birmingham version (cat. 34), with the magnificent idea of the ass's head silhouetted against the sky, is in perfect harmony with the poetics of the Le Nain—would that they had seen the painting.

I can only point to these similarities, making note of the fragility of an argument that rests solely on personal feeling. How can we fail to observe that the startling *Public Felicity*, the only undisputed "French" Gentileschi, really is not much in tune with the honest realism and earth colors of the Le Nain brothers?

We must remain cautious, as it is possible that the similarities were casual ones. Are not the Le Nain angels, in their resemblance to the witty, generous, and rebellious Parisian urchin Gavroche in Victor Hugo's *Les misérables,* the brothers of those in the Spanish artist Juan Bautista Maino's two versions of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Prado, Madrid, and Hermitage, Saint Petersburg), which were painted earlier and far from Paris?

The Gentileschian mark on the Parisian painters can be found in diluted form in the work of other artists, in particular Jacques Blanchard (1600–1638). Blanchard's two *Magdalenes* (both lost, but of which engravings exist) are reminiscent of *Magdalenes* by Gentileschi (see cat. 35 and fig. 26), as are his beautiful, ample figures—often young women surrounded by naked children, a Charity, a Virgin and Child. The admirable large *Charity* in Toledo (fig. 84) and the one at the Courtauld Institute Galleries in London (the latter, a fragment, is dated 1637) are good examples. Here and there, Gentileschi's influence can be found, always in painters unfamiliar with the Vouet current. An anonymous *Adoration of the Shepherds* of surprisingly high quality (Museo de Bellas Artes, Bilbao), with its small figures that bring to mind both Champaigne and the Le Nain brothers, is a good indication that in Paris at mid-century (if this is, in fact, the date that should be assigned to the work) the impact of Gentileschi remained a vital one. In the center of the painting, a half-kneeling shepherdess in profile seems an echo of the Italian painter, with the blue and white fabric subtly defined by a strong lateral light.[30]

It would thus appear that, unlike Marie de' Medici, who preferred Pourbus and Rubens and did not encourage Gentileschi to remain in France, the Parisian painters—at least those not directly in the orbit of Vouet—favored the Italian artist. Gentileschi introduced them to an echo of Caravaggism that was felt more strongly than that transmitted by Vouet and was truly in harmony with the country (if not peasant) tenor of their work. Should one speak of painters working after nature, as opposed to "decorators"? The distinction might be simplistic, but it is fitting.

We arrive, inevitably, at the question of the role of Caravaggio's followers among French painters. It is a commonplace to say that Caravaggism had no effect on Parisian painting, and, in fact, the most obvious examples of Caravaggism in France are found in the southwest, the central regions, the Midi, Burgundy, and—though this region had not yet been annexed by France—Lorraine. The pictures were often, but not necessarily, executed by painters who had spent time in Italy, and are examples of tenebrism, to use the Spanish term, and sometimes of nocturnes illuminated by candlelight. But the work of the Le Nain brothers eludes such a simplistic view; both the *Nativity with a Torch* (private collection, formerly Farkas) and the *Denial of Saint Peter,* which has recently resurfaced (art market, Paris) reflect a powerful and total Caravaggism, and they were certainly painted in Paris. And although such paintings were unusual in the capital, a Parisian Caravaggism did exist. Gentileschi's Caravaggesque contribution to Parisian painting, which stands apart, was a determining factor—even if it is difficult to say which of his paintings were seen by French artists—because his work found fertile ground in the capital, given the realist taste of the Northern painters. The power of Gentileschi's paintings, their compelling, almost tactile naturalism executed in brilliant, sunny colors, was enormous. As a result of his short stay, there emerged a truly Parisian "Gentileschianism"—sometimes with a classical bent, sometimes with a more naturalistic tone—to which we owe a few of the most refined inflections of French painting.

I would like to express my warm thanks to my colleagues in the department of painting at the Musée du Louvre, Jacques Foucart, Sylvain Laveissière, and Stéphane Loire, for their assistance.

1. Sterling 1958, 112–20.
2. Bissell 1981, 47–49.
3. See Finaldi's excellent "Orazio Gentileschi at the Court of Charles I," in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 10–11.
4. Sterling 1958, 114, fig. 1.
5. Finaldi 1999, 24, 36 n. 57. See Sterling (1964), who argues that the work was executed in France, and Bissell (1981, 194; no. 69, fig. 134), who claims it was painted in England in the mid-1630s. On the painting, see Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée in Paris–Milan 1988–89, no. 77; Sarrazin 1994, 196–97 no. 145; and Alain Mérot in Dijon–Le Mans 1998–99, no. 1.
6. Finaldi 1999, 22–24, fig. 11.
7. See the entry on the *Diana* (cat. 47) in this publication.
8. "Ecole de Fontainebleau," mid-sixteenth century, inv. 455; Compin and Roquebert 1986, vol. 4, 293.
9. A beautiful and faithful copy of the *Diana* (fig. 92) of somewhat smaller dimensions, in the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris (156.4 x 92 cm; inv. 66,131; acquired in 1966), which appears to be by a French hand, dates, in my opinion, to the second half of the eighteenth century. It is notable in having its four corners notched at right angles, as in the *Public Felicity*. One would have to verify whether the corners of the painting in Nantes have been added, which could suggest that the picture was intended for the decoration of a fireplace mantel. My thanks to Claude d'Anthenaise, director of the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, for the information he so generously provided.
10. Schnapper 1994, 53, 125–33; see also Marrow 1982.
11. See Schnapper 1994 and Paris 1991.
12. See Schnapper 1994, 129, and Brejon de Lavergnée in Paris–Milan 1988–89, 121–26, nos. 11–19. See also Askew 1978, 273–95, figs. 14–22, and Borea 1980, 315–18, figs. 2–7.
13. The seven paintings came up for public sale at Sotheby's, London, on April 21, 1993, lots 27–30.
14. Loire 1996, 273–77.
15. Bissell 1981, 77–78.
16. Oil on canvas, 95.5 x 72 cm. The painting was previously in the Pardo gallery in Paris (October 1980), attributed to Simon Vouet.
17. Oil on canvas, 260 x 173 cm; Heim Gallery, London, summer 1974, then Paris art market; *Old Master Paintings from the Lagerfeld Collection*, sale, Christie's, New York, May 23, 2000, lot 37.
18. See Rome 1989–90, esp. no. 64 (by Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée).
19. Sterling 1964, 219.
20. See the (now dated) article, Blancher-Le Bourhis 1939, 204–15, and Bissell 1981, 75.
21. Unfortunately, Marie-Paul Durand's (1980) thesis for the École du Louvre remains unpublished.
22. Sterling 1964, 219, fig. 4 (formerly K. Stern collection, New York; 96 x 93 cm). The painting came up for sale at Finarte, Rome, on November 26, 1992, lot 130, color ill.
23. Similarly, I wonder whether we ought not to question the still-accepted attribution of the *Magdalene in Penitence* after Gentileschi in the Musée de Dijon (fig. 69) to Jean Tassel (Sterling 1958, 117 n. 27), which does not rest on very reliable stylistic criteria. The canvas, seized from the convent of the Lazarists in Dijon during the Revolution, was attributed to Tassel by F. Devosge (see Guillaume 1980, 150–51, ill.), perhaps because there were several works by that painter in the region. The picture may be a copy by another Frenchman (or an Italian?) of the version in Lucca and London (Bissell 1981, nos. 45, 46, figs. 96, 97) with variants, "for modesty," of hair and fabric covering the chest. It would not be prudent to say whether it is a copy of the *Magdalene* that Gentileschi purportedly sent to Marie de' Medici from Genoa, but the variants might lead us to believe so, especially if the queen's prudishness is taken into consideration. In that case, it would be a copy of a *Magdalene* that is now lost.
24. Schloder 1982, 59–60. A series of six paintings stored by the Louvre at the Musée de Vendôme (*Faith and Hope*, *Strength*, *Truth*, inv. 8575 bis; *Charity*, *Justice*, and *Temperance*) is attributed to Prévost by Eric Moinet; see the exhibition "Les maîtres retrouvés," Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans, summer 2000, catalogue not yet published.
25. For a good color reproduction, see Meaux 1997–98, 131.
26. Sterling 1958, 199; Bissell 1981, 77.
27. Bissell 1981, nos. 33, 34, figs. 79–81.
28. Grenoble–Rennes–Bordeaux 1989–90, 292–302, nos. 255–64.
29. Bissell 1981, 77 n. 90, 97; Sterling 1958, 116, fig. 7.
30. Museo de Bellas Artes, Bilbao, bequest of Don Laureano de Jado, 1927, inv. 69.378, 92.5 × 105 cm. I am indebted to Xavier Bray, to whom I express my warm thanks, for so generously providing information about this painting.

44.
Public Felicity

Oil on canvas, 105½ × 66⅞ in. (268 × 170 cm)

Musée du Louvre, Département des peintures, Paris (inv. 6809)

1624–26

PROVENANCE: Marie de' Medici, queen's antechamber, Palais de Luxembourg, Paris (1625/26–31); by inheritance, Gaston d'Orléans, Palais de Luxembourg (1646–60; procès-verbal of 1645, without attribution); Orléans collection, Palais de Luxembourg (1660–94; inv. of Paillet, 1687–93, as by Jean Monier); Royal Collection (from 1694; inv. of Bailly, 1709–10, no. 206, as by Monier); Musée du Louvre, Paris (lent to Foreign Affairs Office for the French ambassador, Berlin, 1904/5–8, and to the Ancienne Légation, Vienna, 1908–about 1939).

REFERENCES: Bailly and Engerand (1709–10) 1899, 572 no. 206; Blancher-Le Bourhis 1939, 207, 213–15; Sterling 1958, 113–17; Blunt 1970, 112; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 48, 75, 78, 181 no. 54, 187, 193; Marrow 1982, 27, 69–71; Brejon de Lavergnée in Paris–Milan 1988–89, 226–28; Nicolson 1990, 112; Schnapper 1990, 425; Béguin and Baudouin-Matuszek in Paris 1991, 35, 265; Baudouin-Matuszek 1992, 290–92.

This magnificent allegorical painting is Orazio's only surviving work that can be associated with the decorative enterprises of Marie de' Medici, who had invited the artist to Paris (he made the trip from Genoa in the summer or early fall of 1624 and remained until the fall of 1626). It formed part of the decorations of the Palais de Luxembourg, where it decorated the queen's antechamber, situated between the two pavilions of the west wing—the only wing the queen succeeded in decorating before her exile from France in 1631.[1] An official inventory made in 1645 gives the fullest description of the room: "The following antechamber also has parquet floors and a wainscoting five feet high against the walls, doorframes, a revêtement on the mantle over the fireplace with a picture representing Felicity, a ceiling with nine paintings in compartments, the whole ornamented with architecture and sculpture, and embellished with gold and blue."[2] The nine ceiling compartments showed Minerva flanked by allegorical figures alluding to peace and prosperity, and putti. Presumably the revêtement over the fireplace was carved wood, as in the adjacent room, and the molding surrounding the canvas had cutout corners. Orazio clearly took the high placement and architectural features of the room into consideration, since the balcony on which Felicity sits is seen from below and to the right—the view the queen would have had as she entered the room from her private apartments. The room was lit by two windows opposite the fireplace, and Orazio seems to combine in the picture two sources of light: one that coincides with the sky and lights the balustrade and the caduceus from behind; the other, more dispersed, that lights the figure from the right and may be intended to suggest illumination from the windows of the room.

In his widely influential handbook of iconography, Cesare Ripa describes Public Felicity in the following terms: "A woman seated on a regal throne. In her right hand she holds a caduceus, in her left a cornucopia filled with fruits and garlanded with flowers. Felicity is a repose of the spirit . . . for which reason she is depicted seated, with the caduceus as a sign of peace and wisdom. The cornucopia holds the fruits of labor without which felicity cannot be attained. . . . The flowers indicate happiness, from which contentment can never be severed. The caduceus also signifies virtue, and the cornucopia riches, because happy are those who have so many temporal goods that they can provide for the necessities of the body, and so virtuous that they can lighten the needs of the soul."[3] Ripa's description obviously provided Orazio's point of departure, but the artist has suppressed some aspects of the allegory and added others to subtly shift its meaning. Gone are the fruits and flowers, replaced by laurels and palm fronds, scepters, and metal crowns. In his seminal article, in which the picture is reintroduced to modern scholarship as the work of Orazio, Sterling notes that the crowns and scepters are taken from Ripa's allegory of Europe, who, "with the finger of her left hand indicates reigns, diverse crowns, scepters, garlands, and similar things, since the major and most powerful princes of the world are in Europe." The crown of France is identifiable by the fleurs-de-lis; the others are ducal. With the two scepters is seen the hand of Justice, an attribute of the French monarchs. By contrast, the white blouse and yellow dress derive from Ripa's description of *Felicità breve*, or temporal Felicity ("A woman dressed in white and yellow with a gold crown on her head"). The laurel crowns and palms shown together—visible above the figure's right arm—are attributes of *Felicità eterna*, and signify that eternal felicity cannot be attained without tribulations. Ripa's figure of eternal Felicity is shown nude, but she too raises her eyes heavenward, since "she is not subject to the rapid course of the stars and the changeable movements of time." What this adds up to is a highly personalized allegory that Sterling rightly sees as referring to the vicissitudes of Marie de' Medici's life following the assassination of Henry IV in 1610. Conspiracies,



the hostility of the Protestants, and problems with her son leading to her exile at Blois in 1617 are among the tribulations borne by the queen. The message of Orazio's allegory is that these tribulations, so memorably commemorated in Rubens's cycle of the life of Marie de' Medici (installed in the Palais de Luxembourg in 1625), are the basis of true felicity. The dark storm clouds are shown parting, and a soft light—unmistakably that of the Île-de-France—plays over the figure. The comforting augury of the picture was to prove illusory: Marie de' Medici was exiled again in 1631 and died in Cologne after residing in Flanders and England.

The allegorical paraphernalia of Orazio's picture are used throughout the paintings in the palace and are a staple of Rubens's cycle. The caduceus entwined by two live serpents is carried by Mercury in Rubens's *Flight of Marie de' Medici from Blois,* and the cornucopia with crowns, scepters, a palm, and the hand of Justice recurs in Rubens's *Birth of Marie de' Medici*, where it is carried by the *Genius natalis*. The queen holds the hand of Justice in Rubens's *Marie de' Medici as the Patroness of the Fine Arts*. The queen's bedroom contained an oval painting with a similar allegorical figure of a female dressed in blue and yellow holding a cornucopia and caduceus, and two putti with a laurel crown at her feet. As Sterling remarks, the imagery was ubiquitous.

The commission offered a unique and daunting challenge. Rubens's series of canvases celebrating the life of Marie de' Medici, designed to decorate the long western gallery, was contracted in 1622. Nine of the canvases arrived in May 1623 and were, understandably, much admired. The following year, a series of Apollo and the nine Muses by Orazio's old nemesis, Giovanni Baglione, arrived for another room, a gift from the duke of Mantua.[4] They too garnered praise. Surprisingly, some courtiers—obviously more accustomed to the Mannerist decorations at the château de Fontainebleau than to the new Baroque idiom—preferred them to Rubens's canvases. (Ironically, in his early-eighteenth-century inventory, Bailly describes Baglione's canvases as done in the manner of Gentileschi, though in his *Felicity* Orazio defines a position at the opposite pole to that of Baglione's elegant but highly mannered figures.) Orazio must have been aware that in 1623 an attempt had been made to lure Guido Reni to Paris (a second invitation was extended in 1629). Reni's early masterpiece *David with the Head of Goliath* (fig. 49) was destined to be placed in the Cabinet des Muses. In the *Public Felicity*, Orazio seems to have carefully staked out his position. Quite clearly incapable of competing with the facility, virtuosity, and narrative invention of Rubens, he strove for an effect of grand monumentality. The brilliant effects of light playing on silk and metal that are the hallmarks of Orazio's Genoese paintings are here played down, but his powers of description are everywhere in evidence (note his favorite gold-banded, sheer scarf on the figure's head and shoulders).

It is unclear what sort of success the picture enjoyed. On the one hand, the overall effect of an elevated realism must have been important for the younger generation of French painters, particularly Philippe de Champaigne, who was already in the employ of the queen and succeeded Nicolas Duchesne as first painter in 1628. On the other, Orazio's authorship had been forgotten by the late seventeenth century, and there is no clear evidence that he was engaged to do other decorations in the palace. Just a few years later, in 1629, Reni refused the invitation to come to Paris, in part because he had heard that Gentileschi had not found the court sympathetic.[5] Félibien records that Gentileschi's work was well thought of, but that his bad temper—"tout-à-fait brutale"—brought him into bad repute.[6] All of which throws light on Orazio's eagerness to move to London. Was the picture complete and installed by May 1625, when the duke of Buckingham attended the proxy wedding of Henrietta Maria? He was entertained at the Palais de Luxembourg, "which, for the first time, was seen decorated with very rich hangings and a quantity of royal ornaments of a greater splendor than any king or queen has ever seen in this reign."[7] In any event, Buckingham soon received two pictures from Orazio and extended the invitation to come to London.

1. For the location of the antechamber within the western apartments of the palace, see Baudouin-Matuszek 1992, 292.
2. The procès-verbal is reprinted in Paris 1991, 265.
3. Ripa (1611) 1976, 167.
4. For this series, see Paris–Milan 1988–89, 121–26. Marie de' Medici had solicited gifts from all her relations in Italy to help furnish

the palace. In return for Baglione's muses Cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga, Marie's nephew, hoped to obtain the title *Altezza* for Prince Vincenzo II Gonzaga.

5. On July 7, 1629, Cardinal Spada wrote to Francesco Barberini laying out the case for Reni's refusal. Among the reasons given he notes, "forse anco vien spaventato da qualcuno con l'esempio del Pittor Gentilesco, e col mettergli innanzi quei pericoli ch'in paese straniero possono sovrastargli da l'invidia, e da l'emulatione d'altri pictori. . . ." See Dirani 1982, 86.
6. Félibien (1666–88) 1705, vol. 3, 237.
7. The quote is from a letter of the Florentine ambassador, Giovanni Battista Gondi, to Florence; see Marrow 1982, 107 doc. 39.

45.
Rest on the Flight into Egypt

Oil on canvas, 54½ × 85 in. (138.5 × 216 cm)

Signed (lower left): HORATIVS / GENTILESHVS / FECIT

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (inv. 180)

ca. 1625–26

PROVENANCE: George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, York House, London (1625/26–28); Richard Grenville, second duke of Buckingham (1628–48; possibly inv. 1635, with no attribution; sold, Antwerp, 1648/49; cat. 1649, as by Gentileschi); Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, for his brother Kaiser Ferdinand III (1648–57); imperial collections, Prague and Vienna (from 1657; inv. 1718, no. 188, as by Gentileschi; moved from Prague to Vienna in 1772); Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

No *invenzione* of Orazio's enjoyed greater popularity than the Birmingham *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. 34). A replica or variant of it seems to have been made by Orazio when he was in Genoa and was subsequently owned by Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy.[1] Other variants belonged to the duke of Buckingham, to Charles I and his queen, Henrietta Maria, and to Louis XIV. At least six variants can be traced today, of which three show only the Virgin and child (fig 25). Of these, pride of place belongs to the Vienna painting, which can be associated with a group of Orazio's pictures owned by George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham. The duke was responsible for Orazio's move from Paris to London in the fall of 1626, providing quarters for the artist at York House on the Strand, and he must have met Orazio on the occasion of his mission to France in May 1625 for the proxy marriage of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Marie de' Medici, to Charles I of England. The Vienna picture can be identified with the "Virgin M[ary] & Chr[i]st & St. Joseph sleeping" recorded in the sale catalogue of the duke of Buckingham's collection, drawn up in 1649 by Brian Fairfax.[2] The inventory lists as well "a Magdalene lying in a grotto," which is unquestionably the companion picture, also in Vienna. Commenting on this inventory about 1731–36, George Vertue noted that "most of these pictures were in the Times of the Civil Warrs carried over to Antwerp, their [*sic*] sold [to raise money] and furnisht several of [the] greatest famous gallerys abroad."[3] The pictures were purchased from the second duke of Buckingham by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, who was governor of the Netherlands from 1647 to 1656. They are not, however, mentioned in the 1659 inventory of his collection and were, presumably, sent to his brother Kaiser Ferdinand III; both pictures are listed in 1718 in the imperial collections in Prague and can be traced continuously thereafter.[4]

What remains uncertain is whether either (or both) of these pictures were sent to the duke of Buckingham from France or painted after Orazio's arrival in London. Following Buckingham's assassination in 1628, Orazio's poor relationship with the duke's painter–art adviser Balthazar Gerbier came to a head, and the artist was required to account for the moneys he had received from Buckingham and the king. In a letter of April 1629 he mentions having received an unspecified sum of money for "pictures sent to [the duke of Buckingham] from Paris."[5] In his tally of expenses, Gerbier left blank the sum of money Orazio "had by Milords . . . for two pictures he sent from France, the one having bin the Cardinals [i.e., Cardinal Richelieu, Marie de' Medici's first minister]."[6] Later in the same account is an entry of £50 for a *Magdalene* Orazio "hath sent,"

followed by entries for a "Maghdelen with Joseph," a "Christ at the Pillare" (see cat. 49), and "the picture he hath maide in Englant of Lott, that wich the King hath" (that is, cat. 46).[7] The "Maghdelen with Joseph" seems probably a confusion with "Mary and Joseph" (that is, the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*).[8] Were these the pictures that the duke of Buckingham had heard the king of France and either Cardinal Richelieu or Marie de' Medici were contemplating giving to him even before he made his trip to Paris in May 1625?[9] There is no way of being certain, although it seems strange that Buckingham would have awarded Orazio for gifts made not by him but by the French court. Much more plausible is that, unhappy at the court of France, Orazio sent one or more paintings to the duke of Buckingham to solicit a position at the Caroline court. Nevertheless, the possibility that the pictures were the French gifts adds yet another wrinkle to our understanding of the "genealogy" of the Vienna picture, since in 1674 Soprani, our primary source for Orazio's activity in Genoa, states that the artist sent pictures to Marie de' Medici in an effort to secure an appointment in Paris. Thus, a continuous, if highly conjectural, trail leads from the two paintings eventually owned by the duke of Buckingham to Genoa, where both compositions had been treated by Orazio.

Like Bissell, I would be disinclined to accept a date earlier than about 1625–26 for the Vienna *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. In that painting, Orazio has made the crucial move from the brilliant, light-infused world of his Italian paintings to the more controlled modulation of his trans-Alpine style, with its emphasis on elegance and detailed refinement—traits that were specifically geared to appeal to courtly taste. The way in which the more individualized, homespun Virgin of the Birmingham picture—surely based on a posed model—has been replaced by the more generalized figure in the Vienna variant, with her well-coiffed hair and elegant dress, speaks volumes about Orazio's ability to modulate his style to meet the circumstances. The sheer gold-banded scarf that made its debut in the Fogg *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* (cat. 28) and would have been completely out of place in the Birmingham painting is perfectly at home around the ivory shoulders and bust of the Vienna Virgin; it becomes a standard prop thereafter. Needless to say, the rustic donkey has been suppressed and does not appear even in those versions that retain the cutout in the wall.

When he left Genoa, Orazio seems to have taken with him tracings (or cartoons) of his most successful Genoese compositions with a view to replicating or revising them (on this practice, see pp. 20–27). When a tracing of the Sauli *Magdalene* (cat. 35) is superimposed over the Vienna version, the figures match up perfectly. A tracing of the Birmingham painting superimposed over its Vienna counterpart does not yield such tidy results, but there is an agreement in the size and placement of the two main figures and an approximate agreement in their silhouettes. There can be little doubt that a mechanical transfer was the first stage in revising the Birmingham composition. Interestingly, an X ray of the Vienna painting (fig. 18) reveals an emphasis on contours and outlines probably resulting from the use of a cartoon or pattern. We might imagine that such a cartoon was based on a tracing of the Birmingham picture and subsequently transferred to the canvas. At the same time, however, the X ray reveals no mechanical approach to the actual process of painting: this is a fully autograph work of high quality. Orazio first considered showing the Christ child gazing toward his mother rather than the viewer.

When he visited Orazio's studio in 1628, the German painter-biographer Joachim von Sandrart saw a *Penitent Magdalene* and a "Mary sitting on the ground, the Christ child drinking from her breast, the old Joseph however lying to the rear and resting his head on a sack."[10] The *Penitent Magdalene* was for Charles I, and there is a presumption that the *Rest on the Flight* was also a royal commission. Both compositions must have been variants of those owned by the duke of Buckingham. Around 1637–39, Abraham van der Doort recorded "An other peece. Of our Ladie Christ and Joseph Being coppied by oracio Jentillesco." Levey suggests that this is the painting that hung in the queen's second bedchamber at Whitehall.[11] One of these pictures may be the version in the Louvre, which is thought to have belonged to Charles I. It

RELATED PICTURES: Formerly J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (variant of the Vienna picture, but smaller in scale, with the colors of the Louvre version and the figures moved closer together);[13] Chudleigh Collection, Lawell House, Ugbrooke Park (copy of the Vienna picture);[14] art market, Amsterdam (sale, Christie's, Rome, December 4, 1991, lot 72; replica of the right side of the Vienna painting, but with the Virgin's hand differently positioned);[15] formerly Canessa Gallery, Rome (variant of the right side of the Vienna painting, with sky and foliage in the upper left);[16] Musée du Louvre, Paris (autograph variant, later in date and smaller in scale than the Vienna painting, introducing new variations in the drapery and showing the sky in the upper left, with Joseph in blue and the Virgin wearing a rose-colored dress);[17] private collection, Italy (sale, Finarte, Milan, 1971; a fragmentary autograph variant of the right side of the Louvre picture).[18]

REFERENCES: Vertue (1713–56) 1935–36, 68; Fairfax 1758, 14; Mechel 1784, 41, 49; Engerth 1884, 157; Köpl 1889, CL no. 223; Davies 1907, 380; Glück and Schaeffer 1907, 84; Longhi (1916) 1961, 243, 275 n. 42, 276; Cammel 1939, 345–47; Hess 1952, 163; Vienna 1954, 20; Voss 1959, 163–64; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 75–76; Fredericksen 1972, 45–46; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 48–49, 76, 159, 167, 182, 183–84 no. 57, 186, 209; Nicolson 1990, 113; Marcolini 1996, 72–73; Wood 2000–2001, 111–12.



differs in a number of details from the Vienna painting. The sky is reintroduced in the upper left, the scarf around the Virgin's shoulder and the drapery on the ground are rearranged, plants and a rock are added, Joseph's right leg is differently foreshortened, and the color system is altered: the Virgin wears a rose-colored dress and Joseph is in blue. These changes seem to me to denote the special status of the picture and, not surprisingly, it too was replicated. Its presence in the collection of Louis XIV made it, rather than the *Public Felicity* (cat. 44), the touchstone of Orazio's art in France; it is the only picture by Orazio that Félibien refers to in his *Entretiens*.[12]

The existence of these multiple versions complicates any attempt to sort out the chronology and provenance of the various paintings. Some of the versions show only the Virgin and child. They may be fragments of the whole composition or they may reveal Orazio's cannibalizing his own invention for motives of profit. Certainly the use of a cartoon made it simple to rearrange and adjust the component parts of the image. Although two primary models—that at Vienna and that at Paris—for the composition can be individualized, it is probably foolhardy to attempt a chronological sequence for the surviving paintings; variation of details should be expected. In the version formerly in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, the figure of Joseph is moved closer to the Virgin (her knee cuts across his right hand), while in one of the fragments the scarf of the Virgin is newly rearranged. In some versions, the thumb of the Virgin's left hand is hidden by a fold of drapery. In others, the angle from which it

is shown is altered. It seems only reasonable to suspect workshop participation in some of the surviving paintings, though they must be judged on a case-by-case basis. They testify to Orazio's willingness to repeat himself, and to the fact that in the face of stiff competition in England, Orazio continued to draw patronage.

1. This can be deduced from a 1642 inventory of the collection of the marquis of Leganés (Spanish governor of Milan from 1635 to 1641), in which the picture, albeit without attribution, appears together with a version of the *Lot and His Daughters* (for this picture, see cat. 37, under related pictures, Berlin). The *Rest on the Flight* was stated to have been a gift from "el cardenal de saboya." It can be traced until 1856, when it was inventoried in the Madrazo collection. It measured 176 × 253 cm. See Bissell 1981, 220 no. L-53.
2. As Bissell suggests, the picture may be the "great piece of Our Lady, Christ, and Joseph" listed, without attribution, in a 1635 inventory of the paintings in the duke of Buckingham's house. That work hung in the king's bedchamber. A *Magdalene* by "Gentilisco" hung in the drawing room. See Davies 1907, 380.
3. Vertue 1935–36, 68.
4. See Köpl 1889, CXXXIV.
5. The letter is printed in Sainsbury 1859b, 313, and appendix 3 in this publication.
6. Ibid., 314–15.
7. Ibid., 315.
8. Bissell (1981, 109, 183) believes it more likely that the *Magdalene and Joseph* was a confusion with *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*. Both are two-figure compositions, but one would have expected that the *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* now at Hampton Court would have been assigned the same value as the *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 46), which is closer in size and was valued by Gerbier at £100 rather than £80.
9. Betcherman (1970, 254) cites the command issued by Buckingham to the English ambassador in Paris to hurry matters along. See, most recently, Wood 2000–2001, 111–17.
10. Sandrart (1675) 1925, 166.
11. Levey 1964, 13. Bissell (1981, 185) attempts to reconstruct a plausible history for this picture, which would have been sent to France with the exiled queen and returned to England following her death in 1669. Van der Doort's reference was published by Millar (1960, 176) and is reprinted in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 99.
12. Félibien (1666–88) 1705, vol. 3, 237: "Vous pouvez voir un Tableaux de [Gentileschi] dans la Chambre du roi."
13. Bissell 1981, 186–87. Sale, Christie's, New York, May 21, 1992, lot 12; this version is in a private collection in Mantua. Fredericksen (1972, 45) traced the picture back to Richard Grenville, second duke of Buckingham. The scale of the figures is smaller than in the Vienna painting. There are a number of pentimenti and indications of an earlier, unrelated composition. The picture has suffered from abrasion and the execution is quite tight. The hand of the Virgin is fully exposed.
14. I know this picture only from a 1977 photograph on file at the Courtauld Institute of Art and the Frick Art Reference Library. The dimensions given are 56 × 72 inches, or 142.2 × 182.9 cm. It appears to be a rather mediocre copy.
15. This picture, measuring 107 × 101.5 cm., was formerly with A. Seligman & Co. It has suffered from harsh cleaning in the past and is much damaged along the lower border, especially in the white drapery trailing on the ground and in the Virgin's hand. It is clearly inferior to the Vienna painting.
16. See Bissell 1981, 184. The dimensions are 140 × 108 cm. This picture was sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, March 13, 1957, lot 15. The picture must be badly damaged and repainted along the bottom, for there are substantial differences between the two photographs.
17. For the provenance, see Bissell 1981, 184–85 no. 58, and Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, 317–18. The picture was acquired from Everard Jabach in 1671 for Louis XIV. There is no definitive proof that it belonged to Charles I, but the circumstantial evidence makes it likely. Brejon de Lavergnée notes that another version/replica of the *Rest on the Flight* belonged to the Parisian dealer Perruchot (Nicolas Estienne), who died in 1660. The Louvre picture was reported in the Bailly inventory of 1709 as having been "réduit à l'ovale" (it then measured 172 × 234 cm as opposed to the 205 × 222 cm given in the Le Brun inventory of 1683; its current dimensions are 157 × 225 cm). Although Bissell is disinclined to believe this, X rays have demonstrated that the canvas, enlarged by additions to the top, bottom, and right side, was mounted on an oval stretcher: nail holes are still visible in the corners. Subsequently, the additions on the bottom and right side were removed. The original canvas measures 132 × 225 cm; there is cusping along the sides and bottom and only the top has been trimmed by perhaps 5 to 7 cm. The strip of canvas 25 cm wide at the top is an addition. My thanks to Stéphane Loire and to Elizabeth Ravaud at the Louvre for this information. Although I find this a rather disappointing picture—the modeling is dull and the treatment of light uninspired—the X rays reveal a fine execution and the picture must be autograph.
18. The painting (fig. 25) measures 137.5 × 106 cm. As in the Louvre picture, the Virgin wears a rose-colored dress. It shows greater variation in arrangement of the drapery beneath the Christ child and in the scarf around the Virgin's shoulder than any of the other versions. As in the Louvre picture, the brick wall drops to reveal a view of the sky. I know it only from a transparency, but the quality appears to be high.





Orazio Gentileschi at the Court of Charles I

GABRIELE FINALDI AND JEREMY WOOD

When Orazio Gentileschi arrived in London from Paris, in the autumn of 1626, he was nearly sixty-three years old.[1] The prospect of honorable employment at the court of the newly crowned Charles I (r. 1625–49), who had a genuine understanding of and interest in painting, was highly attractive. Unlike Guercino (1591–1666), who had also been invited to settle at court, Orazio was clearly undeterred by the bad weather and felt no scruples about having to consort with heretics.[2] In the event, the king did not show much interest in his work and Orazio eventually became, to all intents and purposes, painter to Queen Henrietta Maria. The reputation of Gentileschi's work in England has suffered on account of the great fashion in the earlier art-historical literature for all things Caravaggesque, but by the mid-1620s, Orazio was no longer a Caravaggesque painter, and his work needs to be understood in terms of Stuart court patronage and the international taste for art in The Hague, Brussels, Paris, Madrid, and London.

Orazio's output during his twelve-year stay in England is surprisingly small, amounting to perhaps little more than two dozen pictures. From the inventory of Charles I's collection, drawn up in the late 1630s by the keeper, Abraham van der Doort, and from the lists of the king's goods made after Charles's execution in 1649, we know that there were eleven easel paintings by Gentileschi in the royal collection, in addition to the nine ceiling canvases in the Queen's House in Greenwich (fig. 85).[3] Despite the presence in London of several wealthy aristocrats who spent conspicuously on works of art, he painted for only one of them: George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham (1592–1628).

It was, in fact, Buckingham who had recruited Gentileschi to work in London. He had met the artist during his visit to Paris for the proxy marriage of Charles I and Princess Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII, in 1625.[4] Buckingham was the favorite of Charles I, his trusted minister and reportedly "the best-made man in the world,"[5] who created something of a sensation at the French court. Although it has been said that Orazio believed Henrietta Maria "would want a Catholic painter in England,"[6] it is unlikely he would have moved to London without the generous patronage of the duke, which he doubtless saw as a means of obtaining the favor of the king. A letter of April 24, 1629, from Orazio to the secretary of state, Sir Dudley Carleton, the viscount Dorchester (1573–1632), makes it clear that nearly all the money received by him up to that date had come from Buckingham, although some had been provided by the king and given to the duke for the artist.[7] If Gentileschi had been brought to London to serve either the king or the queen, it would have been unthinkable for him to have joined the duke's household and to have worked for him first, which is indeed what happened.

Orazio's presence in England is first reported in a diary entry of the maréchal de Bassompierre, the French ambassador extraordinary to Charles I. Bassompierre, in whose train Orazio may have traveled, went to London in September 1626 to negotiate the delicate matter of the composition of the Catholic household of Queen Henrietta Maria.[8] He recorded that on the evening of November 21, he hosted a dinner for Buckingham that was attended by Gentileschi, in addition to several prominent courtiers.[9] Two weeks later, on December 4, 1626, Amerigo Salvetti, the envoy in London of Ferdinand II of Tuscany, wrote to the secretary of the grand duke: "About two months ago there came here from France Signor Orazio Gentileschi, painter, who I am given to understand, besides exercising his art, is also engaged in another matter of great importance, as he is often with the Duke of Buckingham and also with the King."[10] Salvetti speculated that Gentileschi was involved in secret negotiations with the archduchess Isabella, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, aimed at

Detail of the *Finding of Moses* (fig. 87)



Figure 85. Orazio Gentileschi, *An Allegory of Peace and the Arts.* Oil on canvas. Ceiling from the Queen's House, Greenwich, now installed at Marlborough House, London

securing an accommodation between England and Spain, which were then at war.

It was not unusual in the first half of the seventeenth century for painters to act as diplomatic agents. The nature of their profession brought them in contact with powerful and influential figures at court and provided excellent cover for foreign journeys. The gift of works of art formed an increasingly important part of diplomatic relations during this period. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), the best known of the artist-diplomats, played a significant role in preparing the ground for the exchange of ambassadors between England and Spain in 1630. That said, what we know of Gentileschi's character—he was difficult, arrogant, and vindictive—suggests that he might not have been the most suitable person to tread delicately through the minefield of international relations in the early years of Charles's reign. At present, no evidence that confirms Salvetti's suspicions of Gentileschi's diplomatic activity has been forthcoming.

Gentileschi's arrival in London was preceded by the dispatch of two pictures to Buckingham, a *Penitent Magdalene* (fig. 26) and a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. 45). These announced the artist's skills as a painter of large figure compositions, proficient in Catholic devotional subjects. The reasons why such an artist was recruited by Buckingham are far from clear, except that his newly rebuilt mansion in London, York House on the Strand, required decoration, and Orazio was soon commissioned to paint a large circular canvas for the ceiling of the "saloon" depicting "Apollo lying alone upon a cloud, and Nine Muses underneath it, each of them playing to him on a Several Instrument."[11] The destruction of this important work inevitably distorts our understanding of the painter's debut in London.

Gentileschi was accommodated with his three sons, Francesco, Giulio, and Marco, all in their twenties, at the duke's mansion as a member of the household. His living quarters were generously furnished to the tune of £500 (not £4000, as has usually been stated),[12] and the painter was assigned a "great upper room" as his studio.[13] All this confirms that the artist was seen, to begin with at least, as a great catch.

The first intimation that the Gentileschi family might be more trouble than they were worth occurred soon after their arrival in London. Charles I decided to employ two of Gentileschi's sons, Giulio and Francesco, as art agents, Orazio being too old to travel long distances. On August 20, 1627, the two young men set out for Genoa in order to purchase the collection of a certain Filippo San Micheli (otherwise unknown to us). They appear to have arrived in Milan, where they apparently expected to meet Nicholas Lanier (1588–1666), the English art dealer and Master of the King's Musick, who was then absorbed in the purchase of the collection of the duke of Mantua for Charles I and was, as might be expected, in Venice, where he was negotiating with the dealer Daniel Nys.[14]



Figure 86. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), *Minerva and Mercury Conduct the Duke of Buckingham to the Temple of Virtue.* Oil on wood. The National Gallery, London

There then followed a farce in which the brothers raced across northern Italy, consuming the money given to them for the purchase of works of art in the process, and Giulio took the opportunity to have an extended holiday with some relatives in Pisa. In an undated letter to the king, probably written in March 1629, Orazio composed one of the lengthy and detailed pieces of self-justification at which he excelled, attempting to cast Lanier's conduct in as bad a light as possible.[15]

At York House, Gentileschi found himself living in close proximity to Balthazar Gerbier (1592–1663/67), Buckingham's trusted factotum, political agent, keeper of his collection, and an artist in his own right.[16] It is worth reconstructing the brilliant but also precarious world that Orazio had now entered. Between 1624 and 1625, Gerbier had supervised major alterations to this mansion, which were said to have disconcerted the English architect Inigo Jones (1573–1652).[17] The Tudor buildings of York House were transformed by Gerbier into a battlemented block with an open arcade and projecting pedimented wings, and the interior incorporated a marble fireplace and gateway valued at £400, which had been given to Buckingham by Dudley Carleton (later Lord Dorchester).[18] Carleton, who had had much experience dealing with artists while ambassador in Venice (1610–16) and The Hague (1616–26), became secretary of state in 1628, and Gentileschi was to turn to him on several occasions during the next few years. York House contained an astonishing collection of pictures, which had been assembled by Gerbier from the collection of Charles de Cröy, duke of Aarschot, in 1619,[19] and during his travels in Italy of 1621.[20] Buckingham's last major acquisition was a collection of paintings and antique sculptures bought from Rubens, which was dispatched to York House on May 19 and September 18, 1627,[21] not long after Gentileschi's arrival. Orazio was therefore surrounded not only by great Italian pictures by Titian (ca. 1485/90–1576) and Paolo Veronese (1528–1588), among others, but by many recent works by Rubens, who had also been commissioned to paint two large canvases for York House when he met Buckingham in Paris in 1625. These were a large ceiling painting, the *Minerva and Mercury Conduct the Duke of Buckingham to the Temple of Virtue* (fig. 86), and the *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Buckingham*, both destroyed but known from preparatory oil sketches.[22] If Gentileschi had felt outclassed in Paris by the arrival of Rubens's great cycle of paintings for Marie de' Medici, the work of his Flemish rival followed him to London, and before long the artist



Figure 87. Orazio Gentileschi, *Finding of Moses*. Oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

himself arrived, staying in England from May 1629 to February 1630, residing with Gentileschi's archenemy, Gerbier.[23] Professional rivalry—as well as art patronage—provides a key to understanding Gentileschi's checkered career in London.

Gentileschi had a short temper, and it did not take long for him to be at loggerheads with Gerbier. The assassination of Buckingham on August 23, 1628, only exacerbated their conflict. Both found themselves without a patron and had to turn to the king for favor. On January 29, 1629, Orazio wrote to Charles I complaining of persecution by Gerbier.[24] The "first distaste" between the two men apparently arose when Orazio refused to endorse the quality of some works of art in which he had been offered a cut by Gerbier. More seriously, he had then refused to approve Gerbier's choice of purchases for the collection at York House, challenging his competence as an art agent. Gerbier responded by having two of Gentileschi's sons, Francesco and Marco, arrested for debt. On January 19, the third brother, Giulio, met Gerbier in the Strand and, "strooke him once or twise with his swoorde in the Scaberd over the heade," before making his escape. The enraged Gerbier then waylaid Marco, who "defended himself as well as hee coulde," but both brothers were subsequently imprisoned for their violent behavior, and Gentileschi may quickly have realized that he had miscalculated in his choice of enemy.

With Buckingham dead, the king took the widowed duchess and her family under his protection and shouldered responsibility for her husband's debts and his monument in Westminster Abbey.[25] But there were limits to his patience, and Gerbier, who was far more experienced at court than Gentileschi, was able to position himself more skillfully. Gerbier understood the need to

demonstrate his devotion to the crown by becoming a British national (he was a Protestant, born in Middleburg, Zeeland) and by taking the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy,[26] steps that would have been impossible for Gentileschi, who as a Catholic recognized the pope's spiritual sovereignty. In 1631, Gerbier was rewarded by being appointed diplomatic agent in the southern (Spanish) Netherlands, with generally disastrous results—even by the standards of Charles I's ambassadors—except in matters to do with art. A letter from Gerbier to the king, written in Brussels in 1633, indicates that Gerbier was still in touch with Gentileschi; he mentions grudgingly that the painter wanted the king to know that the archduchess Isabella and Queen Marie de' Medici, who was then in exile from France, had admired a work by Orazio, presumably in Paris.[27]

In 1628, perhaps before completing the York House ceiling, Gentileschi painted the large *Lot and His Daughters* for the king (cat. 46).[28] Charles had accepted some responsibility for Gentileschi even before Buckingham's death; in 1627, he is referred to in a document as "his Ma[jesty]'s Picture Maker" (although this may not have been an official title),[29] and a pension of £100 was awarded to him by Privy Seal Warrant on January 31, 1627/28.[30] No payments were made, however, and a new warrant authorizing the pension was drawn up on January 31, 1629/30.[31] Nevertheless, as was often the case, payment was slow to arrive, and Orazio was soon in need of money. A letter of October 13, 1630, published here for the first time, reveals him writing to Lord Secretary Dorchester at great speed and clearly under pressure. Orazio was desperate to get Dorchester's help in obtaining money owed him under the Privy Seal from the lord treasurer, Sir Richard Weston, earl of Portland. It was perhaps mere coincidence that after Buckingham's death, Gerbier had attached himself to Weston and was currently engaged on rebuilding his house, Putney Park at Roehampton, southwest of London.[32] The letter also reveals that Gentileschi wanted Dorchester to provide a passport for two men with whom he had recently been to Windsor, so that they could take goods to Paris without being hindered by customs officials. It is tempting (although purely speculative at this stage) to assume that they may have been intending to take Orazio's *Diana the Huntress* (cat. 47) to France to deliver it to Roger du Plessis de Liancourt, duke of La Roche-Guyon, who had very recently been in London as a French envoy, and who is recorded as having made a payment of 460 livres for the picture in 1630.[33] Sir John Finet (1571–1641), master of ceremonies to Charles I, recorded that "no ambassador nor stranger of quality (excepting one French marquis)" was present at the Saint George's Day Feast at Windsor on September 5.[34] If he was referring to Liancourt—which seems likely, as there were few other visiting noblemen from France around this time—this perhaps would explain why Orazio was at Windsor with some Frenchmen.

It has been claimed that the paintings of Gentileschi's English period reflect Charles I's taste in art and that they are close in spirit to the work of the Caroline poets, to the extent that the artist has even been called a "Cavalier painter."[35] In fact, all these assumptions must be challenged.[36] Orazio was an isolated figure at the Caroline court. The king seems to have taken little interest in his work following Buckingham's death, and only one work by Gentileschi, at Whitehall, the damaged panel painting *Head of a Woman*, now in the Snider collection (cat. 50),[37] is described as "bought by your Majesty" in the detailed catalogue compiled by Abraham van der Doort.[38] As early as 1631, the widowed duchess of Buckingham had reported that "the King hath noe greate use of him,"[39] and by 1633 Gentileschi had determined to leave London, writing to the grand duke of Tuscany in the hope of obtaining employment "for what little remains of my life."[40] Orazio's second version of the *Finding of Moses* (fig. 87), undoubtedly his late masterpiece, was taken to Madrid in 1633 by his son Francesco and presented to Philip IV with a view to obtaining his support for the artist's return to Florence.[41]

Gentileschi's isolated position among the group of foreign artists in London needs to be understood. There was only one other Italian artist in London, the one-eyed sculptor Francesco Fanelli, and few other Catholics, although after his arrival in 1632, Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) was a very prominent exception. These were far outnumbered by Protestant artists from the Netherlands, and, in a moment of paranoia, Orazio wrote to Charles I that "all the Dutchmen had combyned togeather to weary mee, and make me leave the Kingdome."[42] The annuities provided by the crown for these artists give some idea of Gentileschi's ranking within this group.[43] His pension of £100 put him on the same level as Gerrit van Honthorst (1592–1656), a distinguished artist from Utrecht who had also been recruited by Buckingham but stayed in London only from April or May to December 1628,[44] and Frantz Clein (1582–1658), a German painter and printmaker much needed to design tapestries for the factory



Figure 88. Orazio Gentileschi, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife.* Oil on canvas. Royal Collection, Hampton Court

at Mortlake. Van Dyck was given a significantly higher pension of £200 in 1633,[45] clearly intended to set him above all the other artists at court, apart from the French medalist Nicolas Briot (ca. 1579–1646), who probably had been recruited in Paris at the same time as Gentileschi and who received a substantial £250 in December 1628.[46]

Left without Buckingham's protection, isolated from other artists working in London, and with the king having apparently lost what had probably been only a mild interest in his work, Gentileschi shifted the focus of his activities to the *petite cour* of Henrietta Maria at Somerset House. This was, in any case, perhaps a more congenial arena. He would have known Henrietta Maria in Paris, where he had served her mother, Marie de' Medici. The queen, like the painter, was part Florentine; she was Catholic, surrounded by Catholic courtiers and attended by Franciscan Capuchins, a religious order for which Orazio felt some affinity. Although no payments made directly to Gentileschi are recorded in the ledgers of the queen's treasurer, Sir Richard Wynn,[47] there are substantial payments made to the artist in the early 1630s, under the Privy Seal, for pictures that must have been intended for her.[48]

In 1629, Henrietta Maria was granted Greenwich Palace and Park as part of her jointure, and the following year she set about completing there the construction of the Palladian villa, known as the Queen's House, that Inigo Jones had begun in the 1610s for Anne of Denmark. By 1635, the building was finished and the decoration of the interior could begin. Gentileschi was to play a central role in the adornment of Henrietta Maria's "House of Delight" close to the Thames.[49] As early as 1633–34, the building accounts for Greenwich show that Orazio's *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48) and *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (fig. 88) were given new frames, probably in preparation for hanging in the Queen's House.[50] Henrietta Maria was making a concerted effort in the mid-1630s to gather for herself works that had been painted by Orazio. A version of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* was recorded by Van der Doort as having been "given to the Queen" (presumably by the king), and by 1637 the *Lot and His Daughters* of 1628 had been been removed to Greenwich Palace from Whitehall, doubtless at the queen's request, and was soon to be found in the Queen's House.[51] It was surely Henrietta Maria herself who entrusted to Orazio the decoration of the ceiling of the Great Hall in the Queen's House (fig. 85). Thus by 1639, the year of his death, the building had become the repository of about half of Orazio's English oeuvre, including as it did the nine canvases making up the ceiling of the Great Hall and three large history pictures. It was Orazio's stately images of a serene and elegant humanity that the queen wanted to surround herself with in her Italianate retreat at Greenwich.

Refinement and artificiality are the currency of Gentileschi's late style, a style that cannot be classified as either Catholic or Protestant, but one that is aristocratic and international, practiced equally by Gerrit van Honthorst at The Hague and by Simon Vouet (1590–1649) in Paris.[52] Orazio's English paintings were designed to suit the aesthetic taste of a sophisticated and cosmopolitan court. They are luminous and high-key works, painted in saturated colors and with a smooth finish. They are peopled by figures with porcelain skin, enveloped in rich draperies and fabrics. The affectedly laconic gestures and the studied dishevelment of the Egyptian princess's ladies-in-waiting in the two versions of the *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48 and fig. 87) mirror ideals of courtly beauty and aristocratic deportment. Orazio had abandoned Caravaggesque lighting over the course of the 1620s in favor of a more even illumination; although his works remained highly staged, they were less obviously dramatic. He responded knowingly to the history pictures of the sixteenth-century Venetian painters so coveted by Charles I and the clique of noble collectors



Figure 89. Gerrit van Honthorst (1592–1656), *Mercury Presenting the Liberal Arts to Apollo and Diana.* Oil on canvas. Royal Collection, Hampton Court

in London, particularly in the *Finding of Moses* pictures, which contain echoes of several paintings by Veronese then in the king's collection. It may be appropriate to criticize Gentileschi's late works because of their lack of psychological depth, but to do so is to misinterpret his aesthetic aims.

The iconography of the Queen's House ceiling, executed between 1635 and late 1638 (and now installed in a much damaged and much repainted state at Marlborough House, in central London), was almost certainly conceived by Orazio in collaboration with Inigo Jones.[53] Around the figure of Peace, on the large central canvas, are ranged the Liberal Arts, Victory, and Fortune; and in the other compartments on the ceiling, the nine Muses and personifications of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Music.[54] The theme of the paintings, that under the reign of Peace the arts flourish, constitutes a leitmotif of Caroline imagery. It is articulated in *Albion's Triumph,* Aurelian Townshend's masque of 1632 in which the personification of Peace descended onto the stage in a cloud machine designed by Jones, and also in James Shirley's *Triumph of Peace,* which was performed before the king and queen in February 1634. Van Honthorst's enormous canvas *Mercury Presenting the Liberal Arts to Apollo and Diana* (fig. 89), painted some years earlier, shows a similar subject: Mercury (with the likeness of Buckingham) leads a procession of the Liberal Arts to pay homage to Apollo and Diana, who bear the likenesses of Charles and Henrietta Maria.[55]

The general impression of the ceiling in its pristine state must have been richly decorative, with its use of intense local color and soft lighting effects. There remain individual passages of great beauty in the draperies and in the still-life details, for example in the panel with the muses Urania, Calliope, and Melpomene.[56] However, even allowing for the sorry state of the canvases, it would be difficult to argue that the ceiling represents the triumphant culmination of Gentileschi's career. The differences between this ceiling and the recently installed canvases by Rubens in the Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace showing allegories of the rule of James I could hardly have been more marked (fig. 90). The dynamism of Rubens's figures contrasts sharply with the static and imperious women who garland the Queen's House ceiling, while the brilliance of Rubens's handling of the allegorical subjects makes Gentileschi's treatment seem relatively unsophisticated. It could be argued that the two ceilings reflect the essentially divergent tastes of the king and queen, the one preferring a bold, forceful, and energetic form of painting, the



Figure 90. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), *Apotheosis of James I.* Oil on canvas. Central detail of the Banqueting House ceiling at Whitehall, London

other a refined, reticent, and archaizing style. Charles's aesthetic preference explains why he could never muster great enthusiasm for Orazio's art.

It is usually stated that the painter's daughter, Artemisia, played a part in the execution of the ceiling.[57] But since the ceiling was almost certainly finished and installed by October 1638,[58] and she is first recorded in London toward the end of 1639 (although works by her were in Charles I's collection some years earlier, perhaps brought from Italy by Orazio or by one of her brothers), it is extremely unlikely that she had any role at all. Orazio's collaborator in the execution of the ceiling canvases (and he must have received some help) is much more likely to have been his son Francesco, who was also a painter.[59]

In January 1639, Orazio was already suffering from the illness from which he would die.[60] On February 11, 1639, the same Amerigo Salvetti who had announced the artist's arrival in England a dozen years earlier wrote to the Medici in Florence: "Four days ago the famous painter Gentileschi died, much lamented by His Majesty and by every other admirer of his virtue."[61] Because the artist was Tuscan, he had every reason to emphasize how much the king mourned his passing. The queen most certainly did, and so too perhaps did Van Dyck, who had made an impressive portrait drawing of Orazio for inclusion in his Iconographia, the series of engravings of famous artists (fig. 1).

The Stuart court has been described as favoring art that was escapist and "brittle," encouraging an illusory "sense of security and isolation."[62] This point of view has led to Orazio's work in England being too lightly dismissed in the earlier literature. Like any court painter, he had to please his patrons, and political realism in art was the last thing required by the royal families of Europe. Orazio's work for Charles I was international not only in terms of its pictorial style but also in its courtly iconography. The world that Gentileschi had been a part of was to dissolve very rapidly within a few years of his own death. Following the king's execution in 1649, his paintings were acquired by royal creditors, and several left England almost immediately. There was really no opportunity for an artistic legacy to be established in Britain, although Robert Streeter's painted ceiling in the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford, showing the *Triumph of Religion, the Arts, and Sciences* and executed in 1668–69,[63] suggests the influence of the Queen's House ceiling. Gentileschi was granted the honor of burial in the Queen's Chapel at Somerset House. The altarpiece there was a large *Crucifixion* by Rubens.[64] This was the small, final irony of Gentileschi's London career.

1. The most extensive treatments of Gentileschi's English career are Bissell 1981, Finaldi 1999, and Wood 2000–2001, 103–28. See also Hess (1952) 1967; Levey 1991; Weston-Lewis 1997; and Weston-Lewis in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999.
2. For Guercino's invitation to London, see Malvasia 1678, 366. According to the Italian sources, Charles tried to lure several Italian painters to London, including Guido Reni, Albani, and Angelo Caroselli.
3. See London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, app. 1, 99–100.
4. For the visit, see Lockyer 1981, 233–42.
5. According to a member of Anne of Austria's household; ibid., 236.
6. Bissell 1981, 51.
7. Sainsbury 1859b, 313–14. The original Italian text is London, Public Records Office (hereafter PRO), State Papers (SP) 16/141/35.
8. For the instructions Bassompierre received from Cardinal Richelieu, see Avenel 1856, 241–55.
9. Bassompierre 1837, quoted in Finaldi 1999, 34 n. 4.
10. Skrine 1887, 97; Crinò 1967, 533.
11. Croft-Murray 1962, 202; Bissell 1981, 214–15, no. L-2; Finaldi 1999, 35 n. 29.
12. A document hostile to Orazio, datable to early 1629, "The Sommes of monnys Gentilesco hath recaeved" (London, PRO, SP 16/141, fols. 120v and 121r), written by Balthazar Gerbier and intended to show that the artist had produced very little for a huge cash outlay, has been interpreted to suggest that the furnishing of his house cost £4000. See Sainsbury 1859b, 311; Sainsbury 1859a, 121; Bissell 1981, 51; and Finaldi 1999, 17. This would have been an astonishing sum, sufficient at this date to build a moderate-sized country house. The figure of £4000 is in fact a subtotal and the actual cost was £500. This is discussed in more detail in Wood 2000–2001, 118.
13. Croft-Murray 1947, 90 n. 11; McEvansoneya 1987, 33.
14. For Lanier in Italy, see Wilson 1994, 83–164.
15. Sainsbury 1859b, 311–13. The original Italian of the letter is transcribed in appendix 2 in this volume.
16. See Betcherman 1970, 250–59.
17. Goodman 1839, vol. 2, 360.
18. See Lockyer 1981, 215, and McEvansoneya 1987, 31.
19. McEvansoneya 1987, 29.
20. Philip 1957, 155–56.
21. Muller 1989, 78.
22. These are in the National Gallery, London, and the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, respectively; see Held 1980, 390–95, nos. 291, 292.
23. Gerbier called himself "innkeeper" to Rubens; Sainsbury 1859a, 144. For the financial arrangements, see London, PRO, Privy Seal Books (Auditors), E 403/2565; Exchequer of Receipt, Warrants for Issues, E 403/153, part 3, numbered 82.
24. London, PRO, SP 16/133, fols. 44r–45r, published by Sainsbury 1859a, 121–22. The quotations in this paragraph are retranscribed from the original document.
25. See Lockyer 1981, 460–61.
26. For the reception given to the bill of naturalization, see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1628–1629*, 1859, 183.
27. The relevant part of the letter is transcribed in appendix 4 in this publication. It is not clear which work he might be referring to. We are grateful to David Howarth for this reference.
28. Described by Gerbier in the "Sommes of monnys" document referred to in note 12 above, as "that wich the king hath" (fol. 121r); see Sainsbury 1859b, 315. For Van der Doort's description of this work when removed to Greenwich, see Millar 1958–60, 194.
29. The document (which is extremely difficult to read) is entitled "Inquisition as to the possessions of Balthazar Gerbier, an alien, at Buckingham House" (London, PRO, E178/5973), and mentions Gentileschi only in passing. It was first referred to in Croft-Murray 1947, 90 n. 11.
30. Published with the correct date by Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 145. See Wood 2000–2001, 125, app 2, doc. 1.
31. Bissell (1981, 105) cites the earlier document but gives it the later date, as found in Sainsbury 1859b, 315, without realizing that the warrant was reissued. See Wood 2000–2001, 116.
32. See Alexander 1975, 169.
33. See Lépine 1984; see also Schnapper 1994, 161 (who says, however, that the picture was painted in France), and Finaldi 1999, 36 n. 57.
34. Finet 1987, 90.
35. Bissell 1981, 50–62.
36. As regards Cavalier poetry, there is no evidence that Gentileschi took any notice of it, and, given his reluctance to master the English language, it is doubtful if he could have understood it.
37. See Bissell 1981, 193–94 no. 68.
38. Literally "boeht bij ju M," in Van der Doort's words; Millar 1958–60, 38.
39. Letter of July 28, 1631, London, PRO, SP 16/197/45, published in Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 145.
40. Crinò 1954, 203–4.
41. Bonfait in Rome 1994–95, 208, and Weston-Lewis in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 49.
42. Sainsbury 1859a, 121.
43. This issue is discussed at greater length in Wood 2000–2001, 116–18.
44. See Millar 1954, 36.
45. Carpenter 1844, 65.
46. Backdated to 1626; see Symonds 1913, 363–65. Our thanks to Mark Jones for this reference.
47. The full set of accounts for the 1630s is preserved in the Wynnstay manuscripts, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 174–86.
48. For a summary of these payments, see Bissell 1981, 105–6.
49. For the history of the Queen's House, see Chettle 1937 and Bold 2000. The description of the building as a "House of Delight" dates from 1659; Chettle 1937, 35.
50. Chettle 1937, 104.
51. Millar 1958–60, 176, 194.
52. Interestingly, both these painters, like Gentileschi himself, had had an intensely Caravaggesque phase earlier in their careers.
53. For the dating of the ceiling, based on the building accounts for Greenwich, see Finaldi 1999, 30–32.
54. For a discussion of the identity of the personifications on the ceiling, see Bissell 1981, 195–98 no. 70, and Finaldi 1999, 27–30.
55. White 1982, 53–56 no. 74.
56. Finaldi 1999, fig. 18.
57. Hess (1952) 1967, 254; Bissell 1981, 61, 91 n. 47; Garrard 1989, 112–21. Roberto Contini sounded an appropriate note of caution on the attribution of some of the figures to Artemisia in Florence 1991, 75. More recently Artemisia's presumed involvement has been reiterated, although with no new evidence advanced, in Bissell 1999, 87, 271–72.
58. Finaldi 1999, 32.
59. For Francesco's activities, see Bissell 1981, app. 4, 113–17, and Finaldi 1999, 35 n. 35, with further references.
60. For Gentileschi's will, published in Finaldi 1999, 33, see appendix 4 in this publication.
61. Translated from Crinò 1960, 258.
62. Whinney and Millar 1957, 6.
63. Croft-Murray 1962, 44–45, 227, figs. 87, 88.
64. Loomie 1996, 680–82.

46.
Lot and His Daughters

Oil on canvas, 89 × 111 in. (226 × 282 cm)

Signed (indistinctly, on rock at right of standing daughter): HORA.VS / GIENTIL.VS

Museo de Bellas Artes, Bilbao (69/101)

1628

PROVENANCE: Charles I, Whitehall Palace, London; Greenwich Palace; Queen's House, Greenwich (1628–49; Van der Doort inv. 1637–39; inv. 1649–51, no. 2, as by Gentileschi; Commonwealth sale, London, October 23, 1651); William Latham and his fourth dividend, London (1649–54); Don Alonso de Cárdenas, Spanish ambassador in London, for Don Luis de Haro y Gusmán, marqués de Heliche, first minister to Philip IV, Madrid (1654–61; list of purchases of May 25, 1654, as by Gentileschi);[9] his son, Don Gaspar de Haro y Gusmán, marqués de Eliche and del Carpio (1661–87; 1689 post-mortem inv., no. 5, as by Gentileschi);[10] his daughter, Doña Catalina de Haro y Gusmán, Madrid (from 1687); Carpio-Alba Collection, Madrid; duke of Alba, Madrid (until after 1911; 1911 cat.); Don Luis de Ardanaz (until 1924); Museo de Bellas Artes, Bilboa.

This ambitious painting is perhaps the pivotal royal commission to Orazio. It was seen in his studio by the German painter-biographer Joachim von Sandrart, who accompanied the Dutch painter Gerrit van Honthorst to London in 1628, and the following year it was listed by Balthazar Gerbier in his account of disbursements made to Gentileschi by the king and the duke of Buckingham, whom Gerbier had served as art adviser.[1] Sandrart describes it as "Lot sleeping on the lap of his daughter, the other daughter looking back on her father's activity, a wondrous work, incapable of improvement."[2] Sandrart and Gerbier also mention a *Magdalene* and a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, but while these were unquestionably variants of compositions Orazio had created in Italy, the *Lot* bears no relation to the painting he had done in Genoa six or seven years earlier for Giovan Antonio Sauli (see cat. 37). Initially hung at Whitehall, it was moved to the queen's withdrawing chamber in Greenwich Palace, and thence to the Queen's House, Greenwich, where it was probably installed in the Great Hall opposite the *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48).[3] Arguably, it was this picture that led to Orazio's other major commissions from the king and queen.

In his earlier treatment of the theme for Sauli, Orazio had created a compact, tightly interlocked group of figures that fills the foreground and is set against the strong rectilinear forms of a cliff, thus making a virtue of his weak command of spatial effects. The landscape is reduced to a distant vista at the right. Here, by contrast, the figures are far more loosely grouped in an ample picture field, their actions related more by gesture and glance than by arrangement within the composition. The episode takes place in a cave, which is opened to the sky at the left and to a distant landscape on the right. Details such as the placement of Lot's hand on the leg of his daughter or the position of the open wine flask, which in the Sauli painting were charged with eroticism, here become incidental. In both paintings, Lot is shown in a state of drink- and sex-induced exhaustion while the two daughters actively discuss their fate. However, whereas in one a mood of anxious excitement prevails, in the other there is a coquettish chattiness as one daughter insistently defends their incestuous act by indicating the burning city in the background and the minuscule figure of Lot's wife turned to a pillar of salt. In short, the story has acquired the trappings of a courtly moral drama: two women led to perform a sinful act in order to perpetuate the human race.[4]

No less indicative of the very different direction Orazio's art took in England is the emphasis on the richly colored silk fabrics, especially notable in the raspberry and blue of Lot's coat, and on such still-life details as the exquisitely painted vine with grapes. Quite apart from Orazio's difficulty in creating a convincing space for the figures, there is about this work a shift in focus, as though it had been painted at close



Figure 91. Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), *Rinaldo and Armida*. Oil on canvas. The Baltimore Museum of Art, Jacob Epstein Collection



REFERENCES: Sandrart (1675) 1925, 166; Vertue (notebook, 1716) 1931–32, 131; Sainsbury 1859b, 315; Barcia 1911, 250; Chettle 1937, 36; Hess 1952, 162; Millar 1958–60, 194, 235; Pérez Sánchez 1965, 502–3; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 75 n. 24, vol. 2, 76 no. B.4a; Bissell 1969, 26–27, 31–32; Millar 1970–72, 137 no. 2; Seville 1973, no. 23; Nicolson 1974, 608; Bissell 1981, 51–53, 188 no. 61; Burke 1984, vol. 2, 153, 167; Nicolson 1985, 20–25; Nicolson 1990, 113; Bilbao 1991; Burke and Cherry 1997, vol. 1, 837, no. 116; Weston-Lewis 1997, 30–31; Finaldi, Weston-Lewis, and Sánchez-Lassa de los Santos in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 27, 45–47, 66, 79–97; Wood 2000–2001, 120, 122.

range: compositional strength has been sacrificed to beauty of detail. Because of the emphasis on surface refinement, the loss of glazes (for example, in the lemon yellow dress of the seated daughter) is particularly unfortunate. Originally, the figures must have registered like brilliantly glazed enamels against a dark background. Today, the most satisfying area is in the upper left, where the grapes, ivy leaves, and bare branch viewed against the blue sky reveal the subtle effects Orazio strove to achieve throughout the picture.[5]

What were the driving forces behind this distinctive shift in Orazio's work? Elsewhere (cat. 49), I have commented on the use of demonstrative gesture, something that was to characterize all of Orazio's royal commissions. It is, however, important to recognize that the pictures he painted in England are by no means uniform in style. The fastidious concern for detail at the expense of compositional unity in the *Lot* gives way to a grandeur of statement in the *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48), where stunning surface effects combine with a splendid, friezelike composition. If, in the latter, the impetus seems to be Venetian art—particularly Veronese—perhaps here we ought to see Orazio's responding to the challenge posed by the presence in London of Van Honthorst (whose earlier, Caravaggesque work Orazio had known in Rome). As early as 1620, the Dutch artist had attracted the attention of Sir Dudley Carleton, who sent to the earl of Arundel a mythological painting of Aeneas fleeing Troy (untraced) that earned praise from that most perspicacious of English collectors for its masterly use of pose and its Caravaggesque coloring, "wch is nowe soe much esteemed in Rome."[6] It is difficult to imagine more fertile ground for Orazio to build on, and his movement toward a blonde tonality and a reduction of light-dark contrasts becomes all the more significant. Van Honthorst himself had moved in a similar direction, particularly in his mythological paintings and his portraits. The duke of Buckingham acquired from Van Honthorst a genre picture and a mythology (of Venus and two satyrs, no longer traceable), and then twice sat for the artist (fig. 89). As already noted, in 1628—when Orazio was at work on the *Lot*—the Dutchman arrived in London (sometime after April 5).[7] To see the *Lot* as Orazio's attempt to assert his place at the court of Charles I seems to me the most sympathetic way of appreciating its peculiar character and avoiding the overly simplistic verdict of a decline in his creative abilities—something that his two splendid paintings of the *Finding of Moses* disprove.

X radiographs of the picture show no major changes to the composition. The technique is direct, and the brushwork is nowhere labored. However, the contours are remarkably sharp and to the naked eye there is what appears to be a line around the yellow dress and protruding right foot of the seated daughter that suggests the careful planning that went into the work. Whether or not Orazio developed a full-scale cartoon for the composition cannot be said, but at the very least he must have made a number of preliminary drawings and carefully worked it out on the canvas. There is a published report of its restoration in 1991.[8]

1. For Gerbier's list, see Sainsbury 1859b, 315, and Bissell 1981, 108.
2. Sandrart (1675) 1925, 166: "nict geringer war ein in seiner Tochter Schoss schlaffender Loth, dessen andere Tochter auf ihres Vatters Action umsehend, verwunderlich und unfähig einiger Bässerung ausgebildet."
3. See Van der Doort's inventory in Millar 1960, 194. See Weston-Lewis in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 45–49, for a discussion of the arrangement of pictures at the Queen's House.
4. See Kind 1967 for a survey of the exegetical literature on the theme. Weston-Lewis (in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 51 n. 39) tentatively suggests that the picture could have been read by the court in terms of dynastic succession.
5. There are scattered losses, perhaps most importantly in the face and bosom of the seated daughter. Her head and Lot's eyes have lost definition. Throughout the picture there is a loss of sharpness.
6. Sainsbury 1859b, 291.
7. On Van Honthorst and the Caroline court, see the fine summary of White 1982, xxiii–xxvii.
8. See Bilbao 1991 and Sánchez-Lassa de los Santos in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999.
9. See Burke 1984, vol. 2, 153, 167, and Burke and Cherry 1997, vol. 1, 153–70, for the Carpio family in general.
10. Burke and Cherry 1997, vol. 1, 837 no. 116.

47.

Diana the Huntress

Oil on canvas, 84⅝ × 53⅛ in. (215 × 135 cm)

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes (inv. 6735)

1630

PROVENANCE: Roger du Plessis de Liancourt, duke of La Roche-Guyon, Paris (1630–74; inv. 1674, as by Gentileschi); François, duke of La Rochefoucault, Paris (until 1728; inv. 1728, as by Gentileschi); Gentil de Chavagnac collection (until 1854; sold, Paris, June 20, 1854, no. 17); Count Toinet de La Turmelière, château de la Turmelière (until 1945); given by him to the city of Ancenis (1945–65); Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.

RELATED PICTURES: Formerly Kurt Stern, New York (copy of upper portion of figure, ascribed by Sterling to Monier);[7] Musée de la Chasse, Paris (copy; fig. 92).[8]

REFERENCES: Rambaud 1964, 562; Sterling 1964, 217–20; Previtali 1973, 359; Nicolson 1979, 51; Bissell 1981, 53–58, 76, 98 n. 99, 194 no. 69; Brejon de Lavergnée in Nantes 1983, 22–23 no. A; Nicolson 1985, 22, 25; Brejon de Lavergnée in Paris–Milan 1988–89, 226–28 no. 77; Brejon de Lavergnée and Volle 1988, 161; Nicolson 1990, 112; Béguin in Paris 1991, 35; Sykes 1991, 335; Sarrazin 1994, 196–97 no. 145; Merot in Dijon–Le Mans 1998–99, 32, 58; Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 24, 36 n. 57.

Surely one of the most poetic pictures of Gentileschi's post-Italian years, *Diana the Huntress* was purchased in 1630 by Roger du Plessis de Liancourt, duc de La Roche-Guyon, for 460 livres.[1] Liancourt was in London at the time as French ambassador extraordinary to mark the birth of Prince Charles and cemented his relations with the English court by a series of gifts, exchanges, and sales. The most important gift was a painting of John the Baptist by Leonardo da Vinci (Louvre, Paris), for which the duke received in return a *Madonna* by Titian that had belonged to John Donne.[2] He also gave the king some novel pictures "in the manner as they doe make turkey carpetts worke" (that is, woven images with a nap), and he sold him several works.[3] The acquisition of the *Diana* should be seen as part of this ambassadorial exchange (it is unclear whether it was purchased from the artist or through the crown).

The painting was installed in Liancourt's splendid Parisian house on the rue de Seine, not far from the Palais de Luxembourg, where it is described in a 1674 postmortem inventory as, "In the antechamber near to the green room, a large painting above the fireplace showing a Diana by Gentileschi."[4] Diana is depicted as the goddess of the hunt, a subject frequently associated with the French monarchy, especially under Henry II (r. 1547–59). Indeed, it is difficult to believe that Orazio did not consciously have in mind the sixteenth-century decorations of Rosso Fiorentino, Primaticcio, and Nicolò dell'Abate at the château de Fontainebleau when he painted this wonderfully elegant figure. Charles I's French queen, Henrietta Maria, was also portrayed, at Hampton Court, as the virgin goddess in Gerrit van Honthorst's immense and elaborate allegory, which dates to 1628 (fig. 89), and Sykes has shown how important this imagery was to her. It is possible that Orazio's painting was initially conceived for the queen and diverted to Liancourt.[5]

The contrapposto pose sets off the goddess's face, bare shoulder, and legs with her windswept, ash-blonde hair and lime-colored drapery and is further enhanced by the turned head of the collared dog. A delicate crescent moon—Diana's emblem—can be seen directly above her head, an echo to the hunting horn. The planarity of the design, anchored by the curves of the great bow, makes this an image more in keeping with French than with English taste, a worthy successor to the great works of the French Renaissance sculptor Jean Goujon.

Superficially, the style of the picture seems consonant with the new court manner then holding sway in Paris under Simon Vouet, who had transformed himself from the Caravaggesque artist Orazio had known in Rome to an advocate of decorative classicism.[6] Yet by comparison, Gentileschi's figure, for all the Mannerist elegance of the pose, remains rooted in reality, and in fact we know that in his English period he continued to employ models—both male and female—for his paintings. Sterling and Merot have emphasized the importance a work like this may have had for the Le Nain, Laurent de La Hyre, and Philippe de Champaigne and the classical style of painting—"l'atticisme parisien"—that dominated French art between about 1640 and 1660.

Understandably, when, in 1964, Sterling brought the picture to public attention, he assumed it was painted during the two years Orazio worked for Marie de' Medici. His opinion has been followed by other French scholars, although the 1630 payment from Liancourt is strong evidence that the picture was painted in London. As Bissell notes, the pose of the figure is related to that of one of the Muses in a painting of Apollo and the nine Muses that was far enough advanced in 1630 to attract the attention of Rubens (fig. 93). It is even closer to the figure of Joseph in Orazio's large canvas *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, destined for the Queen's House at Greenwich (fig. 88).

Compositionally, then, the picture is typical of Orazio's English work. Yet the style has less to do with the finicky, overly detailed *Lot and His Daughters*

of 1628 (cat. 46) or with the enamel-like, pearly beauty of the two versions of the *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48 and fig. 87) than it does with the noble forms of *Public Felicity* (cat. 44) of 1624–26, painted for Marie de' Medici. In those works destined for Henrietta Maria, one senses Orazio's vying with Van Honthorst, who, at Hampton Court, was granted an annual pension of £100 before leaving. With the *Diana*, Orazio seems to be consciously modulating his style to suit the tastes of his French patron. And he was right to do so, since the picture was evidently much admired in France; at least two copies exist (fig. 92).



Figure 92. Copy after Orazio Gentileschi, *Diana the Huntress.* Oil on canvas. Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris

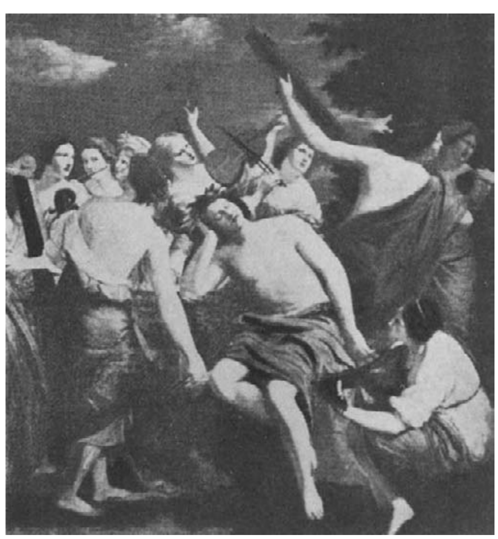


Figure 93. Orazio Gentileschi, *Apollo and the Muses.* Oil on canvas. Formerly Lily Lawlor Collection, New York

1. "Autre despence extraordinaire . . . premièrement une diane de Gentilesques 460 livres," see Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 36 n. 47. The information comes from an unpublished thesis by Laurence Lépine.
2. See Haskell in MacGregor 1989, 216. The Leonardo is listed in Van der Doort's catalogue of the collection of Charles I; see Millar 1958–60, 89 item 71.
3. Millar 1958–60, 91 item 79, 125 item 42, 156 item 28, 157 item 4.
4. See Paris–Milan 1988–89, 226–28. John Evelyn visited the house in 1644 and has left an admiring description; see Evelyn 1873, 240–42. The 1728 inventory of the collection is published in Rambaud 1964, 561–63.
5. See White 1982, 53–56. It is not certain whether the picture was commissioned by Charles I or the duke of Buckingham. By the seventeenth century, this sort of allegorical portraiture was ubiquitous in the various courts. Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, the sister of Charles I, had her children portrayed in similar guise by Van Honthorst (the picture is also at Hampton Court).
6. Orazio's awareness of Vouet's art remains an elusive issue. In his *Entretiens* Félibien notes that Vouet sent a number of paintings to Charles I, one of which may have been the *Diana* at Hampton Court, and he painted a ceiling for a royal residence (destroyed). The *Diana* is dated 1637; the ceiling seems also to date to the later 1630s.
7. Attributed by Sterling (1964, 218) to Monier. See also Bissell 1981, 194.
8. The picture (fig. 92) was called to my attention by Stéphane Loire. The corners are cut out, in the manner of Orazio's *Public Felicity* (cat. 44), suggesting that this picture too was set over a fireplace.



48.
Finding of Moses

Oil on canvas, 101⅛ × 118½ in. (257 × 301 cm)

Private collection

ca. 1630–33

PROVENANCE: Royal collection, Greenwich Palace and the Queen's House, Greenwich (by 1633–34; inv. 1649, as by Gentileschi); William Latham and his fourth dividend (October 23, 1651); Emanuel de Critz, Austin Friars, London);[10] Philip Sydney, Lord Lisle, Sheen (until September 8, 1660, when ceded to the crown; Sydney inv., as by Gentileschi);[11] Henrietta Maria, château de Colombes (1661–69; postmortem inv. 1669, without attribution); her daughter Henriette Anne, Palais Royal, Paris (1669–70; postmortem inv. 1671, as by Ribera); her husband, Philippe I, duke of Orléans, Palais Royal, Paris (1671–1701; postmortem inv. 1701, as by Velázquez); the Orléans collection, Palais Royal, Paris (1701–92; inv. 1727 and cat. 1737, as by Velázquez); the earl of Carlisle, the earl of Bridgewater, and the earl of Gower (sale, London, December 1798; reserved for the fifth earl of Carlisle); the fifth earl of Carlisle, Castle Howard, Yorkshire (1798–1825); the earls of Carlisle, Castle Howard (until 1995; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 6, 1995, lot 61A); private collection.

Orazio's royal commissions culminated in two sumptuous canvases showing the Old Testament story of the Finding of Moses (Exod. 2:2–10), one for Charles I, the other for Philip IV of Spain (fig. 87). Both canvases are first mentioned in 1633–34 but are likely to have been begun and possibly even completed earlier. On May 8, 1633, Charles I's secretary of state wrote to the British ambassador in Madrid asking him to assist Orazio's son Francesco in presenting Philip IV with a picture "his father hath made, and w[i]th his Ma[jes]ties [i.e., Charles I's] good liking and permission dedicated and now sent unto that kinge."[1] Pleased with the picture, on November 18, Philip IV authorized the payment of 900 ducats to the artist. As for Charles I's version, in 1633–34 there are payments in the accounts for Greenwich for preparing frames for three paintings by Orazio—a *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (fig. 88), an *Apollo and the Muses*,[2] and the *Finding of Moses* (referred to as "Pharoes Daughter")—as well as a *Tarquin and Lucretia* by Artemisia.[3] Probably by the late 1630s, the *Finding of Moses* was installed in the Great Hall of the Queen's House, Greenwich, opposite the *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 46) and below a ceiling with nine inset canvases painted by Orazio showing an allegory of Peace and the Arts (Marlborough House, London; fig. 85).[4] Following the execution of Charles I in 1649, the *Finding of Moses* was given in lieu of payment of debts to the woolen draper William Latham and his fourth dividend; it was eventually repossessed by the crown and in 1661 taken by the dowager queen, Henrietta Maria, to her château at Colombes in France.[5]

According to the Old Testament, the infant Moses was placed in a basket and concealed among the bulrushes so that he would not be a victim of Pharaoh's edict that all newborn sons of the Hebrews be killed. His sister hid herself and watched as Pharaoh's daughter came to the river with her maids to bathe. Catching sight of the mysterious basket, they opened it and, finding the child inside, took him back to court. In Orazio's picture the princess, dressed in a sumptuous yellow satin dress with pearls and gems embroidered along the neckline and cuffs, points to the infant as she enlists the help of the woman at the left to take charge of his care (the woman is none other than Moses' mother, fetched by his sister). The maid who had fished the basket from the river wears a loose-hanging white shift, while two of her companions gesticulate toward the river where the infant was found. (The landscape has a distinctly English character and may, as Weston-Lewis argues, be intended as a view of the river Thames.) The picture has the quality of a pageant, and its air of unreality has been associated with the masques and poetry of the Caroline court.[6] Yet, in point of fact, the clothes do not bear much resemblance to the fanciful costumes designed by Inigo Jones. Nor do they reproduce court dress, with its abundance of lace bodices, collars, and cuffs. Rather, the analogy is with the allegorizing portraits by Van Dyck and the grand manner of Rubens. As with them, Orazio's model was Veronese.

The royal collection included a number of works by or attributed to Veronese, including a small *Finding of Moses* that may have been the picture now in the Prado.[7] Yet for all its costumed elegance, Orazio's painting differs from Veronesan practice in three crucial respects. The figure grouping is compact and friezelike rather than open and loosely linked. In this the artist has rediscovered the essentially figurative basis of his art that is so conspicuously absent from the dispersed design of the *Lot and His Daughters*. The male servants and dwarfs that play such eye-catching roles in Veronese's art find no place in Orazio's composition, with its all-female cast. (Does this shift signify that the commission came not from the king but from Henrietta Maria and that a gendered reading is implied?) And finally, gestures play a dominant—even distracting—role. Moses' mother responds affectionately toward her daughter Miriam, who in turn points to the child as she gazes at the princess.



RELATED PICTURES: Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (autograph variant for Philip IV); formerly Salzer, Los Angeles (reduced copy of London painting; sale, Christie's, New York, October 5, 1995, lot 60).

REFERENCES: Dubois de Saint Gelais 1737, 116–17; Couché 1808, vol. 1, pl. 86; Buchanan 1824, 146 no. 2; Stryienski 1913, 176; Longhi (1916) 1961, 247; Voss 1925, 461; Vertue 1935–36, 131; Chettle 1937, 104; London 1938, 72 no. 285; Hess 1952, 163; Sterling 1958, 118 n. 37; Pérez Sánchez 1965, 502; Harris 1967, 86, 89 nn. 5, 6; Millar 1970–72, 137 no. 1; Nicolson 1979, 52; Bissell 1981, 53, 60, 189–90, 191–92 no. 66; Beal 1984, 309; Nicolson 1990, 113; Christie 1997, 36–37; Weston-Lewis 1997, 27–35; Maddicott 1998, 120–22; Finaldi, Weston-Lewis, and Sánchez-Lassa de los Santos in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 27, 29, 39–52, 68, 79–97; Wood 2000–2001, 106, 120–22.

Pharaoh's daughter strikes a pose of aristocratic command as she addresses Moses' mother. One of the maids expresses delighted surprise with one hand while with the other she indicates the river in the background. This is a picture that attempts to recount the story via pose and gesture—what was known as the *affetti*—and it does so in a far more successful way than either the *Mocking of Christ* (cat. 49) or the *Lot and His Daughters.*

It is precisely this focus on gesture that disappears (or is toned down) in the Prado version, painted by Orazio as a gift for Philip IV. In that work, moreover, the description of costly costumes is carried one step further. Pharaoh's daughter wears a crown, one of the maids wears a turban with a pendant pearl (the turban is made of Orazio's favorite gold-banded scarf), and the scantily clad figure who in the London picture has fetched the basket from the river is in the Prado painting decked out in a sumptuous silvery blue dress with a string of pearls worked into her elaborately coiffed hair.[8] To modern taste, the Prado version is the more satisfying work—it has, indeed, often been seen as Orazio's late masterpiece. Yet surely these very differences underscore the special character of the pictures Orazio painted for the English court and suggest that behind the histrionic posturing there was the desire not simply to accommodate British taste or to give the picture a topographical gloss by calling attention to the relationship of the landscape in the picture with the real view of the Thames visible through the windows of the Queen's House.[9] The object was to introduce an expressive element based on the rhetorical models of Cicero and Quintilian.

However, if the use of expressive gesture was his intent, the result was something quite different. The gestures have a formal rather than an expressive effect—take, for example, the scissors-like arrangement of the paired pointing hands of the two maids. Because of the artificiality of their arrangement, they can seem distracting or simply vacuous. The rhetorical basis of much Baroque painting is not what appeals to modern audiences, and it is hardly surprising that these late works by Orazio should be undervalued.

Until recently, the Prado *Finding of Moses* was considered the earlier of the two versions, but Weston-Lewis has demonstrated through a technical analysis that the London picture was painted first—or, at any rate, it was begun before the Prado version. He did not discuss the change in tonality between the two, but when the pictures were displayed together in London, in 1999, it became apparent that the Prado version introduces a silvery quality that recalls not simply the work of Veronese but that of Van Dyck, who arrived in London in 1632, but whose great masterpiece of Venetian style, the *Rinaldo and Armida* (Baltimore Museum of Art), was painted for Charles I in 1629 and sent to him from Antwerp (fig. 91). Orazio could not hope to match the dynamism of Van Dyck's art (indeed, he probably did not wish to), but in the *Finding of Moses* he shows himself responsive to new ideas and trends. We may regret the loss of the realistic, Caravaggesque vigor of his Roman works and the sheer brilliance of his Genoese pictures, but it is wrong to write off the English paintings as a sad decline of an aging, out-of-touch artist (in 1633 he was seventy years old).

In what is by far the most thorough discussion of the paintings that decorated the Queen's House, Weston-Lewis has suggested that the picture ought to be read in terms of the queen's tastes and interests. The Old Testament subject may have carried dynastic allusions, since a long-standing tradition traced the origins of the House of Stuart to Pharaoh's daughter (interestingly, the earliest reference to the picture cites the subject as Pharaoh's daughter and does not mention Moses). He also notes that Henrietta Maria was the sister of Isabella of Bourbon, the Spanish queen; might this have been a factor in Orazio's decision to send a like-subject picture to the king of Spain? For both queens, the fact that the composition focused on a newborn male child (the princess points to his genitals) who would become the leader of his people would certainly have given the picture a special significance. The heir to the British throne was, in fact, born on May 29, 1630—not long before work on the picture is likely to have begun.

1. Harris 1967, 89; Trapier 1967, 242.
2. The identification of the *Apollo and the Muses*—identified simply as the "Muses" in the payment—has been debated. Finaldi (in

London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 27) suggests that it was not a painting by Gentileschi but one by Tintoretto that appears in a later inventory of the pictures in Greenwich Palace. Given the date of the document, I find this suggestion unconvincing and think it more likely that the picture is the one that belonged to the Lily Lawlor collection in New York (fig. 93). See Bissell 1981, 190.

3. Chettle 1937, 104.
4. On the arrangement of the room, see Weston-Lewis in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 45. In 1629, Charles I transferred ownership of Greenwich Palace to the queen. The basic fabric of the Queen's House was completed in 1635, but four years later the interior was still not finished. The first record of the pictures in the house is in 1649.
5. Maddicott (1998) has clarified the history of the picture following the execution of Charles I.
6. See the case made by Bissell 1981, 55–58.
7. The painting is described in Van der Doort's inventory as "conteyning some 11 little intire figures." It was on a thin panel painted on both sides (the other side was supposedly by Bassano and showed the Nativity). The Prado picture, which is upright and measures 50 × 43 cm includes eleven figures. A replica is in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. See Wood 2000–2001, 106.
8. It seems to me that the Prado picture lends itself better to the analysis by Weston-Lewis in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 47: "The courtly refinement of Gentileschi's canvas, with its extremely elongated and emotionally neutral figures and its opulent costumes, must have mirrored perfectly the tastes of the Queen and her circle of *précieux*."
9. This is the suggestion of Weston-Lewis in ibid. 1999, 44–46.
10. It was seen there by the writer Richard Symonds; see Beal 1984, 309.
11. On this and other sources for the early history of the picture, see Owen 1966, 502, and Maddicott 1998.

49. *Mocking of Christ*

Oil on canvas, 49 × 62¾ in. (124.5 × 159.5 cm)

Matthiesen Gallery, London

ca. 1628/30–35

New York, Saint Louis

PROVENANCE: Possibly King Charles I, Somerset House, London (by 1629–49; sale, October 23, 1651); possibly Edmund Harrison, London (from 1651); Meuron collection, Lucerne (until 1963; sold, Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, December 3–7, 1963, lot 1115); private collection, London).

RELATED PICTURE: Formerly Andrea Busiri-Vici, Rome (copy).[8]

Among Gentileschi's greatest works in a Caravaggesque vein is the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* in Braunschweig (cat. 23), and it should come as no surprise that on at least three other occasions he treated the theme. The first was in a frescoed compartment of a chapel in the cathedral of Fabriano (fig. 51). The second was in a picture done in Genoa and recorded by Van Dyck in a sketchbook used during his Italian sojourn from 1622 to 1627 (fig. 94). Inscribed "Gentileschi," the drawing is paired with a Virgin mourning the dead Christ derived from a painting by Titian. The third was a picture evidently done in England that is recorded in the "Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods" drawn up after the execution of Charles I in 1649. The entry reads: "129 Christ betweene 2 Jews. Done by gentilesco."[1] The picture cannot be traced after its "sale" to one of the king's creditors, the embroiderer Edmund Harrison, on October 23, 1651.[2] It may be the "Christ at the Pillare" listed in Balthazar Gerbier's 1629 account of disbursements made to Orazio by the duke of Buckingham and the king (the designation of Christ at the pillar or column normally implies a Flagellation, but it could also apply to a Mocking of Christ, despite the absence of a column).[3]

What bearing these notices have on the present painting is not altogether clear, for although Van Dyck's sketch is similar to the present painting, there are significant differences. In the drawing, Christ stands more erect, with his hands bound in front of him, and his rod is held at a downward angle. Greater space separates him from the tormentor at the right, who also stands more erect and whose arm is extended horizontally. The figure on the left is viewed at an angle from the back, rather than from the front. His face is in profile, and with his right hand he presses against Christ's shoulder. Because of these differences Bissell classifies the present painting as a variation, possibly by a Northern master, based on a lost original by Orazio. Schleier, by contrast, sustains Orazio's authorship of the picture, which he considers a variant of the composition recorded by Van Dyck but also done during the artist's Genoese period (1621–24). Finaldi includes the picture as a work possibly from Orazio's English period.

In point of fact, the somewhat small-featured figures, their slightly awkward, angular movements,



Figure 94. Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), folio 23v from the *Italian Sketchbook*, with drawing of Orazio Gentileschi's *Mocking of Christ*. Pen and ink on paper. The British Museum, London

and the emphasis on finely wrought (almost finicky) surface details find their closest analogy in the *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* Orazio painted prior to 1633 for the Queen's House in Greenwich (fig. 88). If we accept that the description "Christ between two Jews," in the 1649 inventory, is a confusion between the event actually shown—Christ's mocking by Roman soldiers, when he is clothed in scarlet and crowned with thorns (Matt. 27:27–30)—and Christ taunted before the high priest Caiaphas (Matt. 26:67), then there is good reason to identify this as the picture recorded in the collection of Charles I.

In the Braunschweig *Christ Crowned with Thorns,* the lost painting sketched by Van Dyck, and the *Mocking of Christ* we have an incomparable record of the transformation in Orazio's art from the terms of Caravaggesque realistic drama to those of a highly crafted morality play. No longer are we urged to participate empathetically with Christ, to experience his ordeal as a physically real event. Rather, we are presented with a lesson whose points are made through carefully calculated gestures and figure types. The figure on the left raises his left hand in a gesture Domenichino also used in his 1609 fresco of the martyrdom of Saint Andrew in San Gregorio Magno, Rome, and that Bellori interpreted as "menacing."[4] The right-hand figure grasps Christ around the neck, pressing his thumb into his cheek. Christ's elegant pose is meant to establish a meaningful contrast to those of his two torturers and is further set off by the rich patterning of folds in the drapery. By these means, he is singled out for contemplation as "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief" (Isa. 53:3). The picture thus serves as a gloss on its biblical source in a way that is foreign to the Braunschweig picture. At the same time, the lighting is less dramatic and details are treated with a refinement that borders on preciosity—the pitted wall, for example, and the drops of blood coursing down Christ's face.

It is, of course, true that some of the traits of the *Mocking of Christ*—the tendency toward abstraction and frozen action, a love of surface refinement—were already present in his earlier work. A demonstrative type of gesture appears in the Sauli *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 37). Yet, there is nothing in Orazio's Roman or Genoese paintings that prepares one for the self-conscious use of gesture we find in the pictures he painted in London, gestures that led Levey to castigate the works as "costume-drama almost absurdly lacking in real significance."[5] Modern taste so strongly favors Caravaggesque realism that we have forcibly to remind ourselves that the trajectory of European art after about 1625/30 was toward art as emblematic exposition rather than realistic presentation. Interestingly, some of the same traits we find in Orazio's art can also be observed in Guercino's paintings of the second half of the 1620s. (Guercino, of course, had been the first choice of Charles I for a position at court; Orazio was invited only after Guercino refused.) Fortunately, with Guercino, there is a body of contemporary written evidence to guide us toward an appreciation of the goals he set himself. We lack this sort of literary evidence for Gentileschi and are, in consequence, left to wonder about the impetus behind the change. For the time being, I can

References: Pijoán 1957, 15 fig. 19; Moir 1976, 147 n. 245.xii; Nicolson 1979, 54; Bissell 1981, 201 no. x-4, 216 no. l-13; Nicolson 1990, 116; Schleier 1993, 194–200; Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 64–65 no. 6; Brown in London 2001a, 234–41.



do no more than point out that in a brilliant essay dealing with the relation of rhetoric to Guercino's art, Ebert-Schifferer notes that in 1644 the neo-Ciceronian John Bulwer published an inventory of rhetorical gestures based on those espoused by Quintilian.[6] Some of the gestures in Bulwer are directly relevant both to this picture and to the *Lot*.[7] Orazio did not have a theoretical bent, but the possibility that there was some connection to such figures merits further investigation. After all, the greatest change in Orazio's life between Rome and London was the people he came to associate with. Could anything be further from the popular taverns he frequented in Rome than the elegant dinner he attended in London hosted by the maréchal de Bassompierre and attended by some of the king's chief courtiers?

1. Van de Doort in Millar 1958–60, 306. The notice is conveniently reprinted in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 100.
2. See Nutthall 1965, 308.
3. See Sainsbury 1859b, 315.
4. "Dal lato opposto vicino il Santo si sentono le minaccie d'un soldato armato . . . il quale acerbamente distorce le ciglia adirato, e minacciandolo incontro alza il dito della mano destra." Bellori (1672) 1976, 318. Curiously, Bissell (1981, 201) misreads the gesture as "thumbing-the-nose" and finds it uncharacteristically crude for Gentileschi. However, he knew the picture only from what he confessed to being an "unsatisfactory photograph."
5. Levey 1964, 13.
6. Ebert-Schifferer in Bologna and other cities 1991–92, 100.
7. See Bulwer, 1644 95n, "attentionem poscit," for the *Mocking of Christ*, and 65q, "argumentum digerit," for the *Lot*.
8. See Bissell 1981, 201, and Schleier 1993, 197.

50.
Head of a Woman

Oil on wood, 16½ × 14⅝ in. (42 × 37 cm)

Martha McGeary Snider, Bryn Mawr, Penn.

ca. 1630–36

Provenance: Charles I, Whitehall Palace, London (by 1636/37–49; inv. 1636–37, as by Gentileschi);[5] his estate, Saint James's Palace, London (inv. 1649/51, as by Gentileschi); Robert Houghton and his third dividend (from 1651/52); Colin Agnew, Esq., London (by 1930); H. E. Benn, Ilkley (by 1951, until after 1981); Thomas Agnew and Sons, Ltd., London (1988); Martha McGeary Snider, Bryn Mawr, Penn. (from 1989).

Abraham van der Doort's inventory of the collections of Charles I, drawn up between 1637 and 1639, lists a picture "done By Jentellesco" in the following terms: "uppon a thick board the Picture of a woeman with her left breast naked her right breast covered with a part of her Smock. In a black frame: i f[oot] 10–i f[oot] 5 [56 × 43 cm]." It also notes that the light in the picture falls from the right ("pijntit opan de Wrang lijeht," in Van der Doort's mixture of Dutch and English).[1] The painting was installed in a small room between the king's withdrawing (or breakfast) chamber and a long gallery. It appears again in another, manuscript edition of the inventory and is probably the "naked womans picture" listed at Saint James's Palace in 1649–50.[2] Following the execution of Charles I, in 1649, the picture was assigned to a syndicate of creditors to the crown (or dividend, as it was called) headed by Robert Houghton, a wealthy merchant and former brewer to the king.[3] Then it disappears.

This haunting but—alas—damaged picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1930 as the work of Orazio Gentileschi and described as from the collection of Charles I.[4] This identification was immediately taken up (see, for example, Constable) and has been questioned only by Nicolson, who hesitates between ascribing the work to Orazio or to Paulus Bor—presumably working under Orazio's influence.

Constable notes that before Orazio's authorship was suggested, the names of Giorgione, Rutilio Manetti, Vermeer, and Hendrik Terbrugghen had all been proposed. The attribution to Vermeer is particularly understandable, for the quality of stillness, enhanced by the calm, slightly inquisitive gaze directed at the viewer, and the subtle description of a soft, interior light falling across the plain but beautiful features of the face inevitably remind one of the Delft master's *Girl with a Pearl Earring* (Mauritshuis, The Hague) or, perhaps even more, the so-called *Study of a Young*



REFERENCES: Constable 1929–30, 756, 758, 761; London 1930, 334 no. 733; London 1931, vol. 1, 159 no. 465; Longhi 1943, 47 n. 38; Milan 1951, 66 no. 114; Millar 1958–60, 231; Nutthall 1965, 302, 304, 308; Millar 1970–72, 266 no. 158; Nicolson 1979, 25, 53; Bissell 1981, 58, 193–94; Nicolson 1990, 66, 116; Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 22, 36 n. 50, 99; Wood 2000–2001, 114.

Woman (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). This resemblance would be even more compelling if the blue gray background—now scraped down to the preparation—were still intact. Apart from its abraded surface, the panel has been cut down about fourteen centimeters in height and six centimeters in width; it does not show the woman's breasts, as described in the inventory.

Van der Doort notes that the picture was purchased by Charles I. It is thus not a commission but conceivably a painting that Orazio made for himself and kept in his studio: the sort of work he could have referred to in making a large history painting. Indeed, a figure with similar features appears as Pharaoh's daughter in the *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48), suggesting the way in which life and art intersect in Orazio's late career. One of the primary differences between the two versions of the *Finding of Moses*—that exhibited here and the one in the Prado, Madrid—is the way the second one, destined for Philip IV (fig. 87), is further distanced from life and posed models, which we know Orazio continued to use in London.

Vermeer's paintings belong to the Dutch tradition of *tronies*—paintings of heads done not as portraits but as studies of expression, type, physiognomy, or perhaps some exotic characteristic. Such pictures were intended as demonstration pieces. It is interesting to speculate on the possible relationship of Orazio's painting to this tradition. Certainly his picture reminds us how much these kinds of studies owe to the impetus provided by Caravaggio in Rome in the 1590s—for example, his portrait of the courtesan Filide that was owned by Vincenzo Giustiniani (formerly Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; destroyed). The fact that Orazio's painting originally showed the woman with an exposed breast also recalls the Venetian tradition of "portraits" of ideal beauties or courtesans, of which Giorgione's so-called portrait of Laura (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) is the key work. It is a shame that Longhi did not know the picture when he wrote his groundbreaking article on the Gentileschi in 1916, for he could scarcely have found a more powerful argument for the role he assigned Orazio as the middle term between Caravaggio and Vermeer, and for his notion of light as the keynote of Orazio's work.

1. The terminology is explained in Millar 1958–60, xix.
2. These inventory references are conveniently reprinted in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 99.
3. See Nutthall 1965, 302–9.
4. It is there asserted that the picture belonged to George IV and was displayed at Brighton Pavilion.
5. In Millar 1958–60, 38, 201.

Artemisia Gentileschi



Artemisia and Orazio Gentileschi

JUDITH W. MANN

Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi, father and daughter, entered the roster of twentieth-century art history together in the seminal 1916 article by the noted Caravaggio scholar Roberto Longhi. It is thus fitting that, eighty-five years later, we re-examine these two exceptional artists side by side, painting by painting. The Gentileschi Longhi wrote about and the Gentileschi we know today only partially overlap. Of the thirty-nine paintings he attributed to Orazio, fewer than half remain in the scholarly arena and only one-third of the works that he gave to Artemisia appear in the latest catalogue raisonné of her paintings, testimony to the maturation of the study of seicento art and to the methodological reorientation of the art-historical endeavor.[1]

After Longhi, critical attention to the Gentileschi came about in the context of exhibitions devoted to Caravaggio and his followers, within the admittedly loose context of Caravaggism. But even when scholarly consideration of Caravaggism was at its height, interest in Artemisia had begun to emerge in a quite different way. In 1947, Longhi's wife, Lucia Lopresti (under the pseudonym Anna Banti), published a novel about Artemisia that anticipated the feminist interest in the artist which blossomed in the 1980s. As Banti sought to understand the historical Artemisia, she also established the biases that continue to inform our ways of thinking about her. Ironically, while Banti struggled to come to terms with the circumscribed parameters of historiography, her focus on the Uffizi *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (which she interpreted as the artist's visual revenge on Agostino Tassi, the painter by whom she was raped in 1611; cat. 62) established its own delimiting framework that plagues us still. Although the novel was not widely read until much later (its translation into English in 1994 attracted a broader American readership), it contained the seeds of the predominating view of the artist. A second key moment in the developing interest in Artemisia came with the 1976 exhibition "Women Artists: 1550–1950," curated by Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, which raised Artemisia's profile by including six of her paintings, a surprisingly large sampling of her works (only Mary Cassatt and Georgia O'Keeffe had a greater number).[2] The seemingly inconsequential illustration of these six paintings (two in color) in the accompanying catalogue led to Artemisia's paintings (particularly the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant;* cat. 69) appearing more often in introductory courses on the history of art and surveys on Italian art of the seventeenth century. This burgeoning interest during the next decade was capped by Mary Garrard's insightful and provocative monograph of 1989, in which the author seeks to balance the interest in Artemisia's life with a thoughtful reading of her work. Garrard's book introduces a forceful creative personality that has helped to define Gentileschi's work, and while it argues for the validity of a creative female point of view, it cautions against perceiving the rape as a simple causal factor for interpreting Artemisia's paintings.

Nonetheless, a simple conception of the artist soon prevailed. The Uffizi *Judith* quickly became the exemplar of her entire oeuvre, an emblem of dramatic confrontation and female victory. It appears in more than a dozen survey texts of art history and is usually accompanied by commentary relating the painting to the rape. Artemisia Gentileschi's name now conjures up art that is dramatic, populated with uncompromisingly direct visualizations of forceful women, and integrally related to the events of her life. This characterization describes perhaps less than a quarter of her known paintings, and yet it persists.

Authors have lamented and rejected the now infamous labeling of Artemisia by the eminent historians of Italian Baroque art, Rudolf and Margot Wittkower, in 1963 as "a lascivious and precocious girl."[3] This characterization of Artemisia can be traced back

Opposite: Detail of *Saint Cecilia* (cat. 63)



Figure 95. Jérôme David (ca. 1605–after 1670), *Portrait of Artemisia Gentileschi*. Engraving after a painted self-portrait. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris

to posthumous epitaphs that describe her presumed cuckolding of her husband: "To carve two horns upon my husband's head, I put down the brush and took a chisel instead."[4] And it assumes that a woman who had succeeded in a male profession necessarily exploited her gender, if not her sexuality. Nonetheless, the creation of an oversimplified persona seems to have become the defining model for looking at the artist, and we have now exchanged one stereotype for another. Feminist scholarship has made a significant contribution to Gentileschi studies, as well as to the discipline of art history, but it is to the prevailing feminist construct that we owe our new stereotype. Without denying that gender can offer valid interpretive strategies for the investigation of Artemisia's art, we may wonder whether the application of gendered readings has created too narrow an expectation. Underpinning Garrard's monograph, and reiterated in a limited way by R. Ward Bissell in his catalogue raisonné, are certain presumptions: that Artemisia's full creative power emerged only in the depiction of strong, assertive women, that she would not engage in conventional religious imagery such as the Madonna and Child or a Virgin who responds with submission to the Annunciation, and that she refused to yield her personal interpretation to suit the tastes of her presumably male clientele. This stereotype has had the doubly restricting effect of causing scholars to question the attribution of pictures that do not conform to the model, and to value less highly those that do not fit the mold. My criticism here refers to what has shaped the popular view, particularly in the United States, of Artemisia's creative personality. A new generation of feminist scholars, particularly Mieke Bal and Griselda Pollock, have not correlated the life with the work, but have posed promising questions for further interpretive exploration.[5]

Current scholarship on Orazio is a bit different. Investigation of his work has included noteworthy contributions by Bissell (his 1981 catalogue raisonné remains the standard reference) as well as by Erich Schleier and Gabriele Finaldi.[6] Yet, in contrast to Artemisia's, Orazio's art remains the domain of the specialist and the connoisseur, and while a few of his paintings have become emblematic of the Caravaggesque tradition (the Hartford *Judith* [cat. 39] is an example), he has not garnered widespread public attention and, unlike Artemisia, he has not become a standard fixture in the college art-history curriculum. So, at century's end, Artemisia's profile, though highly visible, has tended to be based on generalizations, while Orazio's visibility remains undeservedly low and, also, in its own way, stereotyped.

This situation alone demonstrates the timeliness of the present exhibition. Both artists, for very different reasons, require an overview of their respective bodies of work. While a selection of Artemisia's paintings, presented in 1991 at the Casa Buonarroti, focused on the seven-year period she spent in Florence, and while Orazio's late English paintings were featured in an exhibition at the National Gallery, London, in 1999, neither painter has

received monographic treatment and works spanning the careers of both artists have never been exhibited together.

The timing for Artemisia is fortuitous. The present moment in Artemisia studies, after the 1999 publication of Bissell's monumental catalogue, finds us at a point where the full creative endeavor of the artist can now be explored in depth. While Bissell's omission of the two paintings from the Spada collection (cat. nos. 52, 63) and his unavoidable exclusion of the newly discovered *Self-Portrait as a Lute Player* (cat. 57) deprived us of some key works, his book presents an artist of wide-ranging sensibilities and stylistic variations. Bissell has brought several never-before-published paintings to a broader audience (including the *Aurora*, fig. 96), and his investigations have begun to separate works of the 1630s from those of the 1640s. With the cleaning and restoration of several important paintings within the last few years, we can now bring together a substantial sampling of Artemisia's creative output and present a more balanced and interesting artist, one who clearly followed her own instinct for narrative interpretation, but one who also was keenly attuned to the prospects of patronage that lay before her and the artistic milieus in which she worked.

One by-product of the feminist focus on Artemisia Gentileschi has been the assumption that, were she not female, she would not warrant the kind of scholarly and popular attention that she has received over the last thirty years. The poor condition, inaccessibility, and often murky published photographs of many of her paintings have supported this negative interpretation and precluded a full appreciation of key pictures. The considered study of paintings selected from the entire breadth of the artist's career can now challenge that implication as it questions other misguided assessments.

The timing for examining Orazio's work is also opportune. While there are few of the problems of attribution that plague the study of Artemisia, many issues of dating and chronology—and thus of interpretation—remain unresolved. Only one of the approximately sixty pictures is dated, and although some new supporting documents have come to light since the publication in 1981 of Bissell's catalogue raisonné, many works have been placed at widely divergent moments in his life. That these issues are still pressing was illustrated by the response to the London *Mocking of Christ* (cat. 49), which was presented as a late work in the National Gallery exhibition (as it is here), but about which a number of viewers expressed the opinion that it should be placed in his early Roman period.[7] Thanks to documentary discoveries, we now know that three altarpieces by Orazio (cat. nos. 7, 9, 11) were painted within a year or so of one another rather than over almost two decades, as Bissell posited. Moreover, what he believed to be the earliest of the three—the *Baptism of Christ* in Santa Maria della Pace (cat. 11)—proves to have been the latest. A comparison of the chronology put forward here with that argued in Bissell's book only emphasizes the need to rethink assumptions about Orazio's development and his contribution to seicento painting. This exhibition, with its remarkable representation of his work, provides an ideal—indeed, a unique—opportunity for just such a reconsideration.

Directly linked to a proper evaluation of Orazio's place in the seventeenth century is an understanding of his patronage. Who were the major collectors of his work, and what part did they play in shaping his art? Both Livia Carloni and Keith Christiansen (see their essays in this publication) attempt to sketch in the network of patrons that sustained him and that led to the magnificent series of altarpieces painted for Ancona and Fabriano in the Marches, works that pose fundamental issues pertaining to the religious thought and culture they seem to exemplify.

Students of the artist have long known the importance of the Genoese patron Giovan Antonio Sauli and his relationship with the artist. Yet none of the paintings that Orazio produced for him during the approximately three years he spent in Genoa were accessible to the public until 1999, when the J. Paul Getty Museum purchased one of the three, the *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 37). The other two, the *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 35) and the *Danaë* (cat. 36), are in private collections. For the first time since the eighteenth century, these paintings have been brought together. The means by which Orazio produced variants and replicas of these works for other important clients is also investigated with surprising results.

In much of the literature, Orazio's career after he left Rome in 1621 is seen as a period of decline. If his paintings are evaluated in terms of their adherence to Caravaggism, this judgment is the inevitable result. But here it is argued that in many respects the Genoese paintings mark the high point of his career, that for Orazio Caravaggism was a prelude to the creation of a highly individual poetics, one indebted to Bolognese traditions as well as to Caravaggio. Although the pictures he painted in Paris and



Figure 96. Artemisia Gentileschi, *Aurora.* Oil on canvas. Private collection, Rome

London may not appeal to modern taste, they surely raise interpretive questions as interesting as those raised by his earlier pictures and reveal an artist keenly responsive to the ambient in which he worked.

A single exhibition devoted to both Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi can accomplish the important task of providing the essential overview of each painter. Given the relatively small size of the known oeuvres of both artists, it is possible, without taxing the patience and stamina of all but the most ardent students of the Baroque, to represent the full scope of each career. But a joint exhibition offers far more opportunities for discovery. Anyone who has delved into recent scholarship on the Gentileschi knows that they are not always perceived as independent artists. Indeed, there remain a few paintings that carry convincing attributions to each—pictures that were probably produced when father and daughter worked together in Rome, from about 1609 (Orazio wrote, in a letter of 1612, that Artemisia had been painting for three years) until 1612 or 1613, at which time Artemisia left Rome following the ordeal of the rape trial.[8]

The key work in this regard is the *Susanna and the Elders* from Pommersfelden (cat. 51). Signed by Artemisia and dated 1610 and presumably the earliest of her paintings, the *Susanna* has engendered much discussion concerning the role of Orazio in his daughter's artistic development. Early confusion over the year of Artemisia's birth (originally thought to be 1597 until her baptismal records of 1593 were published by Bissell in 1968) had caused scholars to question the authenticity of the signature and date, raising doubts that it could actually be by Artemisia's hand.[9] While most scholars now accept Artemisia's participation in the execution of this picture, they have offered a full spectrum of opinion on Orazio's role, ranging from his nearly total responsibility for the work to a belief that it is solely the creation of Artemisia.[10] Included in both "Women Artists" and the Casa Buonarroti exhibition, the picture has never been evaluated alongside important early paintings by Orazio. Certainly, such an evaluation is the necessary first stage in determining whether Orazio assisted Artemisia in this project, and, if so, how.

Evidence indicates that Orazio was an ardent champion of his daughter. The often quoted letter that he wrote to Cristina of Lorraine, grand duchess of Tuscany, in 1612 suggests that he acted almost as her agent. He wrote that Artemisia "has in three years become so skilled that I can venture to say that today she has no peer; indeed, she has produced works which demonstrate a level of understanding that perhaps even the principal masters of the profession have not attained, as I will show Your Very Serene Highness at the proper time and place."[11] Might he not have guided his daughter's execution of the *Susanna*, correcting at times, perhaps even working with her on preparatory drawings? While there is no evidence that such drawings were used, the extraordinary accomplishment of the seated figure of Susanna suggests prolonged study and reworking. The newly discovered oval panel, the *Allegory of Painting* (fig. 97), in which the sophisticated depiction of the hand and face is more advanced than the handling of the costume and drapery, indicates that the very young Artemisia, perhaps under the tutelage of her father, must have devoted considerable effort to the representation of the human figure and the description of anatomical details.

The painting that more or less launched the present exhibition is the small copper *Danaë* (cat. 54) that the Saint Louis Art Museum acquired in 1986 amid a flurry of debate. Attributed to Orazio at the Sotheby's Monaco sale, many scholars at the time were convinced



Figure 97. Artemisia Gentileschi, *Allegory of Painting*. Oil on wood. Location unknown

that the painting was by Artemisia. Although exhibited in Saint Louis as by Artemisia, it remains a controversial work, as does the larger, related canvas from the Morandotti collection in Milan, the magnificent *Cleopatra* (cat. nos. 17, 53).[12] Neither picture has been assigned securely to either painter, nor do scholars agree on their dates of execution. The two paintings have not been exhibited together, and perhaps they were never intended as a pair. It is hoped that the opportunity to examine both pictures in the context of this exhibition will help to resolve these questions of attribution. Given the prominent role that the *Cleopatra* has played in Garrard's and Pollock's feminist readings of Artemisia, the clarification of issues relating to connoisseurship remains crucial to an understanding of her career.[13] Should the painting now gain acceptance within Orazio's oeuvre, it will not only reinforce our understanding of his study of the model during the time he was training his daughter, but enable important discussions on the role of gender and its application as a tool for connoisseurship and interpretation.[14]

The correct assignment of the *Danaë* offers as well promising rewards in understanding both artists. If it is a work by Artemisia done as a variant interpretation of Orazio's *Cleopatra,* it would represent the only known instance in which she appropriated so closely an entire figure from his oeuvre. This kind of examination may open the way to a better understanding of how the Gentileschi workshop functioned in these early years and illuminate the role of patrons in the early careers of the two painters. As a work that dates to around the time of the rape, it forces us to come to terms with an image of overt sexuality produced at the moment Artemisia was going through the duress of the trial. Its presentation of a sexually available heroine not necessarily in control of her fate challenges the tendency to see a strong autobiographical component in Artemisia's paintings, according to which the rape experience is thought to have spurred the artist to represent forceful women who shape their own destiny. A firm attribution to Artemisia may also afford feminist scholars an opportunity to expand on Pollock's acknowledgment of the indirect nature of expression in the artistic production of women. This painting, which embraces rather than rejects sexuality and voyeurism, prompts us to ask why a woman, so soon after her own sexual abuse, should undertake the presentation of a mythological heroine engaged in a sexual act from which she so clearly derives pleasure.[15] Should the *Danaë* prove to be the work of Orazio, as Bissell argues, we must recognize a more varied approach to narrative in his Roman paintings and wonder why he never again experimented as boldly with the expressive potential of a single figure.

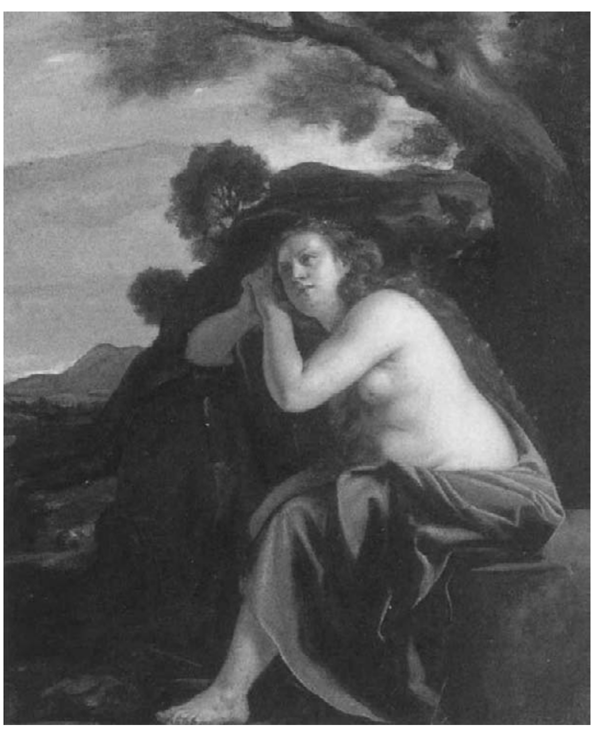


Figure 98. Attributed to Artemisia or Orazio Gentileschi, *Penitent Magdalene.* Oil on copper. Walpole Galleries, London

Other paintings that have been published under both Orazio's and Artemisia's names include the Oslo *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 13), the Naples *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 55), and, recently, the Milan *Lucretia* (cat. 67). Although there are fewer differences of opinion about their attribution than is the case with the *Cleopatra* and the *Danaë,* being able to view them in the context of the output of both painters may put lingering doubts to rest.[16] Recently, Gianni Papi has identified the *Lucretia* as a work by Orazio.[17] While this suggestion has not been fully evaluated by scholars, the present exhibition offers the ideal venue for examining this extraordinary image (seen recently in the context of several exhibitions) within the oeuvre of both painters.[18] Of course, not all the pictures that have disputed attributions are represented. A *Penitent Magdalene* on copper, currently on the London art market (fig. 98), has elicited the same dichotomous opinion as the *Cleopatra* and the *Danaë.* In 1998 and 1999, it was included in the exhibition "Copper as Canvas" (Phoenix–Kansas City–

The Hague) ascribed to Orazio, after having been sold at Sotheby's in 1996 as by Artemisia. Bissell, the scholar most comfortably conversant with both artists' work, has reversed his attribution from Artemisia to Orazio.[19] However, the curators of the present exhibition find no compelling argument for assigning it to either painter.

Beyond clarification of attribution, a viewing of the two artists together provides a means for examining the most generally acknowledged aspect of the Gentileschi—their Caravaggism. While some have argued that the designation *Caravaggisti* resists uniformity and cannot be understood as a movement or school per se (indeed, Caravaggio, unlike his great Bolognese contemporary Annibale Carracci, did not take on pupils), it does address key aspects of the style of those painters who worked in Rome in the early seventeenth century or came, through various avenues, into contact with Caravaggio's powerful tenebrist style.[20] The discussion of the Caravaggesque influences on Orazio and Artemisia has informed nearly all interpretations of their art, and their paintings when seen side by side will surely refine our understanding of the ways in which Caravaggio's radical naturalism shaped their early development.

The two artists had very different experiences of Caravaggio. Orazio established contact with him in 1600, shortly after the unveiling of the Lombard master's first public commission, in San Luigi dei Francesi; they were initially on friendly terms and, according to Orazio's testimony in the 1603 libel trial brought by Baglione, even shared studio props.[21] By the time he encountered Caravaggio's paintings, Orazio had been trained and had worked in a late-Mannerist tradition, evident in the *Saint Ursula* he painted at the abbey of Farfa and in the early *Madonna and Child with Saints Sebastian and Francis* (cat. 1), in which we encounter a stiffness and lack of formal cohesion and an ambiguity in the treatment of space. By the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, he was working directly from the model and embraced a meticulously observed naturalism. By the 1620s, while he never lost the power of tactility or delicately modeled form, his work shows a greater elegance, and there are echoes of a Bolognese classicism in his focus on the artfully posed figure (see the Hartford *Judith* [cat. 39] and the Nantes *Diana* [cat. 47]). Late in his career, this nascent Mannerism sometimes burst forth in his most refined works. In paintings such as the *Finding of Moses* (cat. 48), he adopts a courtly style, attenuating his figures and adjusting their forms as he seeks to transcend strict references to the natural world.

Artemisia's knowledge of Caravaggio was indirect and came in stages. As Patrizia Cavazzini makes clear (see pp. 286–90), her artistic education in early-Baroque Rome was extremely limited. Chaperoned wherever she went, she knew only some of Caravaggio's paintings. While she must have visited prominent churches, such as Santa Maria del Popolo (the Gentileschi's parish), and would certainly have seen the Cerasi chapel with Caravaggio's *Conversion of Saint Paul,* we can't be sure that she knew his Saint Matthew cycle in the Contarelli chapel, and privately owned paintings were probably inaccessible to her. Undoubtedly, she first understood the revolutionary qualities of Caravaggio's vision through her father's work, paintings that Orazio prepared in the studio in the years prior to her own artistic debut in 1610, and perhaps also, to a lesser extent, through selected pictures by the Lombard master himself. In Florence, she must have met the Neapolitan Caravaggesque artist Giovanni Battista Caracciolo (1578–1635; he was there in 1618) and become more profoundly acquainted with Caravaggio's work when she returned to Rome in 1620. As a married woman and an established painter, she had the opportunity to see a fuller range of Caravaggio's canvases. This renewed experience of Caravaggio, however, was inevitably colored by the work of other Caravaggesque painters working in Rome. She obviously learned from Simon Vouet (Garrard has plausibly suggested a friendship between Artemisia and his artist wife, Virginia da Vezzo) and she must have known the paintings of Bartolomeo Manfredi as well.[22] Gerrit van Honthorst has been cited as a source for her imagery and expressive vocabulary, and she may also have known Cecco del Caravaggio and the French Caravaggisti Valentin de Boulogne and Nicolas Tournier.

When she moved to Naples, about 1630, Artemisia came to know yet another group of Caravaggesque painters, as well as Caravaggio's own Neapolitan canvases. She again came into contact with Caracciolo, and seems to have been changed by the art of Jusepe de Ribera. She knew Francesco Guarino, worked with Paolo Finoglia, and collaborated with Massimo Stanzione and, quite possibly, Bernardo Cavallino. As Riccardo Lattuada points out (see pp. 382–86), the old assumption that Artemisia was the main conduit for Caravaggism in Naples cannot be sustained, and in fact the main reason for her relocation to Naples may have been her understanding that there was in that city a taste for Caravaggesque paintings.[23] Be that as it may, during the last two

decades of her career, Caravaggism remained one of several sources that she tapped as she moved to a more rhetorical and decorous style. In her late work, unrefined naturalism and observed details of physiognomy and form are less in evidence.

One area in which Artemisia adhered to an accurate transcription of details is in her painstaking depiction of weaponry. Among the seven paintings in the exhibition that include swords or daggers, she has taken great pains to describe weapons accurately and with great precision[24]— the falchion in the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 69), for example, or the gauntlet on the table and the scabbard for the sword. This aspect of Artemisia's style, however, relates less to the physicality of objects and the study of light and surface than to an interest in the subjects and the feasibility of the events portrayed.

Herein lies the single most important way in which the sensibilities of Artemisia and Orazio diverge. Although Artemisia does not seek the accuracy of surface and texture that engaged her father, early on she evinced an interest in rendering narrative in a believable manner. Orazio rarely demonstrates such attunement to the dramatic details of his stories. His protagonists often assume masterful poses but rarely poses that further the narrative. In his early work, the *Saint Michael and the Devil* (cat. 14), Michael rests his left knee on a bank of clouds, and Orazio's convincing replication of the soft clouds makes it look as if the knee will be enveloped and thus not provide the stable support the archangel will need to rout his foe. In the later Hartford *Judith,* Orazio achieves an arrestingly beautiful rendition of Judith and her maidservant as they prepare to exit Holofernes' camp, but one that makes little narrative sense. While the two women should be engaged in a common pursuit, to wrap Holofernes' head and depart quickly before their deed is discovered, they seem to be working at cross-purposes. As with many of Orazio's compositions, a moment of potential drama is transformed into an emblematic, formal beauty. The figures appear contrived and arranged, the action arrested. This does not imply a failure in terms of Orazio's skill and the beauty of his paintings, but it does differentiate his approach to representation from that of Artemisia.

Artemisia's renderings of the Judith narrative show her thinking through how these situations could have come about, even at the expense of formal niceties. In the Naples *Judith* (cat. 55), beyond the awkwardly posed arms of the heroine and the problematic scale of Holofernes' hand, is the sense that the women had a plan. Abra uses her weight to hold the sleeping general down while Judith decapitates him. In the *Jael and Sisera* (cat. 61), Jael kneels down to drive the nail into Sisera's temple, with her dress falling over the sleeping general's hand, in a pose that allows her to carry out her task. Few other representations of Jael position her in such a way that she can actually hammer the peg without losing her balance or missing the mark. The Susanna in the painting from Burghley House (cat. 65) attempts to draw her cast-off linen chemise around her. While the pose itself is based on an ancient type of Venus statuary and is in some ways already a cliché by the seventeenth century, most artists depicted a generic length of sheet or richly colored drape, more for effect than specifically to illustrate Susanna's clothing. For the topmost elder, Artemisia has selected a pose that aptly encapsulates the power of lust and voyeurism, in which he pushes down on his partner as he strains to catch a glimpse of Susanna's body.

Through her pictures of the 1620s and 1630s, Artemisia continued to display these kinds of narrative concerns. Even in the works from the mid-1630s, in which she shows less overt drama or action, she weds her compositions to the details of her stories. The composition of the Columbus *David and Bathsheba* (cat. 80) seems designed to focus on the protagonist's toilette and beauty and the supporting actions of the three maids as they set about their tasks. The grouping of the figures in the *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 78) is a skilled arrangement in which the sequence of the story is indicated through the poses of the figures and the repetition of certain shared forms. The father will have sexual relations first with one daughter and then the other. The repetition of the attitudes of father and daughter (both in yellow) suggests that such coupling has already occurred, while the daughter with the jug who approaches from the left is about to ply him with wine.

One of the most revealing moments in the parallel stories of Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi is the early period of the third decade. When Pope Paul V Borghese (r. 1605–21) died and Gregory XV Ludovisi (r. 1621–23) replaced him, Orazio left for Genoa, where he produced some of his most compelling pictures for one of the most important patrons of his career—Giovan Antonio Sauli.[25] The three Sauli paintings—the *Penitent Magdalene,* the *Danaë,* and the *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. nos. 35–37)—while they feature Caravaggesque elements, also mark a turning point in Orazio's stylistic development, a development that was possible

only after he had quit Rome once and for all; and it was outside this artistic ambient that his stylistic maturity was realized.

At this same time, Artemisia ended her seven-year sojourn in Florence and returned to Rome, where she had been working since 1620 and where she realized that she could carve out a successful career. Although we are unsure of the exact dates of her departure and relocation, documentary evidence verifies her presence in Rome by 1621, and a letter written in Florence to Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici announces her intention of going there as early as February 1620.[26] In 1621, Artemisia sold the contents of her Florence studio to Francesco Maringhi (see appendix 3), perhaps to help finance the move. In 1622, she painted the Burghley House *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 65), which offers a very different interpretation of the subject from that of her debut composition of 1610 (cat. 51) and seems an obvious nod to the tastes of the newly elected Bolognese pope and his favored nephew, Ludovico, both ardent champions of their compatriots, such as Guido Reni, Guercino, and Annibale Carracci.[27] The present condition of the painting has prompted questions as to whether it is fully autograph. But if indeed the picture is in fact by Artemisia it will underscore the already acknowledged changeability of her work. Having recently left Florence, with her sights set on Rome, Artemisia sized up the way the artistic winds were blowing and showed herself quite capable of providing her would-be patron with a surprising image, one that extends beyond her earlier interpretive expression and stylistic vocabulary. This is the Artemisia who prompted Mina Gregori to write that we must not "undervalue her exceptional (and one could say feminine) receptive capacity and her adaptation to her environment."[28] One may question whether this adaptation is a distinctly female response. Nevertheless, the ascription of this painting to Artemisia means that we can now evaluate still undiscovered or misattributed paintings that may not conform to such a narrow definition of her style.

The careers of the Gentileschi document key aspects of the development and dissemination of the Baroque style. For all practical purposes, both careers began in the ambient of Counter-Reformation Rome, where the foundations of Baroque art were established. Although the manner in which these artists experienced Rome and contemporary Roman art was vastly different, their art was shaped to some degree by Rome and its artistic milieu. Artemisia moved to Florence in 1613 and was ushered into the lively circle of the court of Cosimo II de' Medici. She returned to Rome during the 1620s, the decade that witnessed the emergence of Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) and the beginning of the papacy of Urban VIII (r. 1623–44), which made Rome an environment in which Baroque art could flourish. Artemisia's peripatetic life—she left Rome in the 1620s, traveled to Venice toward the end of the decade, and settled in Naples—was not uncharacteristic for contemporary artists. The French painter Simon Vouet (1590–1649) went to Venice around the same time, as did the German artist Johann Liss (ca. 1595/1600–1631), who had been in Rome in the first half of the decade but who returned to Venice in the 1620s. Artemisia's arrival in Naples coincided with the period in which the city, already the second largest city in Europe, emerged as an important center for the visual arts.

In the 1620s, Orazio was in Rome, but he completed a number of commissions in the Marches. He then went to Genoa, then Paris, and finally served as court painter to Charles I (r. 1625–49) in London, beginning in 1626. His movement northward parallels, in a somewhat limited way, the development of other centers of Baroque art—Paris in the second half of the century and Versailles in the last three decades. Charles I was arguably the most important collector of his age, and the arrival of paintings at the English court had profound implications for later artists. While the experience of the Gentileschi did not typify that of all seventeenth-century artists, the sort of itinerant careers that both artists led and the specific places they worked cover some of the major geography of the Baroque style.

One aspect of the Gentileschi that still resists full understanding is the relationship between the two painters after Artemisia left Rome and even during the time they spent together in London at the end of the 1630s. Substantial visual evidence suggests some sort of artistic dialogue continued throughout their lives, beyond Orazio's role of mentor. Banti suggests a familial bond between the two painters, and Alexandra Lapierre's recent fictionalized account of the relationship between the two artists emphasizes the strong tie that drew Artemisia to her father. And while her dependence on him has at times been overstated, scholars have found in Artemisia's paintings confirmation of his continuing influence.[29] For example, Gregori, followed by Garrard and Bissell, has noted that Artemisia's Rome *Cleopatra* (cat. 76), a work she probably painted in the 1630s, was dependent on Orazio's *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 35), although it is also possible



Figure 99. Artemisia Gentileschi, *Rape of Lucretia*. Oil on canvas. Neues Palais, Potsdam



Figure 100. Artemisia Gentileschi, *David and Bathsheba*. Oil on canvas. Neues Palais, Potsdam

that she knew an engraving of a similar figure done by Claude Mellan (1598–1688) which may in turn have been based on Orazio's painting.[30] In Artemisia's late *Rape of Lucretia* (fig. 99), a work obviously based on Titian's prototype (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), Lucretia's pose is derived from the figure of Saint Francis in Orazio's early altarpiece in San Silvestro in Capite (cat. 25).

Unfortunately, the present exhibition will not be able to throw light on the two years Artemisia spent in London. Other than the magnificent *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting* (cat. 81), we have no certain attributions during this time. This period of her career remains the great uncharted portion of her life. The motivation and circumstances of her trip to London, just prior to Orazio's death in 1639, remain shrouded in mystery. Artemisia does not figure in her father's will, drawn up in the early part of 1639. On the basis of this documentation, Gabriele Finaldi has argued that she must not yet have arrived in London, ruling out her participation in the ceiling paintings for the Queen's House at Greenwich (fig. 85), which had been installed by the middle of 1638.[31] However, her inheritance would probably already have been doled out to her in her dowry, and therefore her omission from the will is not proof that she was not in London. We cannot verify that Artemisia arrived before the canvases were finished in 1638, and the poor state of preservation of these paintings precludes any definitive judgment of her style.[32] Why, then, did Artemisia go to London? Her letters of 1635 indicate that she was an unwilling recipient of Charles's patronage. She was undoubtedly a devout Catholic and the prospect of working for a Protestant king may have elicited from her the same response experienced by Guercino, who described such employment as "dealing with heretics."[33] Familial loyalty was perhaps a factor, and she went to assist her father. Or possibly she was finally ready to quit Naples and was therefore open to other commissions, however disagreeable. In 1636, she wrote to Andrea Cioli, secretary of state to Cosimo II: "I have no further desire to stay in Naples, both because of the fighting and because of the hard life and the high cost of living." Naples suffered an earthquake in 1638–39, and after having already lived through one in 1631, Artemisia was in

all likelihood ready to leave; the only situation that presented itself (in spite of concerted effort on her part to go elsewhere) was the Caroline court. Elizabeth Cropper's hypothesis (see p. 270), that Artemisia was employed as an emissary, a suitable successor to her father, may be correct, but this would explain why she was sought by the king, not necessarily why she overcame her initial reluctance to go. The trip was an arduous and dangerous one, requiring at least two to three weeks and entailing considerable discomfort. It could have been made entirely by sea (Livorno to London), entirely by land (through the Mont Cenis Pass and the city of Lyon), or by sea and land in combination, surely a journey not lightly undertaken.

Our assessment of this period and of Artemisia's career and of her attitude toward the work of her father remains of fundamental importance for our understanding of her final Neapolitan period (1640/42–52/53), the more than ten years she spent in Naples after her return from London. We have no evidence that she was in Naples continuously; nor do we know that she traveled. Regrettably, this phase of Artemisia's career cannot be well represented in the exhibition. Few of the late paintings are extant, and the masterworks, the two beautiful paintings in the Neues Palais in Potsdam (figs. 99, 100), could not be removed from their setting (they are affixed to the wall) at the time of the exhibition. Currently, there are approximately one dozen paintings believed to date from the 1640s. Bissell lists twelve, of which eight seem to me to be reasonable attributions. Of these, three represent Bathsheba. It has been argued that Artemisia's repetition of a single composition testifies to her success in Naples (patrons as a rule requested popular works). But it has also been claimed that she became a far less imaginative and innovative artist while she was there. One is reminded of her letter to Don Antonio Ruffo of November 13, 1649, in which she was obviously responding to her patron's apprehension that she would not provide an original composition: "There was no need for you to urge me to do this, since by the grace of God and the Most Holy Virgin, they [clients] come to a woman with this kind of talent, that is, to vary the subjects in my painting; never has anyone found in my pictures any repetition of invention, not even of one hand."[34] Such an acknowledgment does not necessarily confirm diminished artistic vision, nor does it tell us her pictures were so popular that, incapable of meeting the demands of her clients, she was forced to repeat earlier compositions again and again. We simply do not know.



Figure 101. Artemisia Gentileschi, *David and Bathsheba*. Oil on canvas. Private collection, Vienna

Yet, this preponderance of late *Bathshebas* may create a new stereotype of Artemisia during her last decade. Knowing that she repeated the theme of Bathsheba in similar compositions, we expect her to repeat others and are predisposed to reject pictures that do not fit the mold. There may be other, less predictable paintings that have not yet been added to her oeuvre because they deviate from this expectation. One example is the small *Virgin and Child with a Rosary* from the Escorial (cat. 84), which, on first viewing, appears to be almost inconsistent with her production and which, in spite of a signature, still does not have universal acceptance.[35]

On the basis of the opulent appointments and elegant surfaces of the late *Bathshebas*, some have formed the opinion that Artemisia returned from London reacquainted with the work of her father, having just seen the sumptuous late paintings that he made for the English court. And indeed, her attention to surface and detail, already noticeable in the 1630s, is surely evidence of a renewed interest in his stylistic temperament. Although the Columbus *Bathsheba* (cat. 80) is marked by a tone of poetic reverie, the later reformulations of the story focus on surface richness and material opulence. In this way, the *Bathshebas* in the Uffizi and in a private collection (fig. 101), for instance, relate closely to Orazio's

late *Finding of Moses* in the Prado (fig. 87) or the *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* in Hampton Court (fig. 88). Certainly, some of this resemblance can be explained simply by Artemisia's voracious receptivity to the work of a range of artists, Orazio among them. The direct influence of one of Orazio's London paintings can be discerned in at least three of her late *Bathshebas*, exemplified by the version in Potsdam. The lovely figure carrying the water bucket at the left is undoubtedly based on a figure in Orazio's *Apollo and the Nine Muses* (fig. 93). By looking at the one picture in the exhibition that definitely dates to the 1640s, the *Susanna and the Elders* from Brno (signed and dated 1649; cat. 83), and seeing it together with Orazio's late canvases, we can begin to test the possible impact that Orazio's late art had on the final phase of Artemisia's career.

However, our assessment of the degree to which Artemisia relied on the work of her father in these late years is skewed by the small number of extant paintings and by the implicit acceptance of the Bathsheba pictures as emblematic of her late style. This paucity of examples is offset by a particularly dense documentation of her life through her letters. Nearly half the surviving correspondence was written between 1649 and 1651, although it is difficult to know why. Admittedly, our comprehension of Artemisia's entire career is still plagued by conflict and inconsistency. The work often contradicts the evidence of documents and contemporary biographies, and may therefore not be representative. Early biographers tell us that she was known for her portraiture, although no certain examples other than the *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* (cat. 66) exist. Similarly, the Florentine biographer Filippo Baldinucci, writing in 1681, lauded her talent at painting still lifes of fruit, although there is only one possible candidate.[36] Bissell published 108 lost works, and even if some of them are duplicate references, they outnumber the known works nearly two to one.[37] This is not unusual for artists before the nineteenth century, but, given the changeable nature of Artemisia's style, we are reminded that we have a far from accurate picture. The 1640s are perhaps the most problematic period to decipher. Artemisia Gentileschi is still a work in progress. While we may not yet be in a position to offer a definitive assessment, we can abandon the narrow stereotype of one view or another and accept this extraordinary artist as she presents herself—as incomplete as this picture is—and look forward to more of the unexpected.

1. Longhi (1916) lists forty paintings by Orazio, of which fifteen have general acceptance as autograph works: *Presentation in the Temple*, Rome; *Saint Thaddeus*, Rome; *Baptism of Christ*, Rome; *Saint Francis with an Angel*, Rome (cat. 21); *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, Rome (cat. 26); frescoes in the Casino of the Muses, Rome; *Madonna and Child*, Rome (cat. 4); *Vision of Saint Cecilia*, Milan (cat. 9); *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath*, Rome (cat. 18); *Annunciation*, Genoa; *Annunciation*, Turin (cat. 43); *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, Vienna (cat. 45); *Saint Mary Magdalene in Penitence*, Vienna; *The Finding of Moses*, Madrid; *The Finding of Moses*, private collection (cat. 48).

   He lists thirty-one paintings by Artemisia, and of these eleven are currently accepted as authentic works: *Allegory of Inclination*, Florence; *Judith and Her Maidservant*, Florence (cat. 60); *Conversion of the Magdalene*, Florence (cat. 58); *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, Naples (cat. 55); *Annunciation*, Naples (cat. 72); *Judith and Holofernes*, Naples; *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting (La Pittura)*, London (cat. 81); *Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, Madrid (cat. 77); *Saints Proculus and Nicea*, Pozzuoli; *Adoration of the Magi*, Pozzuoli; *Saint Januarius in the Amphitheater*, Pozzuoli (cat. 79).
2. The exhibition included seven paintings and prints by Cassatt and seven works by O'Keeffe; Los Angeles 1976–77, 237–43, 300–306.
3. Wittkower and Wittkower 1963, 164.
4. As translated in Barthes et al. 1979, p. 41. The Italian reads: "Ne l'intagliar le corna a mio marito/Lasciai il pennello, e presi lo scalpello" (Battisti 1963). For other poems written about Artemisia after her death, less pointedly sexual in their descriptions but nonetheless focusing on Artemisia's physical beauty, see Bissell 1999, 166–68.
5. See in particular Pollock 1999, 97–167, and Bal 1996, 289–311.
6. Schleier first published the Farnese *Saint Michael* in 1962 and the late *Crowning with Thorns* in 1993, and with Diane De Grazia in 1994 recognized Orazio's shared authorship with Giovanni Lanfranco of the Washington *Saint Cecilia and the Angel*.

   Finaldi's 1999 exhibition "Orazio Gentileschi at the Court of Charles I" (London–Bilbao–Madrid) was the first devoted to Orazio and offered new archival material on his London period. It also presented the first opportunity to see his two versions of the *Finding of Moses* exhibited together.
7. McEwen (1999) noted the close affinity of Orazio's *Mocking of Christ* to his period of closest involvement with Caravaggio, suggesting it appeared to reflect more directly Caravaggio's influence. While no published reviews questioned the dating of this work, many exhibition visitors wondered whether the picture might not have been created earlier in Orazio's career. Schleier (1993) argued for placing the picture in Orazio's Genoese period.
8. See note 10 below.
9. Patrizia Cavazzini has found that Artemisia did not sign her depositions presented in the 1612 trial. In her view, this was because Artemisia did not know how to write, not even in simple block letters. Therefore, this calls into question who actually painted Artemisia's signature on the stone bench in the Pommersfelden painting.
10. Opinions as to the extent of Orazio's participation in the Pommersfelden painting vary widely. Before documentation came to light that established 1593 as the year of Artemisia's birth, the accepted date was 1597. Many scholars had difficulty believing that a thirteen-year-old girl would have had the ability to paint a canvas

with the technical sophistication of the *Susanna and the Elders.* As a result, Longhi (1943), Emiliani (1958b), Moir (1967), and Gregori (1968) attribute the painting entirely to Orazio. Some scholars, believing the date on the painting originally to have been 1616 or 1619, support an attribution to Artemisia: Ortolani (in Naples 1938), Borea (in Florence 1970), Marini (1981), and Rave (in Nürnberg 1989). Harris (in Los Angeles 1976–77), Garrard (1989), Spike (1991b), and Bissell (1999) all support an attribution to Artemisia but acknowledge her father's help in the design and execution of the piece (although Spike and Bissell argue for substantially more assistance from Orazio). Voss (1925), Harris (1989), Lippincott (1990), Papi and Contini (in Florence 1991), and Hersey (1993) all argue for Artemisia as the sole artist.

11. For the full text, see Tanfani-Centofanti 1897, 221–24.
12. For a summary of the opinions on the attributions of both paintings, see Mann 1996, 44 n. 2, 45 n. 5.
13. Garrard (1989, 244–73) devotes an entire essay to the *Cleopatra* as evidence of Artemisia's gendered interpretation of forceful female models, in this case a powerful queen shown just as she gains everlasting life, where the artist has transformed the death-delivering asp into a symbol of "divine immortality." Pollock (1999, 138–53) uses the painting to explore the indirect ways in which traumatic experience (in this case, the death of Artemisia's mother) can inform and inspire works of art.
14. For an overview of recent psychoanalytic and feminist analyses of Artemisia's works, see Spear 2000, 569–71. For the most recent discussion of gender as a tool for connoisseurship, see Garrard 2001, 1–6.
15. Pollock deals with this theme in 1999, chap. 5 (97–127), "The Female Hero."
16. Spike (1991b) raised the interesting possibility that Orazio was the artist of the Naples canvas. This attribution accounts, in his view, for the differences between the dramatic handling of the Capodimonte *Judith* and the more decorative, yet harder, treatment he notes in the Uffizi *Judith.*
17. Papi 2000, 451.
18. Genoa 1999–2000, 330, and Düsseldorf–Darmstadt 1995–96, 300–301 no. 146.
19. Bissell 1999, 338. See also the essay by Roberto Contini, in this publication.
20. Most studies devoted to the influence of Caravaggio acknowledge the wide disparity among those artists seen as followers and the tendency of most artists to adapt only one aspect of his style. Pepper (1987, 3–4) questions the validity of this label.
21. For a transcription in English of Orazio's deposition at the libel suit instigated by Giovanni Baglione in 1603, see Friedlaender 1955, 278–79.
22. Garrard (1989, 70, 504 n. 116) has argued that, given the proximity of the dwellings of Vouet and Artemisia and their shared patrons, it is logical to assume that they would have become friends.
23. See Gregori (in Naples 1984–85, 147), who notes that this view has changed and that Artemisia is instead seen as having learned from her experience of the art and the forces at work in Naples during the 1630s rather than having introduced new stylistic direction.
24. Thanks to Walter J. Karcheski, Senior Curator, Department of Arms and Armor, Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Mass., who was kind enough to share his vast knowledge with me; and also to Stuart Pyhrr, Curator in Charge, Department of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, who passed along valuable information on Artemisia's weapons via Keith Christiansen.
25. Soprani 1674, 316–17.
26. For the letter, see Crinò 1954, 205–6. For an English translation, see Garrard 1989, 377. The letter itself is dated February 10, 1619, as the calendar in use ended the year in March, just before the feast of the Annunciation (March 25). The modern date is, therefore, given as 1620. The newly discovered inventory for the sale of Artemisia's household and studio furnishings (appendix 3) indicates that she may have stayed in Florence until as late as February 1621 or (more likely, in my view) that she returned to Florence from Rome to settle her personal affairs.
27. On the collection of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, the papal nephew, see Wood 1992, 515–23.
28. Gregori in Naples 1984–85, 150.
29. Lapierre 1998, esp. 13–17, 396–407; 2000, 3–6, 345–47.
30. Gregori in Naples 1984–85, 306; Garrard 1989, 106; Bissell 1999, 230.
31. Finaldi (1999, 32, 37 n. 84) cites a record of payment in the building accounts covering October 1637 to September 1638 for "putting up the Queen's canvases." He argues that this must refer to something more elaborate than the simple hanging of pictures and therefore associates it with the installation of the set of nine canvases for the Queen's House at Greenwich.
32. I wish to thank Patrizia Cavazzini for this information.
33. Malvasia (1678, vol. 2, part 4, 366) lists the reasons that Guercino, having been invited to the English court, chose not to go there, including "non volendo conversar con heretici. . . ."
34. Translated in Garrard 1989, 397.
35. Garrard (2001, 9) asserts that the attribution of the painting to Artemisia represents the perpetuation of "the inflated construct of Artemisia-the-beautiful." This judgment illustrates the difficulty in evaluating paintings that deviate from the established stylistic norms, and, to my mind, the danger of assuming that in all cases a painting by a seventeenth-century artist represents the personal inclination of the painter rather than an attempt to satisfy the tastes and perhaps explicit stipulations of a patron.
36. Bissell (1999, 106–7) has proposed the interesting hypothesis that this reputation for still life reflects a confusion between Artemisia Gentileschi and Giovanna Garzoni (1600–1670), a female still-life painter whose geographic career path paralleled that of Artemisia. The one possible candidate, a picture entitled *Still Life with Pastry Eater* (location unknown), bears an inscription attributing the painting to Artemisia Gentileschi and Giacomo Recco. The assumption has been that Recco (1603–before 1653) painted the still-life elements, given that the only known works by his hand are floral still-life paintings and the only certain attribution is a signed painting of flowers in a vase. If indeed this inscription is correct, it suggests that Artemisia was not a practitioner of still-life pictures, since, had she been known for this genre, it seems highly unlikely she would have relied on a collaborator to paint the foods and dishes.
37. Bissell (ibid., 373 no. L-49) lists as lost *Judith Triumphant, with the Head of Holofernes,* recorded in a 1743 inventory among the holdings of the Calabrese nobleman Antonio Maria Lumaga. It seems quite likely that this picture may be the Capodimonte *Judith and Her Maidservant* (one of the three pictures listed in the palace of Ranuccio II Farnese, the sixth duke of Parma, in 1671), which bears an "L" on both the stretcher and the frame and also on the frame "Anticamera." The Lumaga *Judith* was identified as hanging in the Anticamera in the inventory (Getty Provenance Index), and the erroneous title may simply be a common title assigned to images of Judith even though the heroine was not explicitly shown holding the severed head aloft.



Life on the Edge: Artemisia Gentileschi, Famous Woman Painter

ELIZABETH CROPPER

For anyone who has thought about Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1652/53) over a period of time, whether after reading Roberto Longhi's landmark essay "Gentileschi padre e figlia" of 1916, R. Ward Bissell's groundbreaking article of 1968, or even Mary Garrard's feminist monograph, published in 1989 (not to mention Bissell's subsequent catalogue raisonné of 1999), it comes as something of a shock to find the painter described as not only famous but even more famous than her father. For example, popular reviews of the small exhibition of Orazio Gentileschi's work at the National Gallery, London, in 1999 claimed that in recent years Orazio has been "condemned to live in the shadow of his daughter," and that in the late twentieth century a quirk of fate rendered Orazio less famous than Artemisia, whose "proto-feminist credentials" were enhanced by the fact that she was raped and by her specialization in subjects portraying victimized and vengeful women.[1]

Certainly, in the United States Artemisia Gentileschi was rediscovered by the first generation of feminist art historians. Her work was displayed to great effect in the exhibition "Women Artists: 1550–1950," organized by Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, which opened at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1976. Harris writes in the catalogue that "Artemisia Gentileschi is the first woman in the history of western art to make a significant and undeniably important contribution to the art of her time," while conceding that "Artemisia was not a feminist by current standards."[2] This epochal exhibition was one of the sources of inspiration for Garrard's long dedication to the study of Artemisia's work, which culminated in the 1989 monograph *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art*. Garrard opens with the charge that "Artemisia has suffered a scholarly neglect that is almost unthinkable for an artist of her caliber," claiming that this neglect began in her own lifetime when she, like other women artists, was treated as an exotic figure in the art world, as a phenomenal woman rather than as an artist whose work mattered.[3] She recognizes the contribution of recent feminist scholarship in bringing Artemisia to public attention, but she regrets the continuing focus on the twin art-historical concerns of what she calls "biographical celebration," on the one hand, and connoisseurship at the expense of analysis of the expressive quality of Artemisia's work, on the other.[4] To occupy the space between biography and connoisseurship, Garrard takes the position that women's art is inescapably different from men's "because the sexes have been socialized to different experiences of the world."[5] As a consequence, she focuses less on the details of Artemisia's biography and more on the visual expression of women's experience, which in several cases leads her to a new (and controversial) conception of connoisseurship based on the gender of the artist.

Artemisia Gentileschi's life and work have since become a magnet for the exercise of every form of new art history. The results, as Richard Spear has recently documented, have been mixed.[6] Frequent connections have been made between Artemisia's rape by her father's colleague Agostino Tassi (1578–1644) in May 1611 and the violence of the subjects of early works, especially the two versions of *Judith Slaying Holofernes* now in Naples and Florence (cat. nos. 55, 62). Some writers consider these canvases straightforward expressions of Artemisia's need for revenge, whereas others have approached the problem psychoanalytically, in terms of the rape as trauma and the paintings as parallel expressions of images of childbirth and castration. Giving greater importance to specifically artistic experiences, Griselda Pollock has interpreted the two paintings as expressions of Artemisia's "self-definition as a painter."[7] The subject had been treated by Caravaggio (1571–1610), her father's great inspiration in

Opposite: Detail of *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 51)

the early 1600s (fig. 109), and then by Orazio himself (cat. 13). Pollock offers a reading of Artemisia's representations as signifying the decapitation of her "artistic fathers" in a version of the Oedipal struggle that is all the more violent because waged by a "daughter-painter—a woman in a genealogy of father figures."[8]

Paradoxically, much of this recent interpretation, which has sought to apply methods developing in the wider field of art history to the resolutely exceptional case of Artemisia, has further sensationalized her work. But this is not the same as understanding it. By contrast, the historian Elizabeth Cohen's research into the codes of honor constructed among the ordinary citizens of Rome in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries changes our response to the legal record of Artemisia's rape through explicating its very conventionality.[9] Cohen explores the connections between such crimes as rape, "house-scorning" (or the shaming of a dwelling), and *sfregio* (or the slashing of someone's face) in terms of a complex code of family honor preoccupied by distinctions between "inside" and "outside," and constructed upon the analogy between house and body. Artemisia's enclosure in Orazio's house, described by Patrizia Cavazzini (see pp. 283–95), was an expression of her virginity; the taking of her virginity by Agostino Tassi was not just a violation of Artemisia's body but a penetration of Orazio's honor that brought shame to his whole family.

Today, no scholar would single out Artemisia's sexuality in the way that Longhi did in 1916, commenting that she must have been precocious in "everything, for which see the account of the Tassi trial"; or as Rudolf and Margot Wittkower did in 1963, calling her "a lascivious and precocious girl [who] later had a distinguished and highly honorable career as an artist"; or as even Eleanor Tufts did, in a feminist account written in 1974, claiming that Artemisia had numerous affairs and, despite the violence of her sexual initiation, wrote "superb" love letters.[10] Cohen's warning that Artemisia's reputation "continues to be violated in the present by an overly sexualized interpretation," in which she is both rape survivor and feminist heroine, is nonetheless totally warranted.[11] Cohen wisely declares that she is leaving interpretation of the paintings to the art historians, but her approach to the trial of Agostino Tassi for the deflowering of Artemisia, an approach that historicizes the rape and questions the relative importance of sexuality in the construction of the self in seventeenth-century Rome, has many implications for the analysis of Artemisia's work. Cohen argues that from a legal point of view, the crime of rape in early modern Italy was quite simply not metaphorized as gender oppression, or even necessarily seen by the violated woman as an attack on her self. Personhood, or personal identity, in other words, was more externally than internally directed. Looking at how Artemisia managed her responses within the conventions of the investigation and trial, Cohen identifies the personality of an assertive young woman defending her social honor rather than a victim seeking vengeance for attacks on the integrity of her body.

In Cohen's reconstruction of events, which is based on comparison with other similar cases, the business of the trial had to do with Tassi's failure to marry Artemisia. This would have been the proper conclusion to the familiar scenario of forcible deflowering followed by a promise of marriage, leading to regular sexual relations. Tassi was a liar and a wholly dishonorable man, and Artemisia, betrayed by everyone around her, risked losing far more than her virginity. Writing in 1612 to Cristina of Lorraine, grand duchess of Tuscany, imploring her to intervene in the case against Tassi to make sure that justice was done, Orazio Gentileschi lists his former colleague's dishonorable social characteristics: Agostino has three sisters in Rome who are all prostitutes, his wife is a prostitute, and so is his sister-in-law, with whom he has sexual relations; one brother was hanged, and another exiled for procuring sodomites; Agostino himself has been tried in Genoa, Pisa, Livorno, Naples, and Lucca, and in Rome he has been charged with incest, robbery, and other obscenities, and he has been beaten for theft.[12] In Rome, the only way Artemisia could be made whole was through the public condemnation of this scandalous man, and through providing her with a husband.

After practicing her profession for three years, she was, in her father's justifiable view, without equal, and she now needed the protection of the grand duchess in Florence to fulfill her promise. All of this Orazio accomplished: Tassi was sentenced, Artemisia was married to Pierantonio Stiattesi (born 1584), and after the wedding in 1612 the couple left for Florence. Artemisia's near miss with social ostracism was also a near miss with the destruction of all her hopes as a painter, for without a defined social standing she could not expect commissions for work. As a result of the grand duchess's support, she was to thrive as a female painter at the Medici court, even if simultaneously she suffered all the many familial difficulties of a woman of the artisan class.[13] In 1615, on the other hand, the Roman ambassador advised the grand duke's

secretary not to invite Orazio to Florence because he claimed that Orazio was an incompetent figure painter and a thoroughly bad person. Tassi's influence was at work here, and his corrupt ways continued, leading to yet another trial in 1619 for having "amorous relations" with his sister-in-law Costanza.[14]

Not to submit Artemisia Gentileschi to a constant rehearsal of her rape—and to a modern reading of it at that—means not to view her work, especially from the early years, as primarily expressing her conscious or unconscious reaction to that rape. In struggling to find a better way to come to terms with her critical fortune, there is remarkable pressure to begin at the end of her story, for the beginning is just too shocking. It is also too well documented, for, with the exception of a handful of letters, Artemisia's own voice is never again heard so directly, and the "reality effect" of the legal account is overpowering. As a result, it becomes urgent to say that Artemisia Gentileschi had an influential career, which Bissell has now documented, and that she traveled to Venice, Naples, and even London to work for the most eminent patrons.

This need to resist the power of chronological events to condition our understanding of the "real" Artemisia Gentileschi is emblematized by the fact that one of the most important modern treatments of her life is a work of fiction that begins with an ending. Anna Banti's existential *Artemisia* (1947) opens at the end of World War II in 1944. The author looks out from the Boboli Gardens over the city of Florence, devastated by bombs—bombs that have destroyed not only the house she knew Artemisia had lived in, but also her own, and with it the manuscript of her book about the painter. In preparing that book, Banti, in her true, or other, persona as the art historian Lucia Lopresti, had clearly read the same trial documents we have been discussing. Banti/Lopresti was the wife of Roberto Longhi, then Italy's most authoritative art historian, who had written the first modern analysis of Artemisia's work in his expansive and exquisite prose, never, however, concerning himself with biographical details, except to say that Artemisia was "precocious" and that she was "the only woman in Italy who ever understood what painting was, both colors, impasto, and other essentials."[15] Banti's one-hundred-page manuscript, she gives us to understand, had been a history. Its loss turned the author to remembering. In that remembering, she records the voice of Artemisia from the documents concerning the rape, even as the painter herself appears in the novel to approve or correct what is said. This extraordinary work, prompted by Artemisia's familiar voice coming to comfort the author at the sight of the destruction of so much of Florence's past and present, becomes a dialogue within Banti's conscience over the meaning and character of history and its relationship to fiction. It has often been pointed out that Banti's adoption of the notion of the *verosimile*, or the art of the probable, which permitted the inclusion of the *fatto supposto*, or supposition, as opposed to the literally true, was inspired by the great nineteenth-century novelist Alessandro Manzoni.[16] But though he was committed to telling the story of ordinary lives in his classic novel *I promessi sposi* (first ed. 1827), Manzoni never claimed, as Banti does, that the recounting of such lives—in her case the chronicle of "Agostino acquitted and released . . . ; Orazio Gentileschi returned to intellectual indifference slightly tinged with disgust; Artemisia condemned by her shortlived, scandalous fame to an unruly, besieged solitude"—provided material equal to a second Punic War. "It is not difficult to guess what the African elephants ate in Italy; it is not difficult to imagine how Artemisia passed the evenings in the summer of 1615," she insists provocatively, placing one woman's history on a level with the ancient battles recorded by Livy, and so revered by Italy's discredited fascist regime.[17]

At points Banti is convinced that what she is writing is not only probable but also true, but then, around the middle of the story when Artemisia is in Naples, the authoritative, validating voice of the painter is withdrawn. In her thoughtful study of the novel (1994), JoAnn Cannon argues that at this moment Banti, challenged by Artemisia, sees that she is falling into a patriarchal narrative, criticizing her as a woman who is a bad mother, a painter of doubtful quality, and someone who would rather be a man.[18] But the author's split with her subject, remembered from the earlier text, also comes about, I believe, because Artemisia's historical voice, so vividly present in the trial documents, is no longer to be found. The problem, in other words, is not only one of telling an outstanding woman's story according to the norms and expectations of society (whether hers or ours), but also that Artemisia's history is continually threatened by the overpowering documentary record of the rape, which renders her a victim for posterity.

Banti's novel works on many levels, and these are all relevant to our modern view of Artemisia. A successful writer, who adapted her talents to her life with a very famous man, Banti portrays Artemisia Gentileschi as constantly engaged in the struggle between the role of famous painter, extraordinary *because*

female, and the more conventional familial relationships of daughter, wife, and mother. Then there is the closely related question of whether telling the story of Artemisia's life (which Longhi had so resolutely not done) damaged or supported her. As Banti realizes how she has imposed her sense of her own split self on Artemisia the woman and Artemisia the painter, she confesses to having dealt with her "as one woman to another, lacking manly respect."[19] By that manly respect she clearly means Longhi's way of dealing with Artemisia's work to the exclusion of her life, overlooking for the moment his misogynist asides. "Three hundred years of greater experience," she continues, "have not taught me to release my companion from her human errors and reconstruct for her an ideal freedom, the freedom that gave her strength and elation during her hours of work, of which there were many."[20] And yet there is a subtle irony in her comment that she cannot bring Artemisia alive "with these memories of her unhappy motherhood, the usual topic of women's conversation," for in a letter of 1649 Artemisia herself makes excuses to Don Antonio Ruffo for indulging in all this womanly chatter (*chiacchiere femenili*) about the expense of marrying off her daughter and her dependence on her patron for support.[21] This sort of historical evidence and the use she is making of it produce in the historian-novelist a crisis of conscience. Banti's honesty in confronting this crisis should not go unremarked, especially now that the intertwining of history and fiction is enjoying new popularity. She confesses her failure as follows:

> *I now admit that it is not possible to recall to life and understand an action that happened three hundred years ago, far less an emotion, and what at the time was sadness or happiness, sudden remorse and torment, a pact between good and evil. I acknowledge my mistakes; and now that the ruins have been ruins for a year and show no sign of being in any way different from so many other, ancient ones, I limit myself to the short span of my own memory, condemning my presumptuous idea of trying to share the terrors of my own epoch with a woman who has been dead for three centuries. It is raining on the ruins over which I wept, around which sounds had a muffled, frightening quality that the first blow of a shovel dispelled for ever. Artemisia's two graves, the real and the fictitious, are now the same, breathed-in dust.*[22]

Banti decides to continue her story, but only as an expiation and as an exercise in perseverance, closing the novel with the aging Artemisia's own realization, as she returns to Italy from London after the death of her father, that her own life might well end without dramatic incident, in her sleep.

The discipline of history itself has been transformed since Banti wrote. Statistical analyses, anthropological studies, and case histories have all advanced claims about the *vero*, or actuality, of the lives of persons, especially women, previously thought to be without a history, and whose stories are, as a result, now much more interesting than the diet of the elephants in the Punic wars.[23] These techniques have been borrowed by art historians asking new questions about the function, production, and reception of works of art as artifacts. But to determine just how they help us think about Artemisia Gentileschi, female artist, remains problematic. That we can now place Artemisia's rape in the context of the rapes of a Menica, Cecilia, Caterina, or Domenica; or that we can establish that Artemisia, like most young women of her class, probably couldn't read with ease; or—to turn to the familial—that we have recovered the names of her children and their godparents, and even how much she spent on enemas and sweetmeats during her pregnancies, means that we know a great deal more about Artemisia Gentileschi and her world than did Anna Banti, or even Garrard. Yet when we step outside microhistory and comparative historical reconstruction and turn to the particular matter of Artemisia's art we are immediately beset by methodological doubts, as Banti was the first to understand.

The organizers of the first exhibition dedicated to Artemisia Gentileschi, held at the Casa Buonarotti in Florence in 1991, set out to focus on the painter rather than the woman.[24] They did not succeed entirely in making this fresh start (for which they were also criticized), but their point was important. Without questioning the relevance of biography to art history in general, they wanted to call attention to the ways in which sociological and psychoanalytical approaches in particular had become fatally self-validating in Artemisia's case. In what had been, as they put it, a "sacrosanct, and almost ineluctable operation," the dramatic events of Artemisia's life had been turned into a feminist historical model. This operation had, however, just as ineluctably consigned Artemisia's work to second place to her life.[25] Contini and Papi sought to confront the fact that Artemisia had indeed become famous once again in our own times, but, as Banti had feared, and despite Garrard's best efforts, very much at the cost of her professional eclipse. Quite remarkably coming full circle, this position

matches early feminist claims that Artemisia was treated only as an exception in her day, and somehow not as a real artist.[26]

Artemisia Gentileschi was, however, indisputably an exception in her day, and her exceptionality had much to do with the very same tension between life and work that continues to mark approaches to her story. In a succinct discussion of the evolving rights and communities available to women in Italy between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Giulia Calvi (1992) emphasizes that neither the convent nor the family—women's two social worlds—were then considered separate or private spheres, as they were to be in the nineteenth century.[27] Rather, they were structures through which women could gain both influence and rights. What was increasingly denied to women was access to the social world of work: "marginal to the inner workings of corporations and confraternities, women were not recognised as having an identity as workers, but only in relation to their family status."[28] This is not to say that women did not work, for they often did. But, Calvi insists, women's work, so amply documented in tax records and censuses, remained "semiclandestine" and informal, both stimulated by and subordinate to family needs.[29] After failing to get Artemisia to join a convent, Orazio succeeded in getting her married, thereby providing her a social environment in which to function. That she had an extraordinary talent and that he passed on to her his skills as a painter made her highly unconventional, however, and immediately raised the issue of how she could continue to work in such a way as to gain public recognition. Work itself was what made her different from other women, and this is probably the single most important fact about her life. She was painting when Tassi seized her, and he shouted as he did so, "Not so much painting, not so much painting," before grabbing the palette and brushes from her hand and throwing them down.[30] It is as if he was as enraged by her working as he was inflamed by carnal lust: stopping her from working was the first step in his attempt to dominate her.[31]

If there were few examples for Artemisia to follow of a woman working at anything at all in a professional manner, for contemporary painters in general the whole question of work had become problematic, as academic discourse, sustained by increasingly aristocratic codes of conduct, emphasized the quality of painting as a liberal and intellectual practice.[32] This redefinition of painting manifested itself in many ways, but placed particular pressure on questions of price. When Artemisia refused to put a price on her mature work, even while complaining about the prices she got, she was participating in the same way as her contemporary Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) in a highly complex mixed economy that combined feudal honor with market values. Artists of a less stoic outlook than Poussin sought to improve their social status in this hierarchical society through the achievement of knighthood. This meant, as in the case of Velázquez (1599–1660), establishing that one did not live from the fruits of one's labor.[33] For a woman who was not supposed to be engaged in the world of professional work in the first place, nor to be capable of producing more than children, such dissimulating devices presented a double bind. We will never understand Artemisia Gentileschi as a painter if we cannot accept that she was not supposed to be a painter at all, and that her own sense of herself—not to mention others' views of her—as an independent woman, as a marvel, a *stupor mundi*, as worthy of immortal fame and historical celebration, was entirely justified. Whether or not women were taken seriously as artists in the seventeenth century, Artemisia clearly was, and her very exceptionality was a sustaining principle in her career. None of this in any way resembles modern feminist critiques against having to make choices between work and family or of women artists not being taken seriously. None of it justifies Banti's lament that she had not allowed Artemisia the great ideal freedom "that gave her strength and elation during her hours of work," and none of it justifies thinking that Artemisia Gentileschi is "a gift to the twentieth century"[34]—or to the twenty-first.

* * *

In 1632, Artemisia Gentileschi painted an allegory of History (cat. 75). The muse Clio stands, three-quarter-length, looking upward to her left, her eyes shining and her full mouth slightly open in the hint of a smile, as if in recognition of inspiration or about to speak of a vision. She is identified as Clio by the lush laurel garland—a sign of immortality—on her head, and by the trumpet she balances with her right hand, an emblem of fame. This confident, passionate woman strikes a dominating and heroic pose, her left elbow bent, the back of her left hand resting on her hip. She wears glowing, rust-red sleeves and a low-cut white chemise with an intricate lace border at the neckline, over which is swathed a turquoise drapery of shining silk velvet. The luminous, pear-shaped pearl earring and the large brooches that clasp the drapery at her shoulders, not to mention the gold aglets,

or tips on the cords attaching the sleeves, are bold ornaments which add to her majesty rather than serving as mere decoration. Artemisia signed and dated the work on the left page of the book open on the table, with a dedication, so far as can be determined, to François de Rosières (1534–1607), who had been named archdeacon of Toul and counselor to the duke of Lorraine by Cardinal Guise.[35] Garrard has suggested that the work was instead a posthumous tribute to another member of the large Rosières family, Antoine de Rosières II, seigneur d'Euvesin, first maître d'hotel of the duke of Lorraine, who died in Paris in 1631.[36] The garbled letters on the right appear to be Greek and probably refer to Thucydides.

This allegory and its history are both cautionary and exemplary. Given its connection to the Rosières family, the painting was likely made for Charles of Lorraine, fourth duke of Guise (1571–1640), whose family were great patrons of the Rosières.[37] Bissell's proposal that the reference on the book is to the earlier François de Rosières, whom Artemisia could not have known, has to do with the fact that there was good reason to commemorate François in an allegory of history. So great was François Rosières's debt to the house of Guise that he published a history of the family, the *Stemmata Lotharingiae ac Barri ducum* (1580). The genealogy was based on fake and falsified documents, designed to prove that the family was descended directly from Charlemagne. This was highly offensive to King Henry III of France (r. 1574–89), and Rosières only narrowly escaped execution. In 1632, when the picture was painted, Charles of Lorraine had cause to reflect on such turns of fate, for he too had fallen into disfavor with the king of France, Louis XIII (r. 1609–43). As governor of Provence, Charles had incurred the jealousy of Cardinal Richelieu, and went into voluntary exile in 1631. Charles settled in Florence, where Artemisia sent at least one painting to him. From Florence he wrote to a friend in 1631:

> *If my oppression is longer than my life, that posterity which preserves dearly the memory of my fathers will judge fairly my own, will praise my constancy and my fidelity, will condemn the authors of my persecution, and will say what is known to good people, and that is that I am guilty of no other crime than the government of Provence.*[38]

Artemisia's painting expresses this sense of history looking toward posterity for truth, and for true fame. On the other hand, the reference to Rosières raises the question of what true history is, and puts in doubt the status of documentary facts in the production of a historical work intended to flatter. This bitter yet optimistic invention implies that Rosières's history celebrating the duke's family will contribute to overcoming the calumnies against him. By accepting the allegory from Artemisia, the duke would also have accepted the witty implication of having such a work from the hand of a woman who had also been maligned, but who could now stand, like the figure of Clio, boldly and excitedly looking forward to establishing her fame and immortality.

I have said that the story of Artemisia's *Clio* is cautionary as well as exemplary. The work is cautionary above all because it raises questions about history and truth, implying, if Bissell's argument is correct, that history can be tampered with even if based on documents; and establishing beyond any doubt that in Artemisia's day history was not only about records and texts, but, more important, about posterity and immortal fame. Artemisia constantly identified her own person and skill with such fame, and every image of a forceful woman she painted has to be associated with its author in some sense. In this context the *Clio* is exemplary.[39]

Artemisia Gentileschi was not merely successful. She was famous. The first woman to enter the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, in 1614, Artemisia enjoyed Medici patronage and protection, especially through the grand duchess Cristina, to whom Orazio had recommended her, in 1612, as without equal.[40] She was associated with the Accademia dei Desiosi in Rome in the 1620s, and this reflects her protection by the house of Savoy. Jérôme David's engraved portrait (fig. 95) celebrating her connection with this academy calls her a most famous painter, "a miracle in painting, more easily envied than imitated."[41] Pierre Dumonstier dated his drawing of her hand (fig. 119) in December 1625, calling her the "excellent and knowledgeable Artemisia, Roman gentlewoman," and praising her hands as more beautiful than those of Aurora because they make marvels that ravish the eyes of those who judge best.[42] In Venice in 1627–28, Artemisia was the subject of several literary tributes from academic writers. Antonio Colluraffi's dedicatory inscriptions, published in 1628, address her as "Artemisia Gentilesca Romae concepta fama excepta," and as a greater painter than Apelles, greater than Zeuxis, and rival of the sun.[43] Colluraffi hesitated to attempt to praise the genius of such a "noble and celebrated painter," but did so, and in one of the two rather pedantic madrigals that survive he compares Artemisia to Rome herself: where the latter builds marvels, Artemisia paints

stupori. In the second he compares her to the ancient painter Parrhasius: where the latter had painted a deceptive curtain over Zeuxis's illusionistic bunch of grapes, Artemisia "Gentil" deceives art itself and conquers nature. While in Venice Artemisia was paid for a *Hercules and Omphale*, commissioned for Philip IV, king of Spain (r. 1621–65), by the conde de Oñate as a companion to the *Discovery of Achilles* by Anthony van Dyck and Peter Paul Rubens for the Salon Nuevo in the Alcázar, Madrid.[44] This was an acknowledgment that she was one of the greatest painters in Europe, and its subject, depicting the demigod subjugated by a woman, deliberately celebrated her conquest of nature.

Artemisia left Venice to flee the plague in 1630. Her decision to go to Naples was motivated by the possibilities for patronage she saw there, given the Spanish viceroy's passion for purchasing paintings. Fernando Enríquez Afán de Ribera, third duke of Alcalá, acquired several paintings by Artemisia during his rule (see cat. 68), and she would receive commissions from Empress María of Austria, sister of Philip IV, and eventually from Philip himself.[45] Whereas in Rome, on her return from Florence, she had cultivated Cassiano dal Pozzo, secretary to Francesco Barberini (cardinal-nephew and a Florentine), and sold pictures to such collectors as the Patrizi, in Naples Artemisia succeeded in manipulating a much grander and more international market. In the 1630s, she was in a position to participate in converting her own reputation as a *stupor mundi* into real fame. Commissions linked her to contemporaries, and provided a showcase for her unique achievement. For example, she contributed, together with Massimo Stanzione and Paolo Finoglia, to the cycle of canvases dedicated to the life of John the Baptist for the hermitage of Saint John at the Buen Retiro in Madrid.[46] Artemisia's canvas (cat. 77) of 1633–35 gives center stage to the four women attending the bathing of the infant Baptist; it is in a mood quite different from that of the *Clio* of the previous year. Artemisia and Stanzione both adopted a humble, natural style for this eremitical commission, drawing out the implications of Caravaggio's Neapolitan works, and her capacity to do this reflects the high level of Artemisia's critical sophistication at the moment of her greatest influence on Neapolitan painting. A commission to a woman to paint an altarpiece was not unheard of—the Bolognese Lavinia Fontana (1552–1614) had painted several.[47] But it was still highly unusual, and in Naples in the mid-1630s Artemisia was commissioned to paint no fewer than three for the cathedral at Pozzuoli (cat. 79) as part of a renovation that also involved Giovanni Lanfranco, Francanzano, Finoglia, and Agostino Beltrano, all called "most famous and skillful" in a 1640 description.[48] In 1636, she received payment for a series of three quite different paintings (all untraced today)—a *Bathsheba*, a *Susanna*, and a *Lucretia*—from Prince Karl von Liechtenstein, an avid collector who obviously associated these alluring female subjects with the famous female painter.[49]

Artemisia was increasingly successful in manipulating her growing fame in this way, painting a limited set of subjects, and sometimes in pairs or larger groups. She continued to sell to local collectors, but her influential studio in Naples was, like Poussin's in Rome, also the center of complex patronage networks conducted either by post or through the agency of her brothers, who were sent throughout Europe in her service. Most illuminating for our understanding of Artemisia's exploitation of these networks and her management of her own fame is her letter of October 9, 1635, to her friend the astronomer and physicist Galileo Galilei (at that point in exile at Arcetri), asking for his help in securing a response from Duke Ferdinand II de' Medici to a painting she had sent him.[50] Describing herself as the duke's vassal and servant, she writes that she has fulfilled her obligation to him by giving him her work: in other words, the painting is in itself a payment from a social inferior, and so no payment is due in reply. What she does anticipate, however, is a favor from the duke as a demonstration of his pleasure, and his failure to respond is humiliating. "I have seen myself honored," she insists, "by all the kings and rulers of Europe to whom I have sent my works, not only with great gifts but also with most favored letters, which I keep with me." Among these Artemisia lists (without exaggeration) the kings of France, Spain, and England, and the duke of Guise, none of whose favors, however, could match that which she expects from her natural prince in Tuscany. By exploiting the conventions of courtly honor in this way, Artemisia could hope to place herself outside the marketplace, enhancing rather than diminishing her independence and dignity. She was also putting together her collection of tokens of respect, which could then be parlayed into yet more.

Artemisia was not afraid to play this game of favors, telling Duke Francesco I d'Este by letter in 1635 that she would rather work for him than for the English crown, and sending gifts of paintings to sway him.[51] She wanted very much to return to Florence in the 1630s, and in July 1635, in another name-dropping

letter, she tells Ferdinand II de' Medici that Charles I, king of England (r. 1625–49), knows that her paintings for Philip IV are finished, which means she will have to accept his summons to London.[52] The duchess of Savoy had secured her a safe passage through France, and she would have to make use of it, even though she would rather work for the duke of Modena, Cardinal Antonio Barberini, and, of course, Duke Ferdinand himself.[53] Artemisia understood the value of intermediaries such as Galileo, using Andrea Cioli, secretary to the grand duke, to reach the Medici, and exploiting her friendship with Cassiano dal Pozzo to sell pictures to the papal family. With Cassiano she could be frank, explaining on October 24, 1637, that she is sending paintings for Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini, for Monsignor Filomarino, and for himself, because she needs money to marry off her daughter.[54]

It is worth considering just why Artemisia did not succeed in persuading Ferdinand II to invite her back to Florence under his protection, and why she found herself in England in 1638. Given her obvious reluctance to go, the argument does not ring true that she was driven by filial devotion to help out her aging father as he completed the canvases for the ceiling of the Queen's House at Greenwich. The long-standing invitation from Charles I was obviously related to the presence of Orazio at court, but it was also stimulated by Artemisia's own reputation. Her lost *Tarquin and Lucretia* was almost certainly in the royal collection by 1634, providing the court with an example of the sort of passionate drama about a female protagonist for which she was so famous with other collectors.[55] That she had to make the arduous journey in person and present herself at court was something else, however. Given Francesco Barberini's attempts to live up to his responsibilities as cardinal protector to the Catholic queen Henrietta Maria in the increasingly hostile climate of the Protestant kingdom, it is tempting to see Artemisia as a part of his policy.[56] Artemisia's father had been more than a mere painter on his arrival from Paris in 1626; as the grand duke of Tuscany's ambassador observed, in addition to his art, Orazio "is also engaged in another matter of great importance, as he is often with the Duke of Buckingham and also with the King."[57] After the death of Buckingham, Orazio became the queen's painter rather than the king's. Like Artemisia, he wanted to return to Tuscany, but he was never invited back.[58] As he grew old and feeble, it was perhaps as important for the Barberini to have an emissary in place, in the person of Gentileschi's daughter, as it was for the queen to get her decorations finished.

Orazio's death in February 1639 did not liberate Artemisia immediately, and in December of that year she wrote to Francesco I d'Este from London seeking his support by sending him a painting and stating quite openly that, despite the honors and favors she had received, she was not content in the service of Charles I. Duke Francesco, she wrote, would inspire her to make yet greater things, although she did not fail to let him know that despite her imperfections she had pleased "all the greatest princes of Europe."[59] Remarkably, we have no secure record of Artemisia between 1639 and 1642, when she was again in Naples, again enjoying great fame, and successfully manipulating it. Three works painted "by a woman called Artemisia" and depicting *Judith Cutting off the Head of Holofernes*, *Lucretia Romana Overcome by Tarquin*, and *Bathsheba Spied on by David*, appear in Giacomo Barri's description of the Palazzo del Giardino in Parma in 1671 (figs. 99, 100).[60] The evidence of the surviving paintings suggests a date in the late 1640s, and the subjects and location reveal that Artemisia was continuing her successful practice of painting images of virtuous and heroic women—often nude or nearly so—in series for patrons elsewhere.

There is no reason to think that Artemisia's fame was in decline before her death in 1652/53. In Naples, her paintings appear in inventories of many noble collections, as well as in those of bankers such as the Genoese Davide Imperiale; in Rome in 1644 her *Sleeping Venus* in the Barberini collection (see cat. 70) was already so prized that it was covered by a green taffeta curtain, just as Caravaggio's *Victorious Cupid* (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) had been in the Palazzo Giustiniani.[61] However, the fortuitous survival of her letters to the famous collector Don Antonio Ruffo in Messina, Sicily, allows us, *pace* Anna Banti, to see the human side of a woman no longer strong or resilient in body.[62] The letters, written between 1649 and 1651, which concern commissions to Artemisia to paint the now predictable favorite subjects with female protagonists—*Galatea* (lost?), the *Bath of Diana*, a *Liberation of Andromeda*, and a *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (all three are lost)—are filled with sharp comments on price and value, and Artemisia even states at one point that she needs work desperately because she is bankrupt and has been sick. At the same time, Artemisia never renounces her multiple roles as a faithful vassal serving her lord, as an abject serf needing the protection of his

household, and finally as the famous painter whom he must honor. She sends him little painted favors—a *Madonna*, for example, and a *Self-Portrait* (both are lost)—that he is is to hang in his gallery "as all the other Princes do."[63] Least of all does she relinquish her role as *woman* painter, as the following sample of her comments illustrates: "You feel sorry for me because a woman's name raises doubts until her work is seen";[64] "I shall not bore you any longer with this female chatter. The works will speak for themselves";[65] "And I will show Your Most Illustrious Lordship what a woman can do, hoping to give you the greatest pleasure";[66] "You will find the spirit of Caesar in this soul of a woman."[67] Remarkable is her insistence that women have the power to invent and not simply copy, whether nature, the work of others, or even their own. She is deeply upset that Ruffo should have urged her to be sure that a *Galatea* commissioned for his friend should be different from his, for she is fully able to vary her subjects, and no one has ever found the slightest repetition in her work—"not even of a single hand," she exaggerates.[68] Artemisia complains that she has been cheated by people who have taken her drawings in order to have her ideas executed by others, concluding, "If I were a man, I can't imagine it would have turned out like this, for when the invention has been realized and defined with lights and darks, and established by means of planes, the rest is a trifle."[69]

That Artemisia had—and could have—no large fresco commissions did not lessen her fame. As the decades of her life passed, the easel painting became the more prestigious format, collected and hung in galleries large and small. That Artemisia became famous for painting virtuous and heroic women and female nudes might seem at first more compromising for her fame, both during her lifetime and for posterity. It implies that she was prepared to specialize her production for the market, and it suggests, as Harris has put it, that she was prepared to depict "what 20th century feminists have labelled 'woman as sex object'" for a male audience.[70] The first issue is the more quickly disposed of, though it is not uninteresting. The ideal of the universal painter who excelled in everything and in all styles—high, middle, and low—was still current in the 1630s, but it was under considerable pressure in practice. Caravaggio had disdained the tradition of *disegno* and had introduced new subjects for painting, taking his models from the street, preferring the direct imitation of nature to the improvement of nature through the imitation of the great tradition of art. Given critical authority by his success, a whole generation of artists, especially those Northerners identified as the "gothic plague" by the painter Francesco Albani, ceded the idea of universality to the Italian Old Masters and began to produce scenes of city life, landscapes, and battle pictures for the new market supplying Roman picture galleries. Michelangelo Cerquozzi was known as "Michelangelo delle battaglie" because he painted battles, and Pieter van Laer as "Il Bamboccio," from the clumsy little figures he put in his genre scenes; Claude Lorraine was commissioned by noble and patrician patrons to paint so many landscapes and harbor views, often in pairs, that he had to keep track of them in his *Liber veritatis*; a portrait by Van Dyck was an essential sign of distinction in a noble collection; in Florence, Filippo Napolitano painted detailed still lifes and little landscapes for the grand duke while Artemisia was there, and decades later in Naples the Recco and Ruoppolo families produced lush still lifes of fish, meat, and fruit. Even Poussin, whose inventions belonged to the tradition of universal painting, was known for his easel paintings with small figures that seemed grand, and which had their proper place in galleries, often in pairs or series; he never painted in fresco.[71] By the 1630s and 1640s it would have been unusual, not to say unrealistic, for Artemisia not to have a specialty. In 1651 Andrea Sacchi, a universal painter, lamented that the great tradition of the Carracci was over.[72]

For Artemisia to have made her reputation as a painter of large canvases showing virtuous women and female nudes, sometimes in the same person, is more difficult to explain, and is probably the most controversial issue raised by this exhibition. In relation to the popularity of images of virtuous women in the seventeenth century, Garrard has usefully summarized the literature of feminism and antifeminism in northern Europe, associating this with the rise and fall of Queen Marie de' Medici (1573–1642).[73] She traces the emergence of interest in the *femme forte* to around 1630, and points to the influence of Marie's own patronage and that of her daughter-in-law Anne of Austria in propagating the imagery of such heroic female figures as Minerva, Judith, Jael, and Zenobia. Unfortunately, Garrard dismisses this fascination with the exceptional woman, even in high culture, as just one more manifestation that women could be heroic only when they behaved like men, and that men accepted strong women only in the context of the marvelous and of the world-turned-upside-down—and then only when presented in emblematic or mythological form. Garrard imputes her own rejection of this

tradition to Artemisia herself, linking that rejection to her reading of Artemisia's style:

> *Unlike the* femmes fortes *framed by moralizing verses and immobilized by their emblematic format, Artemisia's* Judiths *are armed with swords that cut, weapons they do not hesitate to use. And unlike the beautiful Susannas, Lucretias, and Cleopatras of men's art, who wriggle seductively even* in extremis, *Artemisia's nude heroines convincingly experience pain and emotional anguish. In her* oeuvre, *the stereotypes are inverted: evil women—Cleopatra, Potiphar's Wife—become heroic; saintly characters—the Virgin, Lucretia, Mary Magdalen—exude a meaty vitality.*[74]

Garrard's argument is that Artemisia took up the current fascination with images of strong women and, through the lucky accident of her Caravaggesque vocabulary, developed a sort of fusion of real and archetypal female body, reversing traditional expectations of the nude. By providing "a visual model in which mundane women might recognize themselves," Artemisia provided a way through which "all women—beautiful or plain, heroic or ordinary, powerful or powerless—might live vicariously in art."[75] Garrard suspects that this disappointed patrons more accustomed to the "plumply seductive figures" of Titian or Rubens, but that their erotic expectations were satisfied by being displaced onto the idea of the woman painter herself.

Garrard's claims about Artemisia's nudes have not met with general approval.[76] Nonetheless, much of the criticism of her work is marked by similar assumptions that we can read Artemisia's female self and female experience into these pictures, and that we can gain direct access to their eroticism, or lack of it, in relation to either the artist's intention or a work's reception. George Hersey, for example, brings the issue back to Artemisia's rape and the theory that the psychic wound she suffered led her to paint personal protests throughout her life in the form of a public art devoted to meditations on "sex, victimization, and sanguinary death."[77] Agreeing with Garrard that it was the absent artist who titillated rather than the painted body, Hersey suggests that Artemisia succeeded because behind the "gawkiest Susanna and most massive Judith," the collector would always imagine the beautiful artist. Unlike Garrard, he does not regret this, seeing it as part of Artemisia's own successful enterprise. Harris is also interested in how Artemisia Gentileschi marketed herself in her work, but focuses on the *Susanna and the Elders* of 1610 (cat. 51) rather than on the bloody Judiths. This was Artemisia's originary statement on the virtuous female nude, painted before her rape, in which the figure is far from "gawky." Harris calls attention to the new popularity of this subject in the early seventeenth century, seeing in Artemisia's deliberate choice of it "an awesome degree of ambition" and in her execution a "brilliant synthesis of the art of Annibale and Caravaggio," which demonstrates her capacity as a painter of human action and her claims to take her place among the painters of her generation.[78] Most significant for Harris is the "striking realism" of the figure of Susanna, and she believes that Artemisia took her proficiency in painting the female nude as a sort of manifesto, suggesting that it was usual for ambitious artists to make such demonstrations at the beginning of their careers.[79] In Artemisia's case, the manifesto was not about victimization or rape but a declaration "that she could paint women better than anyone else then working in Rome."[80] Bissell is largely in agreement with all this, recognizing that Artemisia's themes of violence and eroticism were popular, and proposing that because she was a woman Artemisia would quite naturally have felt a special sympathy with female heroes and a desire to represent them. As time went on she, like other painters, simply became associated with a special repertory that would have been difficult to change.

Harris's idea of the *Susanna and the Elders* as a kind of manifesto goes very much to the heart of the matter, though the work had to be more than a competitive professional declaration for a young woman to whom such competition was not open. The painting is deeply shocking, perhaps even more so than the fierce drama of the two versions of *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. nos. 55, 62). Rather than offering a new reading of this work or rehearsing the various feminist and psychoanalytic interpretations already in print, I would hope to help the viewer rediscover its shock value, for this is by no means obvious anymore. So remarkable is this work by the seventeen-year-old Artemisia that attempts have been made in recent years to take it away from her and give it to Orazio, or at least to give credit for its invention to him.[81] Yet Orazio himself was not experienced in painting the nude, and the closest he had come to painting one by 1610 was, probably, the lost *Saint Michael the Archangel*, exhibited in 1602 at San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, followed by the *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. nos. 18, 19) and the *Saint Jerome* (lost, and cat. 16), in which male figures are more than decorously draped, with only

their limbs and chests bare. Orazio's lack of experience in painting the *female* nude before 1610 is not surprising given the source of his realism in the work of Caravaggio, who, it is often pointed out, for all his attachment to the natural model, never painted one. The Carracci, by contrast—it is also often pointed out—were quite fascinated by female nudes depicted in erotic scenes, but these were usually mythological, and the bodies they introduced reflect little attention to the flesh of the natural model, privileging instead the more ideal forms of ancient sculpture. Yet both the Carracci and Caravaggio were to be implicated in scandals having to do with the depiction of the body.

In the early 1590s, Agostino Carracci (1557–1602) produced a group of prints known as the *Lascivie*, which showed a variety of sexual encounters between men and women in the images of *Susanna and the Elders*, *Lot and His Daughters*, *Andromeda*, *Orpheus and Eurydice*; female nudes in the form of *Galatea*, the *Three Graces*, *Venus Beating Cupid*; and several overtly pornographic images of naked women and satyrs.[82] The *Susanna and the Elders*, in which one of the old men masturbates as the other grabs the frightened woman, is far more sexually explicit than anything in painting around 1600, but it reminds us that erotic readings of these subjects (almost all of them treated later by Artemisia) could never have been far from the surface, regardless of the sex of the painter. Several women in these small, informal works resemble a natural model, even if they are also transformed by art. The prints were wildly successful and made a great deal of money for the artist and the publisher until they were condemned by Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605), much to Agostino's embarrassment and shame.

The suppression of such erotica by the pope, a reprise of Clement VII's (r. 1523–34) condemnation of Marcantonio Raimondi's engravings of *I modi*, was only partly an exercise of predictable moral censorship. On a less obvious level it also manifests awareness on the part of the Church of the potentially dangerous licentiousness of art more generally. The Catholic Reformation encouraged the dramatic expression of religious experience through a greater naturalism in painting and a more direct appeal to the emotions through music and action in drama. This could lead only to an intense concentration on the expressive power of the human body, and with that came the possibility of evoking empathetically passions that were not so easily controlled—those very emotional expressions that have come to define the Baroque style. The Carracci Academy in Bologna, inspired by calls for the reform of religious art, accomplished the reform of art through a return to drawing from nature: out of the natural, through the imitation of art, the Carracci produced painting that was verisimilar, or persuasive, but within the traditions of art and decorum. Caravaggio took a different approach, determined to provide a convincing illusion of the actual through representing the natural without idealizing it. Caravaggio's revolution has been integrated into the history of art, together with its sensationalism, and it is now essential for the understanding of painting in the first years of the seventeenth century to insist once again upon the shocking nature of his practice. As Giovan Pietro Bellori would complain later in the century, Caravaggio led all the young artists in Rome to think that they could simply undress a model, direct a light to the figure, and paint.[83]

Much has been made of the prohibition in the Accademia di San Luca in Rome in the early seventeenth century against the study of the female nude, and later proscriptions in the French Academy against women drawing from the nude have been cited in connection with Artemisia's supposedly limited artistic education.[84] Harris, for example, claims that "the only women that unmarried men could see undressed were prostitutes, when the viewing time was usually brief."[85] By contrast, she complains that Artemisia was denied access to the male body as a young woman, and that she would have had little opportunity to see ancient sculptures. Certainly control over the natural body and its representation was one of the powers that the Accademia di San Luca tried to claim. This academy, founded during the papacy of Clement VIII under the protection of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, was more an instrument for policing the behavior of artists and the moral practice of art than a place for individual education. Such events as the publication of Agostino's *Lascivie*, the appearance of Titian's *Bacchanals* and other secular art in the city, and the parallel difficulty of maintaining a decorum of viewing in new palaces and galleries made for attempts at a policy of repression. Yet informal study of the nude, and even the female nude, was a standard practice in the cinquecento, especially in Venice and in Florence, where it had deep roots in the precepts of Leonardo. What was new about Caravaggio's position, and what made it threatening to the new morality, was not that he produced works of erotic subject matter but that even for religious history paintings he required the constant presence of the model,

posed before him in the studio, without in any way distancing himself from that model through the practice of drawing or the deployment of memory and tradition. The model's subject position could be defined as torture, as it was in ancient criticism, or as sexual exploitation, as in the extraordinary case of Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571).[86] Caravaggio's practice, which was not at all masked in his work, challenged authority on every level, artistic, religious, and social.

Caravaggio brought scandal upon himself at every turn. The story of his attack in Rome on a young art student who had stopped to buy candles on his way home from a late night session at the Accademia di San Luca is almost too good to be true. But it is telling that he also got into a fight with the notary Mario da Pasqualone, who wanted to marry Lena, the poor young woman who had served as the model for the *Madonna di Loreto* (Sant' Agostino, Rome). Lena had done this with her mother's consent and had been paid for it, but the young man chastised the mother for letting this happen, and so Caravaggio retaliated by attacking him from behind with his sword in the Piazza Navona.[87] There was no suggestion that Caravaggio had misused Lena, but we are again in the world of domestic honor, and of what was allowed to an unmarried young woman's family if it wished to preserve that honor. To insult Caravaggio's shocking *Death of the Virgin* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) critics said that the artist had painted a prostitute who had been his lover.[88] That prostitutes did serve as models (and were not only glimpsed in the dark) is clear from Cardinal Paleotti's warning against just this practice. But whether prostitute or not, a woman, especially an unmarried one, was quickly tainted with scandal if she served as a model, even for a Virgin. And a painting of the Virgin, as much as that of a nude, ran the risk of slipping into lasciviousness if not properly controlled by decorum and the conventions of style.

The matter of the body is central to artistic culture about 1600, and it is especially important to Artemisia's story, for this is where fame and infamy come together in her battle for posterity. The documentation of her rape is rife with bodily reference, going well beyond the account of the event itself to constant implications with the world of work. Tuzia, a woman who was supposed to be chaperoning the motherless Artemisia, mentions an ugly youth named Francesco with long black hair, whom the Gentileschi both used as a model. Marco Antonio Coppino, a Florentine who had lived in Rome for twenty years, and who mixed ultramarine, claimed that not only was Artemisia a whore but that he had heard in various shops that she "was a beautiful woman, that her father did not want her to marry, made her pose in the nude and liked for people to look at her."[89] When Giovan Pietro Molli of Palermo went to Orazio's house to model, he saw Artemisia there *in the rooms where work was done*.[90] Orazio's barber, Bernardi di Francesco de Francheschi, testified that he had modeled for Orazio over a period of nearly eighteen years, which is to say for almost all of Artemisia's life. A Spaniard, Pietro Hernandes, testified that he had seen Artemisia, his son's godmother, teaching a young man to paint. This was Nicolò Bedino, who testified that he had ground colors for Artemisia to use in her canvases while her father was away working at Monte Cavallo. Margherita, the washerwoman, testified to the presence of four men, each of whom she could name, in Orazio's house, and to the fact that she knew he had used them as models because he had shown her the paintings for which they had posed. Many questions were asked in the inquiry about the layout of the Gentileschi house, which was not large, and where eating and working spaces adjoined. Clearly Artemisia had witnessed her father's experiments in painting from the model, inspired by Caravaggio, and the *Susanna and the Elders* is the evidence that she shared in them. (On this practice, see Christiansen, pp. 9–12.)

We cannot actually prove or disprove the claim that Orazio had Artemisia pose in the nude, though it is thought that Orazio did use her as a model in such works as the *Young Woman Playing a Violin* (cat. 40; but see cat. 39). Nor can we establish beyond doubt that she painted from the various models hired by Orazio to come to the house throughout her early life—in the case of Molli, stripping to his belt to serve as Saint Jerome. But there is ample evidence that by 1612 Artemisia had been painting for several years in a household where models came and went, that she painted while her father was not present, and that she was able to teach youths to paint in her father's absence, and in a way that was based on the study of the model. As in the case of Caravaggio's Lena, for the model to have posed fully dressed would not have been enough to prevent scandal; and, as I have suggested, painting directly from the model at home, as opposed to drawing from the model in the disciplined academy, was in itself still shocking in 1610. In this context, as Keith Christiansen argues here, the attribution of the *Cleopatra* (cat. nos. 17, 53) to Orazio rather than to Artemisia takes on extraordinary power.[91] For even if Harris's

view that unmarried men glimpsed female bodies only in brief moments of passion is humorously exaggerated, the difficulty faced by Orazio in obtaining a female model who would pose in the nude should not be underestimated. Working beside him in the studio, Artemisia was an obvious candidate. If indeed the *Cleopatra* and the *Susanna and the Elders* were produced at the same time, in the same house, by father and daughter, with Artemisia serving as model in both cases, then much about these bodily forceful works becomes clearer. Sixteen ten would be the year in which the Gentileschi brand of Caravaggism (practiced by both father and daughter) took its new direction, a direction that Orazio did not pursue after the departure of his daughter for Florence, but which Artemisia would continue to explore in more rhetorical ways. According to this chronology, the new direction in the Gentileschi studio around 1610 involved the bodily presence of Artemisia as both model and painter, and was as shocking as Caravaggio's earlier employment of ordinary, undisguised people as models. That the actors in the studio romance which so fascinated gossips were a widowed father and an unmarried daughter, or a woman painter and young male assistants, could only add to the threat of infamy. The extraordinary *Allegory of Painting* now in Le Mans (cat. 64), whoever painted it, and whether it refers to Artemisia or not, is testimony to a prurient and lascivious fascination with the female body in the context of the studio.[92] It is something like a visual equivalent to the sexually loaded gossip of the rape trial.

We would be wrong to imagine the Gentileschi living in a tidy household such as that portrayed by Federico Zuccari in his frescoes in his own house in Florence, or even in his drawings of the life of his brother Taddeo.[93] In 1603, Baglione's libel suit brought against Orazio, Caravaggio, Onorio Longhi, and Filippo Trisegni for writing slanderous sonnets against him led to Orazio's arrest. Artemisia was ten, with two younger brothers in the house to take care of after her mother's death. She couldn't read the poems and letters taken from Orazio, but the references to bodily functions and the lewd sexual insults included in one of the surviving poems could not have been unfamiliar to her, especially with men like Caravaggio and Tassi around, any more than was the sight of the human body itself, whether in the flesh, in prints such as Agostino Carracci's, or the many reproductive prints after antiquity that were in any artist's studio. It would also be an exaggeration to say that in such an environment anything could happen, but Elizabeth Cohen's argument about the breaching of the household by Tassi, and ideally clear distinctions between inside and outside, needs to be set in the context of the character of Artemisia's life in a space that was both studio and household, a place of work and a place of domesticity.[94] Of course, we must not oversimplify. In 1612, Artemisia was also a godmother who painted natural and sweet scenes of nursing mothers. Her father did so too, even while hanging out with trouble-making friends who enjoyed the risks of literary defamation.

In her father's house, in the midst of all this, Artemisia painted the *Susanna and the Elders*, signing and dating it 1610 (cat. 51). A large painting organized around the figure of a female nude gazed upon by men and painted by a nubile seventeen-year-old female painter could never be *just* a declaration of a skill that would help her compete with other painters who were all men.[95] It was from the very beginning already scandalous, and it is on that knife-edge between the already scandalous and the accomplished and skillful painter that Artemisia's fame balanced throughout her life. Writing of Dürer's *Self-Portrait* of 1500 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), Joseph Leo Koerner has argued that the meaning of the image derives from "its being *by* someone; that the artist paints, as Dürer himself writes, to 'make himself seen in his works'; and that every signed picture is in some sense a self-portrait."[96] Borrowing a term from Philippe Lejeune, he considers Dürer's portrait a sort of "pact" between painter and viewer, which then becomes valid for the artist's oeuvre as a whole. Like Dürer's *Self-Portrait*, Artemisia's *Susanna and the Elders* is a frontispiece proclaiming the consubstantiality of art and artist, and like the *Self-Portrait* it establishes a pact with the viewer about her work as a whole. That oeuvre will be neither emblematic nor small, but it will be ambitious, dramatic history painting that promises to embody and display the unique physical presence of the woman who made it.[97] Koerner's point is that in Northern art, the reading of an artist's work as the product of a single person begins with the Dürer. Such a reading had much earlier beginnings in Italy, and it permeates all art criticism of the Renaissance. It received a powerful reinvigoration from Caravaggio, whose suppression of tradition and direct way of painting, whether from the model or from the mirror image, were all signatures of his pact with the viewer, making his rare signature all the more shocking. No woman in Italy had achieved that consubstantiality of art and artist, however, and no woman had succeeded in working in such a public



Figure 102. Lodovico Cigoli (1599–1613), *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife.* Oil on canvas. Galleria Borghese, Rome

way as to make her own pact with the viewer. Artemisia the painter seized the moment to make such a contract in the only way that she understood to be open to her from her training with her father, which is to say through her own unique female body, signed and dated. That this self-presentation would inevitably incur shame and charges of licentious display is also already understood in the very subject of *Susanna and the Elders* (which so far as we know was not commissioned), and that immediate threat of shame is an essential part of her self-portrait in this frontispiece to her career.[98]

In the same year that Artemisia signed and dated her *Susanna and the Elders*, Lodovico Cigoli completed a *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (fig. 102) for the bishop of Arezzo, which was quickly acquired by Cardinal Scipione Borghese.[99] An excited, fleshy woman, her fancy embroidered clothes quite disheveled, tries to grab a young man as he flees her richly appointed bed with heavy damask curtains. She succeeds only in grasping his cloak with her left hand, on one finger of which she wears a wedding ring; this cloak is the proof she will use against him when she tells her husband that he has tried to violate her. Cigoli's painting presents an exact role reversal of Artemisia's *Susanna*, and the comparison is instructive. Where Artemisia's picture is a grave masterpiece of concentration, Cigoli's composition is amusing and theatrical, and has been linked appropriately to the popularity of new lyrical styles of musical drama in Florence. In its dramatic hyperbole, the *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* sets the stage for Artemisia's future works, especially the Naples *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 55). When she and her new husband arrived in Florence in late 1612 or early 1613, Artemisia found many more examples of this sort of dramatic painting, and also a great taste for it at the Medici court. Cristofano Allori's *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (Galleria Palatina, Florence; see the version reproduced in fig. 103), for example, famously shows the painter's lover, Mazzafirra, playing the role of Judith, her mother as the old maid, and the features of Allori himself in the head of Holofernes, with Judith decked out in rich silks and satins and furnished with cushions and curtains.[100] Bringing to bear her own special approach of painting from the model, Artemisia quickly adapted this theatrical manner, and out of her experience in Florence she forged the style that made her famous. All the more important, therefore, is the painting of *Inclination* (fig. 110), which Artemisia produced for Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger in 1615–16. The patron was a close friend, as was Allori, who stood godfather to Artemisia's second son on November 9, 1615. Artemisia was a married woman, twenty-two years old, when she painted this work, and she was fulfilling a prestigious commission for the decoration of the gallery that celebrated the genius of the great Michelangelo Buonarroti. The subject, derived directly from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, was given to her, and it required the appearance of a nude young woman bearing a compass, and with a star above her head.[101] Artemisia, her own body recovering from the birth of her second child, now painted a second version of her Roman nude, one that was no longer threatened by shame.[102] Where Susanna looks away, Inclination looks upward in anticipation, her mouth half open, like a younger version of the Muse of History in the *Clio*.

Opposite: Detail of *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 60)



Inclination is Artemisia's second, more optimistic signature painting. The female nude, with her dimpled hand, rosy nipples, and resilient flesh, went well beyond the iconographic requirements of Ripa's nude female, and it was totally unexpected in Florence. So unusual and seductive was it that later in the century, on inheriting the palace, Lionardo Buonarroti had Volterrano cover up the figure with draperies so that his wife and children would not see the nudity. His intention was to do so "without removing any of the beauty of the painting," but of course he destroyed its purpose completely.[103] *Inclination* was a reiteration of *Susanna*, declaring the presence of the artist in her work, whose very subject in this case was the personification of an artist's peculiar inclination toward making art.

The "self-portrait" of Artemisia known as the *Allegory of Painting* (cat. 81) is another such declaration.[104] Much ink has been spilled over its date and the related question of whether or not it is possible that the figure depicted resembles Artemisia. But self-identification with a work has little to do with resemblance. The painting is another signature pact—and it is interesting that Artemisia should have made such a statement when she got to London in 1638, which is when this work almost certainly was painted. As in the case of the figure of Inclination, the attributes of Artemisia's figure of Painting are selected from Ripa, including the female personification, the disordered black hair, the golden chain with a mask hanging from it to stand for imitation, the changing colors of her sleeve, and the brush in one hand. Ripa lists other attributes, but most significant was his suggestion that at the feet of Painting should be some of the tools of the painter, "to show that painting is a noble exercise, and cannot be done without much application of the intellect."[105] The figure of Painting is a passionate young woman, her dark brown eyes looking up to the light, light that emphasizes intellect and body as it falls on her high forehead, and upon her full breast. This shining breast is framed by the lines of the gold chain—that token of esteem usually given by patrons to male painters. The figure holds her brush up to the edge of the actual canvas as if to begin to paint the empty canvas behind her, but she is caught in a moment of meditation or inspiration, as if to show that "painting is a noble exercise, and cannot be done without much application of the intellect." Through this gesture, the entire composition captures the sense of the embodiment of Artemisia's art, her consubstantiality with it, for the moment of inspiration speaks Artemisia's own name: *Arte-mi-sia*, or "Let art be for me."[106] She signed the work *AGF* (Artemisia Gentileschi fecit).

By this point in her life, Artemisia had learned to objectify her bodily identification with her art, and the threat of scandal was reduced as she aged, even as she would treat her own female models with scorn, complaining about their fees and their chatter. But she never broke her contract as the woman painter, always working, her hair as wild as her imaginings, the embodiment of Painting who was forever young and beautiful. And the threat of scandal, shame, or loss of face was also always there. Garrard sees the constant praise of Artemisia's beauty in poems and letters as "a triple-barrelled weapon": it indicates that she remained on the level of other women in this respect, despite having risen above her sex; it associates her with the potentially corruptive powers of women, which undermined appreciation for her learning and wisdom; and it made it possible to suggest

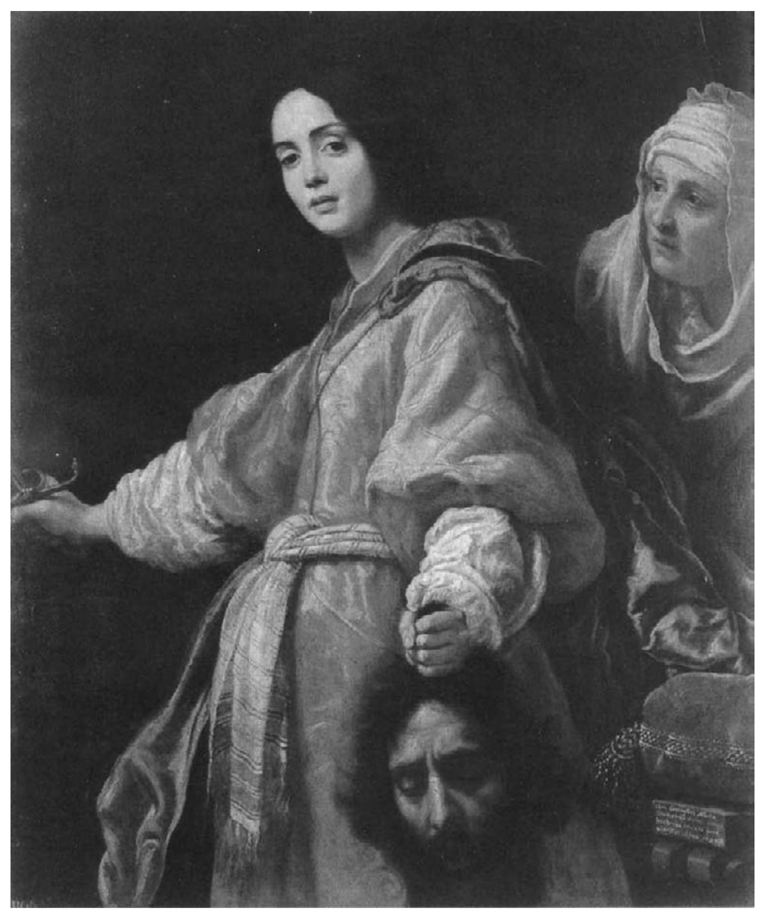


Figure 103. Cristofano Allori (1577–1621), *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*. Oil on canvas. Royal Collection, Hampton Court

that her achievements were a sort of by-product of her looks.[107] Bissell has pointed to various difficulties in Garrard's readings of the texts in praise of Artemisia, but even he, in a feminist gesture, adds that "it was when writers acclaimed Artemisia Gentileschi's physical attributes that they ran a special risk of doing her a disservice by emphasizing that aspect of her person at the expense of her mind (indeed, by implying that she owed her art to her beauty) and by opening the way to those who associated female good looks with lasciviousness and a host of related negative qualities."[108] By singling out Gentileschi as an extraordinary woman, one writer is held guilty of "diminishing women in general."[109] That writer, Gianfrancesco Loredan, addresses Artemisia in a letter declaring himself her vassal, who lacks the words to sing her praises, saying:

> *I will not say you are a woman in order not to cast doubts on the vitality of your thoughts. I will not say you are a goddess so that you will not doubt the sincerity of my voice. I will not say you are beautiful so as not to associate with you the qualities of every simple woman. I will not say that you make miracles with your brush for me so as not to deprive you of glory. I will not say that you give birth to marvels with your tongue, because only you are worthy of celebrating them. I will just say that the singularity of your virtue requires my mind to invent new words worthy of the greatness of your gifts and expressive of my devotion.*[110]

There is every reason to believe that Artemisia would have been delighted by this. Such a tissue of rhetoric protected her, gave her the standing that allowed her to work. She would have been equally, if not more, pleased by the poem dedicated to her by the Neapolitan Giovanni Canale on the occasion of the death of his friend Donati, in which he calls her a "pittrice industre," or hard-working painter, accompanied by Fame.[111] He begs her to take up the depiction of the sorrow he feels, saying, "As famous as you are beautiful, the world praises you, gentle Artemisia." A work by her "saggio pennello," or wise brush, will make his friend immortal, free from the injuries of time and envy. In another poem dedicated to Artemisia's painting of an Apollo for Girolamo Fontanella, Canale writes of how the "bella Artemisia" has made Apollo fall in love with her. Her hand draws and paints the god, emulating nature and conquering art, so that he seems alive. She seems to have come from heaven, so beautiful is she and so perfect the forms she paints, with the result that Venus must cede to her beauty and Apelles to her painting.

Canale was a notary and not a particularly good poet, working within the tradition of *concettismo* perfected by Giambattista Marino. In praising Artemisia, however, he applies his verses to both her beauty and her work; there can be no sense in which considering her divine is any more demeaning than applying the same term to Michelangelo. Like Loredan's letter, what such poems did was to add more bricks and mortar to the temple of fame that Artemisia had been building for herself since the beginning of her career. The process involved a steady distancing from scandal, but from the very beginning she had understood that to be a woman painter with a body of work, who made a career that lasted her entire life, meant that scandal could never be far away. In Artemisia's case, the only one she knew, this was especially true because of her practice of painting from the model and because of her bodily engagement with the work. She managed to do far more than survive on that knife-edge which divided true fame from infamy until her death, after which she would gradually lose her fame and, more recently, sadly regain her infamy. Artemisia's purpose in living this risky life, and the only thing that made it possible for her to do so, was her work. We should not, in a Longhian way, ignore her life as we look at the work, because the life is in the work. But we should acknowledge, as Banti was compelled to do, that the astonishing output of this woman painter is what counts in the end. Most of all we should not deny her exceptionality, her true independence from her father from the age of nineteen, and the fact that she was indeed a very famous painter during her own lifetime, not just infamous now.

1. See Taylor 1999 and Moore 1999. See also the comments by Richard Feigen in *Tales from the Art Crypt* (2000, 111–13), in which he criticizes the premise of the present exhibition, which is to consider the work of father and daughter together, and insists on Orazio's greater merit. He laments that "[t]he rise of feminism, the scarcity of important women painters, the drama of Artemisia's rape by Orazio's friend Augustino Tassi, and the ensuing trial have recently generated a wave of interest in her work," concluding that "rape and political correctness are irresistible."
2. Los Angeles 1976–77, 118–19.
3. Garrard 1989, 4.
4. Ibid., 5.
5. Ibid.
6. Spear 2000.
7. See Pollock 1990 for an important review of Garrard's book. Garrard 2001, xvii–xxii, replies to her critics, especially Pollock.
8. Pollock 1999, 123. This theory of genealogical struggle lies at the heart of Lapierre's novel (1998, 2000).
9. Cohen 2000, 47–75. See also her earlier, more general study (1991).
10. Longhi 1916, 287; Wittkower and Wittkower 1963, 164; Tufts 1974, 59. I say no scholar, though of course Alexandra Lapierre's novel and Agnès Merlet's popular movie do just that. It seems that the story of the love letters began with Alfred Moir in 1967, for which see Garrard 1989, 533–34 n. 57; see ibid., 206–7, for Artemisia as "the butt of one long historical dirty joke."
11. Cohen 2000, 54.
12. The letter, first published by Leopoldo Tanfani-Centofanti in 1897, is reprinted by Lapierre 2000, 408. The charges all appear to be true.
13. For the hardships of her life in Florence, see Cropper 1992, 203–9; Cropper 1993; and Bissell 1999.
14. Costanza had been married to Filippo Franzini, a pupil of Tassi's, for a year in February 1611, and in May of that year declares that she is fourteen. In 1619 Costanza, Filippo, and Agostino Tassi were living together with two children, for which see Bertolotti 1876.
15. Longhi 1916, 286–87.
16. See, for example, D'Ardia Carraciolo in Banti 1988, 218; and Cannon 1994, esp. 322–25. For a significant discussion of the novel as a whole, see Benedetti 1999, 43–61.
17. Banti 1988, 26–27; and see Cannon 1994, 325–27.
18. Cannon 1994, 330–31.
19. Banti 1988, 111.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid. For the letter of March 13, 1649, see Garrard 1989, 391–92.
22. Banti 1988, 111–12.
23. Especially the statistical studies of the *Annalistes*, and anthropological studies of law and society by such scholars as Richard Trexler, Elizabeth Cohen, and Thomas Kuehn, as well as case studies of early modern religious belief, witchcraft, sex and gender, by such writers as Carlo Ginzburg, Guido Ruggiero, and Giulia Calvi. Recently, however, historians have voiced increasing concerns about the need to observe distinctions between history, biography, and historical fiction, as new genres gain popularity. Art-historical fiction, whether in print or on film, is now booming.
24. The exhibition was quite modest, but nonetheless aroused comment that Artemisia had beaten her father in the race for a one-man show.
25. Florence 1991, 33. Garrard (2001, 15–17, and 128 nn. 27, 28) rejects this charge, arguing that "[f]or Artemisia Gentileschi, the question is not whether but how feminism enters her work."
26. This is also Bissell's conclusion in his 1999 monograph, though he does not succeed in engaging in the problem. Setting the issue aside does not help, for if the fact of being a woman affected the life experiences of other women painters such as Lavinia Fontana or Sofonisba Anguissola, this is even more the case for Artemisia, who lived a far more independent life than any of her predecessors.
27. Calvi 1992, vii–xxvii.
28. Ibid., xi.
29. Ibid., xii.
30. Garrard 1989, 415.
31. At the same time, as several scholars have suggested, it is not unreasonable to think that Tassi hoped to use Artemisia's extraordinary ability to work as a guarantee of his own future security.
32. On this issue in general see, most recently, Barzman 2000. See also Lukehart 1993.
33. Brown 1986, 251–52.
34. Garrard (1989, 8), adopting Leo Steinberg's phrase for the late works of Michelangelo.
35. Bissell 1999, 239–41; see also ibid., 385 no. L-95, on the identification of the duke of Guise and inaccuracies in Garrard's account.
36. Garrard 1989, 94–95.
37. Bissell 1999, 240.
38. Ibid., 241.
39. This great work is not among Artemisia's best known because it has been seen by few scholars; it is also an allegory rather than representing a dramatic action. Though female figures in so many earlier works have been identified with Artemisia, only Garrard has suggested that the "absent but ubiquitous artist" is present in the work, but without reading this statuesque allegorical figure as a self-representation, which it surely is.
40. Published by Tanfani-Centofanti 1897, and partially quoted by Bissell 1999, 393.
41. Lapierre (1998, 427) makes the important connection with this academy. See also Garrard 1989, 64. Bissell (1999, 38–39) proposes that the reference is rather to the Venetian academy of the same name. The use of "ne'" in the inscription on the engraving is appropriate for Artemisia's sex, for this is the way to express a woman's connection to her family by marriage.
42. Garrard 1989, 64, 503 n. 103; Bissell 1999, 39.
43. On these verses and their attribution, see Costa 2000.
44. Bissell 1999, 370.
45. Ibid., 56, 387. In Naples it is also possible that Artemisia had a pension from the crown, on the model of that given to Giovanna Garzoni.
46. Ibid., 249–56.
47. Harris in Los Angeles 1976–77, 111–14.
48. Bissell 1999, 256–59.
49. Ibid., 264–66.
50. For the text, see Garrard 1989, 383–84.
51. Ibid., 380–81.
52. Bissell 1999, 164–65.
53. Ibid., 148.
54. Garrard 1989, 387.
55. Bissell 1999, 389–90; see ibid., 150, for the *Fame* and *Susanna and the Elders* also in the royal collection.
56. See most recently Madocks Lister 2000.
57. Cited by Finaldi in London–Bilbao–Madrid 1999, 10.
58. Ibid., 15.
59. Garrard 1989, 388–89.
60. Bissell 1999, 281–86.
61. Ibid., 225–26. See also Harris 1998, 115 n. 37.
62. Garrard (1989, 390–401) publishes the letters in English translation. They were first published by Imparato 1889, 423–25.
63. Garrard 1989, 390.
64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., 392.
66. Ibid., 394.
67. Ibid., 397.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., 398.
70. Harris 1998, 113.
71. On this generic division, see Cropper 1998, 210–53, and Cropper 1996a. Bissell (1999, 112–31) also discusses the character of Artemisia's specialization. On the invention of the tableau as such, see Dempsey 2000. Artemisia's *Esther Before Ahasuerus* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (cat. 71), is probably her most successful tragic history.
72. See Cropper 1984, 106–9.
73. Garrard 1989, 141–71. The concentration on France, unfortunately, means that there is no discussion of the importance for painting of the heroic women of Italian epic, especially in the work of Torquato Tasso.
74. Garrard (1989, 171) also argues that Artemisia aggressively modeled her art on the work of certain male artists—notably Michelangelo and Caravaggio—to produce a sort of "gender-inverted version of androgyny" in her female figures that would not be understood as long as "the unofficial religion of patriarchal misogyny" prevailed. As far as I know, Artemisia produced few Madonnas.
75. Garrard 1989, 179.
76. In her response to her critics, Garrard (2001, 108–13) in part bases her rejection of the reworking of the Burghley House *Susanna and the Elders* on the grounds that Artemisia was not prepared to sell herself by making the work more seductive to the viewer.
77. Hersey 1993, 330.
78. Harris 1998, 113–15.
79. Ibid., 118.
80. Ibid., 119. A word should be said here about Harris's view (ibid., 114 n. 31) that Artemisia could not have used herself as a model. Painters in the sixteenth century indeed depicted themselves from reflections, even in pieces of polished metal.
81. See Bissell 1999, 187–89.
82. De Grazia 1984, 168–76 nos. 176–90.
83. Bellori 1976, 217–18.
84. For an important distinction between life drawing and figure drawing after the model in the academy, see Barzman 2000, 98–101.
85. Harris (1998, 115) also claims that even after the arrival in Rome of Titian's *Bacchanals* in 1598, the depiction of women by men trained in the Carracci tradition remained unreal, and therefore safe.
86. Cropper 1996.
87. For a popular account of the story, see Langdon 1998, 298–99.
88. Ibid., 249–51.
89. Cited by Garrard 1989, 481.
90. Ibid., 482 (my emphasis).
91. Bissell (1999, 306–10) explains his reasons for changing his mind on this, reattributing the work to Orazio and redating it to 1611–12.
92. Ibid., 299–301.
93. See Lukehart 1993, 41–43. Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Med. 6028 contains an interesting reference of July 18, 1614, in a letter to the grand duchess, to the fact that a young Flemish artist wanting to study with Passignano could not live in the artist's house because there were women in the household.
94. For the spaces of Artemisia's life, see Cropper 1992.
95. Nor can it be said that there was nothing else "for her to do all day except to become a painter," for which see Harris 1998, 107.
96. Koerner 1993, xviii.
97. Pollock (1988, 44–46) makes the important point that it was not exclusion from the nude model as such in the academies that denied women power, but their exclusion from the discourse of history painting.
98. Florence 1986–87, 116–17.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid., 189–91. The picture was begun about 1610–12, but consigned to the Medici only in 1619.
101. Bissell 1999, 205–8.
102. See also Contini (in Florence 1991, 128) for the relationship to the Pommersfelden *Susanna* (cat. 51).
103. According to Baldinucci, as cited by Contini in ibid., 127.
104. Bissell 1999, 272–75.
105. Ripa 1986, vol. 2, 121.
106. Cropper 1992, 215–16.
107. Garrard 1989, 174.
108. Bissell 1999, 40.
109. Ibid., 41.
110. Cited by ibid., 166.
111. Cited by ibid., 166–68.



Artemisia in Her Father's House

PATRIZIA CAVAZZINI

An engraving after a lost self-portrait by Artemisia Gentileschi (fig. 95) calls her "famosissima pittrice . . . en picturae miraculum" (celebrated painter . . . a marvel in the art of painting).[1] In an age that was much drawn to what was strange and exotic, Artemisia and her paintings of heroines were probably esteemed as such, as prized curiosities. And as R. Ward Bissell has pointed out in his 1999 publication, her male customers, because they were no doubt titillated by her stories of violence and seduction, continued to commission them from her.[2] But Artemisia did not reach the apex of success during her lifetime. In Rome, in Florence, and in Venice she did not receive a single public commission, even though in Florence she was a favorite at court and gained admittance to the Accademia del Disegno.[3] The Rome of the 1630s, which decreed the triumph of the Baroque, had no room for her, or for any other follower of Caravaggio. Her last twenty years were spent mostly in Naples, a city better attuned to her Caravaggism tempered by Bolognese influences. Here she enjoyed the patronage of the Spanish nobility, including that of Philip IV (r. 1621–65), and even painted altarpieces. But still she was dissatisfied. She did not like the place, repeatedly tried—and failed—to gain steady patronage elsewhere, and often found herself in financial straits.[4]

In the past twenty-five years, captivated by the links that we have seen or imagined between Artemisia's life and work, we have turned her into a marvel of our own time. But for all the feminist studies devoted to her and to her work, not much attention has been paid to what it meant to be a young, unmarried female artist in early-seventeenth-century Rome. It can be argued that in Florence, where she lived from the end of 1612 to 1620, Artemisia became a refined painter, an elegant lady, and perhaps also a sophisticated intellectual. It can at least be proven that there she learned to write.[5] Artemisia's married status, her increasing success, not to mention her contacts with the Medici court, allowed her a freedom she had not enjoyed before. The situation was certainly different in Rome, before 1612. Almost unconsciously, many art historians have assumed that Artemisia was trained as a history painter and that she was well aware, as a male artist would have been, of everything that was going on in the Roman art world. In her groundbreaking monograph of 1989, Mary Garrard proposes a feminist interpretation of Artemisia's art that assumes her familiarity with a wide range of visual sources and literary texts. But are these assumptions tenable in view of what we know about Orazio and Artemisia around 1610?

Artemisia Gentileschi's social situation was profoundly different, for instance, from that of Lavinia Fontana (1552–1614), the other woman artist of high repute in Rome at that time (fig. 104). Lavinia's father, Prospero (1512–1597), was perhaps the foremost Bolognese painter in the third quarter of the cinquecento. He was a successful, wealthy man, who combined a vast erudition with a wide array of visual sources. When Bishop Paleotti wanted to establish guidelines to help artists follow the dictates of the Council of Trent, he consulted Prospero Fontana. Prospero's patrons included Pope Julius III (r. 1550–55); among his friends were Ulisse Aldrovandi and Achille Bocchi.[6] He had an extensive workshop, called a "studio," where pupils—but almost certainly not his daughter—could study anatomy. For their training, students had at their disposal a collection of antiques (or casts after the antique) and casts of parts of the body, which would have been easily accessible to Lavinia. And although she was a woman, raised in a cultivated, broad cultural context, she became not only a portraitist but also a history painter, practically a unique occurrence in Italian art up to this point.[7] In 1604, Lavinia moved to Rome (where she died in 1614), securing commissions for a number of

Opposite: Detail of Orazio Gentileschi and Agostino Tassi (1578–1644), *A Musical Concert with Apollo and the Muses* (fig. 6)

altarpieces, including one for San Paolo fuori le Mura, which was unfavorably received by the Roman public.[8] In her self-portraits she emphasizes her social station, her intellectual achievements, and her prim virtue.[9]

Compared with Lavinia Fontana's, Artemisia's youth was one of limitations, as clearly emerges from the proceedings of the famous rape—or, more accurately, defloration—trial of 1612. In particular her social station, coupled with her father's notoriously strange temperament, allowed her very limited artistic or intellectual contacts.[10] Artemisia was a motherless child, whose father had long struggled to achieve a minimal recognition in Roman artistic circles.[11] In 1611, although he had lived and worked in Rome for more than thirty years, Orazio was still considered—by a neighbor—a poor man, too poor to keep a servant.[12] His significant commissions were few and far between: in the late 1590s he had painted the apse of San Nicola in Carcere for the cardinal-nephew Pietro Aldobrandini, in 1596 a *Conversion of Saul* in San Paolo fuori le Mura, and after 1607 the *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 11) in the Olgiati chapel in Santa Maria della Pace.[13] Settimio Olgiati seems to have appreciated Orazio and to have been a faithful patron, as was Paolo Savelli, who in the aftermath of the trial assisted Orazio by providing patronage and housing.[14] But the top prizes eluded him; he was never considered for an altarpiece in Saint Peter's and, until 1611, neither Pope Paul V (r. 1605–21) nor his cardinal-nephew, Scipione Borghese, had shown any interest in him. Until the turn of the century, Gentileschi had been one of the many *frescanti* active in the large collaborative enterprises carried out by such painters as Cesare Nebbia (ca. 1536–1614) and Giovanni Guerra (1544–1618). And still in 1610, he was merely transposing in mosaic a drawing by the Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640) on a segment of the dome of Saint Peter's.[15]

At this date, the example of Caravaggio, perhaps coupled with that of Guido Reni (1575–1642), had already profoundly influenced Orazio.[16] From a rather conventional, reformed Mannerist style, he had slowly turned toward observation of nature, especially to painting directly from the model. His works were infused with a lyrical sensibility derived from Caravaggio, but which Caravaggio himself had soon abandoned. If some of his most powerful early canvases, such as the *David* in the Galleria Spada (cat. 18), date approximately from this period, they were probably considered more appropriate for private collections than for public commissions. In particular, Orazio's inability to convincingly handle large multifigure compositions, especially in terms of space, must have limited him.[17]

He had few friends and seems to have been rather distant from many of the most influential and innovative patrons. The Aldobrandini had only a portrait by him, and even Caravaggio's early advocates, such as Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, the Mattei, and the Giustiniani, did not consider Orazio a valid alternative.[18] Antiveduto Gramatica (1571–1626), who tempered his Caravaggism with a strong dose of influence from Raphael, seems to have been preferred both by those who esteemed and by those who disdained Caravaggio. His name in fact appears repeatedly both in the Del Monte inventory and in the accounts of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto.[19]

At least until the time of the trial, in 1612, what we know of Orazio's social life suggests a downward spiral. If in 1594 he was close to the Cavaliere d'Arpino, he soon began to associate with more unsavory characters, such as Caravaggio, Onorio Longhi (1568–1619), and Carlo Saraceni (ca. 1579–1620).[20] Together with Orazio Borgianni, Saraceni and Gentileschi were among the earliest followers of Caravaggio, but the friendship between them did not last long. Already in 1603 there was friction with Caravaggio, and by 1610 Gentileschi's connection with Saraceni—and probably with Borgianni—had been severed.[21]

Orazio had quarreled with Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566–1643) in 1603. If we can make generalizations from his declarations at this date, many of the arguments were based both on artistic rivalries and on perceived injuries to his honor.[22] Although artistic matters were behind these altercations, the level of discourse was certainly not very profound or elevated. The rhymes composed by Gentileschi, Caravaggio, and Filippo Trisegni begin with "O Giovanni Baglione, great whore," and follow with language so vulgar that they have only rarely been printed. Far from having any intellectual pretense, Orazio declared, "I can write, but I cannot spell properly."[23]

Gentileschi was in touch with Northern painters who lived in his neighborhood, certainly with Wenzel Cobergher (1560?–1632), and perhaps with Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610).[24] With Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) and his followers there seems to have been very little professional contact. The ever-widening circles of the 1612 depositions might mention Passignano (1559–1638) or Cigoli (1559–1613)—at least as friends of friends—but never the Emilian painters.[25]

By 1610, Orazio was left with one close companion, a Cosimo Quorli, understeward to the pope, collector of paintings, and a truly revolting character if ever there was one.[26] In the rape trial, various witnesses attested that he claimed to be Artemisia's father, but evidently he also repeatedly tried to rape her.[27] Perhaps through Quorli, Orazio met Agostino Tassi (1578–1644), who had arrived in Rome in August 1610 with a long criminal record, and became his fast friend.[28]

From Florence, where he stayed only briefly in the early 1590s, Tassi had been banished to Livorno, which was at the time little more than a penal colony. In 1599, in Rome, he assaulted a prostitute who had refused to spend the night with him because of a previous engagement. As punishment for a further crime committed in Tuscany, Tassi spent time on the grand-ducal galleys, but not actually at the oars. When he regained his freedom he married a prostitute, as fulfillment of a vow to redeem one. The woman, called Maria Cannodoli, left him for a rich merchant, ostensibly because Agostino had seduced her sister Costanza. In revenge he tried, probably unsuccessfully, to have her killed.[29]



Figure 104. Lavinia Fontana (1552–1614), *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

All of this did not prevent Tassi from being an original and productive painter, much sought after by patrons. Among the members of the Florentine court, Lorenzo Usimbardi, who had been supervisor of construction in Livorno, wrote to Agostino while he was in jail, signing himself, "come fratello" (like a brother).[30] As soon as he arrived in Rome, Tassi went to work in the Palazzo Firenze, under the direction of Cigoli. There he painted a frieze of sea- and landscapes, celebrating the military exploits of Grand Duke Ferdinand I de' Medici.[31] Soon after, he may have been active in the Palazzo Colonna.[32] By February 1611, Tassi was being tried for incest with his sister-in-law, and apparently both Cosimo Quorli and Orazio Gentileschi were instrumental in securing his release.[33]

But one wonders whether Agostino Tassi needed such protection. In March 1611, nine days after his release, he was already receiving 150 scudi from the Camera Apostolica for frescoes in the papal palace on the Quirinal hill, obviously commissioned before the trial.[34] By far the most prominent room he had to paint in the palace was the Sala del Concistoro—also called the Sala Regia—the decorations of which do not survive. Tassi, who was not a figure painter but mainly a painter of illusionistic architecture and landscape, turned to Gentileschi for help. In 1612, the latter complained that he "had" to help Tassi in this task, but actually the opportunity could not have been more timely. Tassi had not only finally obtained for him a commission with the papal family, but had provided an ideally suited collaboration.[35] If Gentileschi had trouble arranging figures in space, Tassi was a master of spatial illusionism and supplied a convincing framework into which Orazio could easily insert his personages. And although the latter angrily complained that Tassi was much exalted for this work, he himself received equal praise.[36] The success of this lost fresco—where angels were shown holding a Borghese coat of arms in the center of the ceiling and the Virtues leaned on an illusionistic balustrade—led to further collaborations for the Borghese. The two painters worked together in the Casino delle Muse in Cardinal Scipione's garden palace—from September 1611—and in the so-called apartment of Cardinal Lanfranco still in the Palazzo del Quirinale—from January 1612.

Cardinal Scipione's accounts show that at the Casino delle Muse, the two painters were on equal footing and received equal pay. The situation was different at the Palazzo del Quirinale. Gentileschi must have been paid through Tassi for the Sala del Concistoro and received a single payment for the decoration of Cardinal

Lanfranco's apartment. He may well have obtained more money through Tassi, but this would indicate that Tassi was in charge of the work and that the illusionistic architecture dominated the figures.[37] Perhaps this situation also played a role in Orazio's decision to press charges against Agostino for the defloration of his daughter.

The two close friends were often seen walking together through the streets of Rome, and Agostino often went to Orazio's house.[38] Thus, a fateful chain of events was set in motion; it culminated in March 1612, when Orazio Gentileschi presented a petition to the Tribunale Criminale del Governatore di Roma against Agostino Tassi and Cosimo Quorli. Tassi had forcibly deflowered his daughter, Artemisia, and Quorli had not only abetted him and tried to rape her in turn, but had also extracted from Artemisia a few paintings, including a large *Judith* (fig. 46). Under the pretense of friendship they had inflicted severe damage on Orazio, both on his honor and on his purse.[39]

Although only seventeen, Artemisia was already a painter in fact as well as in reputation. Yet with remarkably few exceptions, nobody knew her personally. Few had ever seen her, not to mention talked to her. Orazio, who had repeatedly tried to convince her to become a nun, kept her almost secluded in their house.[40] He never took her anyplace and hardly ever proposed that she go anywhere. He allowed her to go on a very few excursions organized by others, joining her if he could. Artemisia chafed at these restrictions, which were not, however, unusual for a young woman in the Rome of that time. But she could not bear the thought of becoming a nun, and she was often seen at the window, a major breach of propriety.[41] Many witnesses who tried to steer a middle course between Agostino and Orazio testified to this, while all those who accused Artemisia of being a public prostitute, or in any case of having had lovers, were convinced to do so by Tassi himself. Only Tassi, likely with the intention of discrediting her, claimed to have seen her outside the house.[42] All other witnesses, even those who wished to defame her, said she stayed inside. Thus, the house meant to protect Artemisia became her undoing.[43]

Doubling as a workshop, and without a partition between living and working quarters, the Gentileschi dwelling was much more open to the outside world than was desirable at the time. People of various sorts—fellow artists, patrons, shop boys, models—frequented it. And although Orazio often took care that visitors did not meet Artemisia, or if they met her, that they did not speak to her, these comings and goings hurt her reputation.[44] At the very least, the judge suspected that they might have caused the rumors about her.[45] At home, Artemisia painted the portrait of a certain Artigenio, again exposing herself to the risk of being criticized for an excessive degree of intimacy.[46] She lied to the judge about the age of her brother Francesco, making him sixteen when he actually would have been no more than thirteen, to give the impression that he was there to protect her.[47] Tassi raped Artemisia in her home, and there they carried on their subsequent relationship. Agostino even claimed that Orazio had given him the task of teaching her perspective.[48] While this may or may not be true, Orazio seems to have granted both Tassi and Quorli, a married man whom he trusted, free access to his daughter, who was sheltered from many other encounters. It is remarkable, for instance, that Carlo Saraceni, a friend of Orazio's from at least 1603 to 1610, had never seen her.[49] Antinoro Bertucci, who owned a pigment store on via del Corso, had seen but not met a girl in Orazio's house and had assumed she was his daughter.[50]

Orazio had clearly used Artemisia as a model, inducing rumors that he had her pose in the nude.[51] Beautiful and provocative, with her unkempt hair and low-cut dresses, she stirred the imagination of many men. In part because she belonged to a different social class, she was far from conforming to the image of the virtuous female artist fashioned by Lavinia Fontana and Sofonisba Anguissola (ca. 1532–1625).[52] After the rape, Tassi's promise of marriage made Artemisia acquiesce "amorevolmente"—her own word—to a relationship.[53] We know little of her feelings, but it would perhaps be well to keep in mind how rarely the word *amore* is used in Italian. True, Agostino was "piccolotto, grassotto, di poca barba" (small, chubby, with a scant beard), but he must have been a charmer and inspired strong loyalties, otherwise it would be hard to explain why so many witnesses lied on his behalf.[54] Even during the trial, Artemisia was seen as behaving affectionately toward him.[55] It was only the discovery that Agostino had lied to her once again—he could not marry her because his wife was still living—that turned Artemisia definitively against him.[56]

The association with Tassi had boosted Orazio's career and his financial situation—he could, for instance, afford a full-time helper only after he started working on the Casino delle Muse (fig. 6)—and a marriage between Agostino and Artemisia would have been

the best way of maintaining it.[57] In July 1611, after the rape had already taken place, Orazio moved away from the artists' quarter between the Piazza di Spagna and the Piazza del Popolo, where he had lived all his life, and established himself across the Tiber, near the church of Santo Spirito. Because he was working on the Quirinal hill, such a move would have been rather inconvenient and can be explained only by his wish to be close to Tassi, who lived nearby.[58]

Certainly Orazio did not press suit the moment he knew of the rape. He waited until the works he was carrying out with Agostino were almost finished, and meanwhile tried to see if some other solution could be found.[59] By pressing charges, Orazio probably intended to force the reluctant Agostino into a marriage, or at least into providing a substantial dowry for his daughter. These seem, in fact, to have been the most common legal solutions to a rape. The provision of a dowry would have proven the lack of guilt on the woman's part and made her more attractive in the marriage market, compensating for the loss of virginity.[60]

But according to the famous contemporary lawyer Prospero Farinacci, sentences for rape were somewhat arbitrary. In theory a capital sentence could be pronounced, but in practice this did not happen—unless perhaps the rape involved abduction or arms. A man guilty of rape but unwilling to marry his victim, or to provide a dowry for her, could undergo a punishment, such as fustigation, the galleys, exile, or a fine. Much depended on his and the woman's social condition. For instance, the rape of a maid, even if she was an "honest" woman, was not considered a crime, nor was the rape of a disreputable woman.[61]

In bringing the matter to the court's attention, the Gentileschi underestimated their man and the protections he received. Agostino denied any involvement with Artemisia and produced a number of witnesses declaring she had had several lovers. The crucial one, Nicolò Bedino, who claimed to have lived with Orazio since Lent of 1611, testified that Artemisia went upstairs to her room with various men, "but I do not know what they were doing up there."[62] By proving that Nicolò had been living with him only since the fall of 1611 and had been previously in Tassi's service, Orazio was able to make the court see through Agostino's fabrications. It was, however, a close call for the Gentileschi, implying much legal maneuvering.[63]

Eventually, in November 1612, Tassi was sentenced to five years' exile from Rome under threat of the galleys if he did not leave—but this threat was perhaps more legal wording than a real possibility.[64] The sentence, like many others in seicento Rome, was not implemented. It is not clear how satisfactory this was for the Gentileschi, who gained nothing but the declaration that Artemisia had indeed been raped. Agostino stayed in Rome, even though the nomination of a proxy in January 1613 could be an indication that he was preparing to leave.[65] Not bothering to hide, in March 1613 he initiated a proceeding against Valerio Ursino, a painter who had worked under Passignano.[66] Their friendship had turned sour when Tassi requested payment in exchange for hospitality that Ursino thought had been freely given. In retaliation, Ursino provided one of the key depositions against Agostino and Nicolò.[67] Tassi and Ursino were reconciled on March 20, 1613, but a few days later Agostino assaulted an individual who remains tantalizingly anonymous. Orazio? Ursino? Somebody else entirely? The new crime led to a sentence, on April 9, 1613, of five years' exile from the Papal States.[68] Once again, Agostino did not keep to the terms of the sentence, though for two years he did live elsewhere. From December 1613 to December 1615 he stayed at Bagnaia, not far from Rome, frescoing for Cardinal Montalto, one of the wealthiest and most notable patrons in the city.[69]

The last episode seems to have shaken Orazio, who put himself under the protection of the Savelli and may have left Rome for the Marches in 1613. He can be documented in Rome in 1614 and 1615, exactly when Agostino was in Bagnaia, but not in the years between 1616 and 1620.[70] At least part of this time he must have spent in the Marches (on this subject, see Carloni, pp. 121–24).

In the past, I have misread the document of April 9, 1613, as being a reversal of Tassi's punishment for the rape, causing much confusion in the subsequent literature.[71] But, in fact, the sentence does not seem to have been reversed. However, Nicolò was apparently acquitted, or at least he so declared to a judge in 1619, and Tassi must have spread rumors that he too had been exonerated of any wrongdoing.[72] One of our primary biographical sources, Giulio Mancini, writing about 1620, before the extent of Tassi's criminal career became known, said that Tassi knew how to defend himself and that presumably he was innocent.[73] Giovanni Battista Passeri understood what sort of character Agostino was and condemned him in every instance except the one of the rape. He wrote that Artemisia would have been praiseworthy for her paintings if she had been more virtuous, and that Agostino was acquitted in the trial, even though he may have been guilty.[74]

Tassi's protection possibly came directly from the papal family. In March 1616, soon after his return from Bagnaia, he was again working for Paul V, planning the decoration of the gigantic Pauline chapel in the Palazzo del Quirinale, the equivalent of the Sistine chapel at the Vatican.[75] When the pope decided to have it stuccoed, not frescoed, Tassi was awarded two new tasks, the decoration of the new Sala Regia—now often called the Sala dei Corazzieri—and of the room of Saint Paul. The latter he carried out exclusively with his assistants, the former he shared with Saraceni and Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647). The three painters divided into two separate teams—Tassi and his helpers on the long inner wall, Lanfranco, Saraceni, and their collaborators on the other three.[76] There is no question that the Borghese had made their choice; it was Tassi's ability as a quadraturist which was irreplaceable, while Orazio was perhaps not even given a chance to finish his part in the Casino delle Muse.[77] If not as "mediocre" as the Florentine ambassador cruelly labeled him, Gentileschi was one among the many figure painters available in Rome.[78] His lyrical brand of Caravaggism could easily be replaced by Saraceni's, who knew Tassi from at least 1611. (Lanfranco's involvement in the project, and especially his close collaboration with Saraceni, is more difficult to understand. No follower of Caravaggio had worked so closely with a follower of the Carracci, nor had Tassi up to this point shared any project with an Emilian painter.)[79] As a consequence of the trial, Orazio lost the favor of the papal family; never again would he receive a major commission in Rome (but see cat. 25). Artemisia fared somewhat better. On November 29, 1612, the day after Tassi was sentenced to exile, she married Pierantonio Stiattesi (b. 1584), the brother of the man who had helped her father in the legal defense. By December, the newlyweds were preparing to leave Rome for Florence, where a whole new chapter in Artemisia's life was to begin.[80]

What had she painted up to this point? When and how had she been trained? What was the extent of her visual experience? From the trial, we can gather some scant information not so much on her training, but on that of her brother Francesco. In 1610 or early 1611, at the age of thirteen, Francesco was grinding colors, but in late 1611, when he was fourteen, he was learning to draw and was therefore still a beginner.[81] Francesco's companion during his training was the famous Nicolò who would be the main witness against Artemisia. Because Orazio was often out of the house, she helped them.[82] That the traditional method of teaching to draw first was followed by Orazio and the people around him is confirmed by innumerable testimonies in the trial.[83] Mario Trotta, for example, a day laborer who helped both Tassi and Gentileschi when they frescoed together, declared: "I am a painter—that is, I am a beginner, because I am learning to draw."[84]

If Artemisia had followed the same path as her brother—though it has been argued that women painters were trained at a later age than men—she would have learned to draw around 1607, and started to paint perhaps in 1608.[85] Her father's letter of July 1612, declaring that in three years she had become an extremely accomplished artist, might indicate that she had finished her training by 1609.[86]

Orazio was clearly not a teacher; his household around this time rarely accommodated apprentices, and they never lasted long. He was a loner, carrying out his trade in relative isolation, without an active workshop. When he was frescoing, Orazio hired helpers by the day, and before taking on Nicolò full-time he occasionally borrowed him from Agostino.[87] The contrast between Orazio's various houses and Tassi's could hardly have been more vivid. If both had rather humble abodes, which doubled as workshops, with no clear distinction between working and living spaces, Tassi's lodgings were crowded with a constant flow of apprentices and assistants. Some lived with him, some did not; some paid a fee, some exchanged services for instruction, some received wages.[88] Tassi's own drawings, mainly of landscapes but also after the antique, were their main learning tools.[89] The same was probably true in Orazio's house, where his own drawings and canvases were the key to instruction. Orazio, however, must have been a much less enthusiastic draftsman than Tassi, since there are no definitively autograph drawings by him—and none by Artemisia.

Toward the end of the first decade of the seicento, Orazio seems to have largely abandoned drawing in favor of painting directly from the model, following Caravaggio's example. Largely, though not completely, since he still needed drawings as preparation for frescoes.[90] We also know that he drew, not painted, likenesses of children, probably because they would have become restless if he had made them stand still for too long.[91] But when Gentileschi employed as models Bernardino Franchi, his barber, and Giovan Pietro Molli, a pilgrim who posed as Saint Jerome in the canvas now in Turin (ca. 1610–11; cat. 16), Orazio was painting them directly on the canvas.[92] From their words, it is clear how

slow and cumbersome the procedure was. Day after day, Orazio shut himself in a room with them and did not let anyone else in.[93] Did he make an exception for Artemisia? Perhaps. But time and again we have the impression that he did not. On via Margutta, Orazio seems to have painted alone in a room on the main floor, while Artemisia lived, and perhaps worked, upstairs—where Orazio's models never went.[94] On via della Croce, she painted next to her bedroom, possibly an indication that she and her father worked separately.[95] We would imagine that if the disposition of the house permitted, Artemisia's room would have been farther from the space where men came to look at paintings, or partially disrobed to pose.

Because Orazio had so few students, one wonders whether he even owned the teaching tools essential for a figure painter, such as casts of parts of the body and of antique statues. The absence of such implements would help explain Artemisia's rather inept rendering of anatomy, which is evident in her canvases at least until the mid-1610s. It was only in Florence that Artemisia learned to match virtuosity with creativity. The *Saint Cecilia* (cat. 63) and the *Allegory of Inclination* (fig. 110) are highly accomplished works, in which a brilliant rendering of textures is wed to an elegant depiction of the human figure.

Artemisia did learn from Orazio the practice of painting from the model and of posing human figures after famous works of art. In all likelihood Orazio owned a number of prints, which must have been fundamental for broadening her visual experience. From the evidence of the trial, I doubt that Artemisia had in fact seen much art firsthand. As mentioned before, she rarely went out. She went to Mass at her parish church, first Santa Maria del Popolo (she would therefore have been familiar with Caravaggio's canvases in the Cerasi chapel) and then San Lorenzo in Lucina and Santo Spirito in Sassia. She had also gone to Mass at Sant'Onofrio and visited a few of the major Roman basilicas, such as San Giovanni in Laterano, Saint Peter's, and San Paolo fuori le Mura. We hear of a plan to visit Santa Maria Maggiore that fell through.[96] Quorli took her to see the Palazzo del Quirinale, where Agostino Tassi and her father were painting. There, she would have seen Guido Reni's frescoes in the papal chapel. During Carnival, when rules were relaxed even for Artemisia, she spent various evenings at Quorli's house, where plays were staged and where she would have seen his collection of paintings, which included a large *Susanna* in a vertical format like her own.[97]

On these excursions, although she was pursued by both Tassi and Quorli, she took pains to look at works of art, but it is curious that she focused her attention on those which must already have been familiar to her. In San Giovanni, she stopped to look at the Apostles, one of which her father had painted, and in San Paolo she was eager to look at Orazio's altarpiece, the Conversion of Saul.[98] While I certainly do not want to make the claim that this was the extent of Artemisia's visual experience, I want to stress that she had almost no freedom of movement. Churches would have been more accessible to her than private palaces, especially given the few ties Orazio had to many important patrons.[99] The idea of the two of them going to the Palazzo Farnese so that Artemisia could see the Carracci gallery, or even to the Vatican palace to admire the Sistine ceiling is hardly likely; in the year discussed in the trial, that is, between 1611 and 1612, father and daughter never went on such an expedition. It is also hard to believe that Artemisia could have seen works in progress at other painters' houses, given that Orazio never took her to Tassi's or Saraceni's.

What is certainly a historical impossibility is that Artemisia had any role in the Casino delle Muse. Not only would this have been highly inappropriate; it is also clear from the trial that she worked at home. Nicolò ground colors only for Artemisia, since she painted in oil; her father, on the other hand, was painting in fresco.[100] No one, among Tassi's and Gentileschi's various helpers, saw her at the casino, and it is possible that she never went there.[101]

Filippo Baldinucci claimed that in her youth in Rome Artemisia had painted many portraits, and, indeed, at the trial we hear of her painting two.[102] One, of her neighbor's boy, was done for her own pleasure, and one, of a man called Artigenio, was commissioned.[103] When trying to establish Artemisia's oeuvre in these years, we should keep these facts in mind. Because she was the only daughter of a painter who had many sons, there would hardly have been a reason to train her as a history painter, which was at any rate a highly unusual career for a woman.[104] Still lifes, which she apparently painted, images of the Madonna and Child, and little oval panels such as those depicting Poetry and Painting once in the Spada collection (fig. 97), belonged to the realm of a woman painter.[105] Artemisia's illiteracy would also seem to argue against a training as a history painter. In 1612, at seventeen, she declared that she could hardly read and could not write.[106] This

must be true because Nicolò, who would have gained by saying the opposite, partially confirmed it.[107] Signing one's name was taught after reading but before writing and, by 1612, Artemisia might not have learned this minimal skill because her deposition is not signed.[108] From the autograph statements appended to each testimony at the trial, it becomes clear how disadvantaged she was in this respect, obviously because of her sex. All the men involved in the trial could write, many in a fluent handwriting and with correct spelling. Such abilities were widespread in seventeenth-century Rome, down to the level of skilled artisans, and certainly including painters and their assistants.[109]

At the beginning, Artemisia may have painted for the market, but her father assisted her career by providing patrons, such as Alessandro Biffi, who owned her first self-portrait as an Allegory of Painting (fig. 97) in addition to her *Madonna and Child* and Orazio's *David*, all of which ended up in the Spada collection (cat. nos. 18, 52).[110] Even at this early stage, Artemisia's work was extraordinarily powerful, as best demonstrated by the Spada *Madonna*, painted in 1609 or shortly thereafter. Gianni Papi aptly underscores the dynamic energy of this composition, perhaps modeled on Sansovino's marble *Madonna* in Sant'Agostino, as well as on her father's painting in Bucharest (cat. 15).[111] Also masterly are the depiction of the emotional relationship between mother and child and the command of space implied by the oblique placement of the chair. Orazio's slightly earlier *Madonna and Child* (cat. 8), obviously known to Artemisia, is more static and less spatially resolved: the pillow, rather than defining the space, seems to stand upright against the canvas.

Works such as the Spada *Madonna*, the unequal length of the Virgin's arms notwithstanding, probably convinced Orazio to make his daughter a history painter. The *Susanna and the Elders* in Pommersfelden (cat. 51) may be the tangible sign of this decision. The anatomical precision, the contrast of textures, the light that strikes Susanna's soft body are so much more accomplished here than in the Naples *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 55), always considered slightly later, that Orazio must have helped her out, down to the detail of the signature in capital letters, so that she could copy them more easily. Although Susanna's expression, as has often been claimed, may reflect Artemisia's disgust at the passes made at her by various disreputable individuals—though certainly not her revulsion at the rape, since she did not know Tassi in 1610—we also have to come to terms with the fact that neither Orazio nor Artemisia had any compunction about superimposing her features on a naturalistic and inviting nude body prominently displayed.[112] Was this her own body, admired and copied from a mirror? The notion of Artemisia's owning a large reflecting surface is not implausible, as Ann Sutherland Harris has come to believe, since Cosimo Quorli owned a full-length metal mirror that hung together with his paintings.[113]

Whether Orazio and Artemisia, in addition to the *Susanna*, painted other works together is difficult to say. In the attempt to ascertain whether or not Nicolò did indeed live with Orazio in 1611, many witnesses talk about the household around that time, but in fact nobody saw father and daughter collaborating. Shortly thereafter, Orazio was busy working in fresco for a number of months—perhaps with a gap in the late spring and summer of 1611—with little time for anything else.[114] He would have been more available after the beginning of the trial, in the spring of 1612 and for the remainder of that year. Although it is perhaps hard to imagine father and daughter working side by side at this time, Orazio's letter to Cristina, dowager grand duchess of Tuscany, does betray an affectionate understanding of his daughter's situation more than reproach or anger.[115]

It is unfortunate that we know nothing about the Naples *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, perhaps the first independent history painting by Artemisia. If the picture was indeed started after the rape and painted in Rome, as is generally assumed (but without any proof), then it must have been executed exactly while the trial was going on. Although in Judith's story, the roles of man and woman are almost reversed in respect to Artemisia's own story, still the elements of violence and seduction are fundamental in both, obviously tempting us to read Artemisia's biography into the picture.[116]

But perhaps we should use caution. As Bissell has noted, this kind of canvas was probably commissioned and its subject not chosen by Artemisia.[117] Moreover, we should reconsider the role of Caravaggio's *Judith*, now in the Palazzo Barberini (fig. 109). Even if Artemisia intended her canvas as a personal vendetta against Tassi, the mood with which she infused it is barely distinguishable from that of Caravaggio's picture. The goriness and violence are similar, as is the distaste for the task shown by the two Judiths. In both, a feeling akin to sadness is combined with a finicky fear of dirtying one's clothes.

I think that, at least in part, we should interpret Artemisia's *Judith* as her response to seeing the canvas by Caravaggio for the first

time. Because it was in the private collection of a patron not particularly close to her father, it would have been difficult for her to gain access to it, and she can hardly have known it all her life.[118] One wonders if the client who commissioned the painting also told her to take the Caravaggio as a model and arranged for her to see it.

Starting from Caravaggio's almost motionless composition, Artemisia devised a much more forceful and energetic arrangement of figures, one for which no totally convincing precedent can be suggested. In addition, she cast herself as the aggressor, substituting her features for those of Caravaggio's aristocratic heroine. Her Judith is at the same time a more ordinary and a more muscular figure. Again, before we make too much of this, we should remember that Artemisia, in her claustrophobic environment, became obsessed with her own features and repeated them time and again in her paintings, a mirror making up for so many constraints.

It is perhaps true, as it has been argued in the past, that the trial granted Artemisia more freedom—perhaps much more freedom than would have been customary for a young, unmarried woman—since after her loss of virginity became public knowledge, there would not have been much more to protect. For her artistic development it may have been an advantage that Tassi did not marry her. He talked of moving with her to Florence in the service of the court, evidently because he recognized her value as a painter.[119] More learned than her father, more interested in a variety of sources, he could perhaps have broadened the scope of her visual and cultural experience, but at the same time might have absorbed her into his workshop. If she had learned anything from Tassi, she obstinately refused to put it into her pictures. Strong, self-assured, totally in control as she appears during the trial, by marrying a nonentity she ensured her independence as an artist.

I wish to thank Keith Christiansen, Elizabeth and Thomas Cohen, and Alexandra Lapierre, who have most patiently answered my endless queries. A long conversation with Gianni Papi was also extremely helpful. My research on Agostino Tassi was financed by the Getty Grant Foundation.

1. Bissell 1999, 227.
2. For a discussion of the subject matter of Artemisia's pictures, see ibid., 112–31.
3. Spear 2000, 568.
4. See Artemisia's letters in Menzio 1981, 162–73; and translations in Garrard 1989, app. A, esp. nos. 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28.
5. See the autograph statement at the end of the inventory found by Francesco Solinas, in the essay by Roberto Contini. See also Bissell 1999, 110, on the issue of Artemisia's literacy. Many of Artemisia's letters survive only in print, and many others are clearly not autograph but written by a secretary, such as those reproduced in Garrard 1989, figs. 328, 329. (Artemisia herself wrote in a letter to Don Antonio Ruffo on June 12, 1649, that she employed secretaries; ibid., app. A, no. 19.) For the approximate date of Artemisia's departure for Florence, see Lapierre 1998, 457.
6. For Prospero Fontana, see Fortunati Pietrantonio 1986, vol. 1, 339–414.
7. For Lavinia Fontana, see Washington 1998 and Murphy 1996. See also King 1999, esp. 51–54, and Glenn 1999, esp. 134.
8. Baglione 1642, 143; Washington 1998, 29.
9. For her self-portraits, see Murphy 1996, 61; Washington 1998, 52, 58; and Glenn 1999, 178–81.
10. For Orazio's strange character, see Baglione 1642, 360: "Se Orazio fusse stato di humore più pratticabile, haverebbe fatto gran profitto nella virtù, ma più nel bestiale che nell'humano egli dava; e di qualsiasi soggetto per eminente che egli fusse conto non faceva; era di sua opinione e con la sua satirica lingua ciascheduno offendeva. . . ." Baglione's opinion can hardly be seen simply as a reflection of the 1603 trial, since his biography of Caravaggio is much more charitable. Pietro Guicciardini, the Florentine ambassador in Rome, in 1615 wrote to the Florentine court that Orazio was "uomo sì stratto di vita, di costumi, e d'humor tali che non si può convenir seco, né trattarlo, e con mille maleagevolezze tenerlo intorno" (Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 144). See also Baldinucci's comments on Gentileschi's "stravaganza di umore," 1811–12, vol. 3, 712.
11. See Christiansen, this publication, p. 3, and Contini in Florence 1991, 36–37.
12. Appendix 1, this publication, sect. B, fols. 110, 114, Costanza Ceuli: ". . . so che non ha tenuto mai servitore che veramente il Gentileschi era povero huomo . . . so bene che servitore non ha tenuto che haveva della famiglia assai."
13. Bissell 1981, 134–35, 216; Maniello 1994, 155–60. See Christiansen, this publication, pp. 15–19.
14. Olgiati not only commissioned the altarpiece in Santa Maria della Pace, but was evidently interested in Orazio's work; see appendix 1, sect. A, fols. 432v–433, Bernardino de Franceschi: ". . . mentre ce stetti io all'hora il signor Settimio Olgiati che venne a vedere la loggia . . . in quella casa che habitava detto signor Horatio nella strada di Margutta . . . ho ben visto venire il signor Settimio Olgiati a vedere qualche quadro." For Orazio's relationship with Paolo Savelli, see Pizzorusso 1987, 68–70; Gallo 1998, 334; Testa 1998; and cat. nos. 23, 25.
15. Bissell 1981, 5–6, 147–48.
16. See cat. nos. 9, 16, and the essay by Christiansen, this publication, pp. 5–9.
17. See, for example, the *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 11) for Santa Maria della Pace.
18. See Frommel 1971 (for Cardinal Del Monte); Rome 1995a (for the Mattei); Cappelletti 1998 (for the Aldobrandini, with previous bibliography); and Rome–Berlin 2001 (for the Giustiniani).
19. In 1611, Gramatica painted a *Europa* and a *Judith* for Cardinal Montalto, for which he was paid 50 scudi each. In 1620 and 1621, he painted two more canvases for the cardinal, the first of an unspecified subject, the second of a Madonna.

See Archivio Storico Capitolino (hereafter, ASC), Archivio Cardelli, app. 35 (27 gennaio, 8 agosto 1611, 38, 30 settembre 1621), app. 53 (25 aprile 1620). For Gramatica's presence in Cardinal Del Monte's collection, see Frommel 1971.

20. Bissell 1968, nn. 8, 9; Bissell 1981, 215; Garrard 1989, 14.
21. Appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 412: In August 1612, during the trial, Saraceni declared: "non ho praticato con il detto Horatio che saranno circa due anni." Borgianni seems to have been questioned only once during the trial; see Archivio di Stato di Roma (hereafter, ASR), Miscellanea artistica, b. 2, in Garrard 1989, 475. His deposition is lost, but being presented by Tassi's defense lawyer was certainly in Borgianni's favor, not in Gentileschi's. The cooling of Orazio's friendship with Caravaggio is mentioned in the famous trial of 1603; see Dell'Acqua and Cinotti 1971, 154–57.
22. Dell'Acqua and Cinotti 1971, 156. For the concept of honor in a Roman context, see Cohen 1992a.
23. "Io so scrivere ma non troppo corretto" (Dell'Acqua and Cinotti 1971, 154). See ibid., 155 (for the rather haphazard spelling of Orazio's letter to Baglione), 75 (for Dell'Acqua's comments).
24. Cobergher was godfather to Giulio Gentileschi, baptized on September 16, 1599 (Archivio del Vicariato di Roma [hereafter, AVR], S. Maria del Popolo, Battesimi, 1595–1619, fol. 52v, cited in Hoogewerff 1942, 112). Elsheimer, like Gentileschi, lived on via del Babuino in 1606, 1609, and 1610. According to F. Noack (quoted in Weizsäcker 1952, 160), in 1607 and 1608 Elsheimer lived on via dei Greci, therefore extremely close to Orazio, but his identification of the street might be mistaken.
25. Appendix 1, sect. B, fols. 104v, 106. See note 31 below. For the one reference to Annibale Carracci, see Panofsky 1993, 125.
26. For Quorli, see Lapierre 1998, 429.
27. Menzio 1981, 51, 69.
28. Orazio's isolation and his close ties with Tassi are repeatedly asserted in the trial; see Menzio 1981, 94, Agostino: "Orazio non ha amico nessuno né altro refrigerio che me in questo mondo." See also appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 376, Mario Trotta: "Io non ho mai visto praticare il detto Horatio se non con Agostino Tassi, con il detto Cosmo furiero, con il custode delle fontane di palazzo e con noi altri lavoranti"; and fol. 378r,v, Marcantonio Coppino: "Io non ho mai visto il detto Horatio se non in compagnia di Cosmo Quorlo et di detto Agostino Tassi del resto lo [trovo] quasi sempre solo."
29. For a biography of Tassi during these years, see Cavazzini 1998, 171–74. No proof of Tassi's residence at the Florentine court could be found at the Archivio di Stato in Florence (hereafter, ASF), and I have come to believe that his sojourn in the Tuscan capital was extremely short.

    For Tassi and his wife, see ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Processi, b. 62, febbraio 1611, fol. 111v, Costanza de Bargellis: ". . . questo Valerio [Ursino] . . . mi ha confessato che detto Agostino gli haveva messo due banditi in casa et che havevano le pistole . . . et che li voleva mandare per fare ammazzare sua moglie et che si troveranno le lettere a quelli che scriveva;" fol. 134, Agostino Tassi: "Mia moglie si chiama Maria e saranno otto anni che la sposai a Livorno, non mi ha mai havuto figli . . . su le galere feci voto di levare una dama di peccato arrivai a Livorno e sposai questa Maria. . . ."
30. ASF, Fondo Mediceo 3506, September 8, 1612; in Weizsäcker 1952, 205.
31. ASF, Fondo Mediceo 1343, August 27, 1610, in Cavazzini 1998, 218; Matteoli 1980, 445; see also appendix 1, sect. B, fol. 104v, Michelangelo Vestri: "Io ho cognosciuto Agostino Tasso pittore sin dal principio che lui tornò a Roma, che mi pare che fosse l'anno 1610 d'estate con occasione che lavorando io nel palazzo dell'ambasciatore di Firenze, ci venne detto signor Agostino a fare certi paesi. . . ."
32. Appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 441, Luca Finocchi: "Io cognosco prima Agostino Tasso che cognoscessi detto Nicolò con occasione che venne ad una commedia che se faceva in casa del contestabile Colonna et con occasione che havendolo io visto praticar lì nel palazzo vedendolo la sera . . . alla comedia gli prestai uno sgabello."
33. Ibid., fol. 427v, Olimpia de Bargellis: ". . . et io una volta querelai [Agostino] in Borgo perché si teneva la cognata e fu assoluto per favore che hebbe di Cosimo suddetto che tre-quattro giorni uscì di prigione." This explains why Tassi told Stiattesi that he owed his life to Quorli (Menzio 1981, 69). Orazio, in his letter of July 1612 to Cristina of Lorraine (ASR, Mediceo del Principato, filza 6003; Lapierre 1998, 454), also claimed: "Agostino Tasso . . . in breve tempo mi si dimostrò amico svisceratissimo et io con reciproca benevolenza, non solo l'amavo, ma con mezzi potentissimi lo liberai della forca. Laonde mostrandomi detto Agostino obbligatissimo fui necessitato aiutarlo nel depingere la Sala Regia fatta da Nostro Signore a Monte Cavallo, della qual pittura, come è notissimo a tutto il mondo, Agostino ne restò assai esaltato."
34. ASR, Camerale I, fabbriche 1537, fol. 155, 19 marzo 1611. For the payments for the decoration of the Palazzo del Quirinale, see Hibbard 1971, 196; Borsi, Briganti, and Del Piazzo 1973, 247; Cavazzini 1998, 219. See also Fumagalli 1992, 226–28.
35. Tassi's primary role is indicated by the payments, from March 19 to September 6, 1611, which never mention Gentileschi's name. See also Gentileschi's letter quoted in note 33 above.
36. See note 33 above. Baglione 1642, 360: "Nella sala grande di Montecavallo verso il giardino, ove tal'hora si suole fare consistoro pubblico, v'ha di suo nel mezo della volta uno sfondato, entrovi un'arme grande del Papa con due angeli che la reggono, e intorno evvi una prospettiva di mano di Agostino Tasso, ove posano diverse figure dal Gentileschi formate con vista di sotto in sù, assai buone, e come giudicarono li professori, sono le migliori che egli facesse, e rappresentano diverse Virtù, le quali al Pontefice Paolo V alludono, con grand'amore, e diligenza a buonissimo fresco condotte." See also Baldinucci 1811–12, vol. 3, 712.
37. For all the payments relating to the frescoes for the pope and for Cardinal Scipione Borghese, see Cavazzini 1998, 218–19, with previous bibliography.
38. See note 28 above and appendix 1, sect. B, fol. 104v.
39. For a brief summary of the trial, see appendix 1, with more documentary material and essential bibliography. It was found by Bertolotti (1876), whose transcriptions are unreliable. Much new material relating to the trial and to the Gentileschi has been found by Alexandra Lapierre, and no full understanding of the events is possible without reading her novel. However, I would caution against quoting directly from her text, and I doubt this was her intention. Her transcriptions from the trial depositions are highly accurate in the appendixes, but her text was meant as fiction, where truth and probability mix. Her appendixes provide invaluable archival citations, and sometimes summaries, to most of her discoveries, not necessarily transcriptions.
40. Menzio 1981, 47, Artemisia Gentileschi: "Tutia disse a mio padre che mi doveva mandare un poco a camminare e che mi noceva il stare sempre in casa"; ibid., 59 (Tuzia Medaglia): ". . . mi disse anco quando ci andai a stare che stessi avvertita e non dir alla sua figliola né parlarli di mariti, ma che li persuadessi a farli monaca et io l'ho fatto più volte, ma lei sempre mi diceva che non occorreva che suo padre perdesse tempo perché ogni volta che li parlava di fari monaca li diventava inimico"; ibid., 61: "il padre haveva gelosia di questa figliola e non voleva che fosse vista." See also Lapierre 1998, 62–63.
41. Appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 366v, Luca Penti: "Detta Artimitia io l'ho vista a una finestra lì alli Greci che c'era l'impanata et anco l'ho vista a San Spirito alla finestra et una volta in casa quando c'entrai con Cosmo furiero e non ho mai parlato"; ibid., 421, Antinoro Bertucci:"Giovanni Battista si lamentava del detto Horatio che l'haveva cacciato di casa perché haveva bravato alla figlia che stava alla finestra." See also ibid., fol. 375, Mario Trotta: ". . . un nipote di Horatio Gentileschi chiamato Giovanni Battista, che è morto all'ospedale di San Giovanni haveva detto che il detto Horatio l'haveva scacciato di casa per una parola . . . che lui haveva detto alla sorella cugina figlia di detto Gentileschi che non stesse alla finestra ch'era vergogna che lui gli l'haveva detto al padre e per questo l'haveva cacciato via." Orazio's eldest brother, Baccio, had a son called Giovanni Battista; see Ciardi, Galassi, and Carofano 1989, 36 n. 4.

In Rome, women belonged inside the house, men outside. Windows and doors were "exciting places, emotionally and sexually charged"; see Cohen 1992, esp. 617, 621. For an example of a woman literally locked inside the house when the husband was out, see Cohen and Cohen 1993, 159–87.

42. Menzio 1981, 98.
43. Cohen 1992, 617, 621.
44. See, for example, Antinoro Bertucci's deposition, note 50 below.
45. If homes were meant to be closed spaces, workshops clearly were not. As often stated in the trial depositions, they were a key point of contact, where painters showed work in progress to patrons and close friends. Orazio, like Tassi and perhaps like many other painters of the time, had no proper space in which to work. He painted in a room next to where the family took their meals, creating an ambiguous situation for Artemisia, who lacked the protection of a mother or of servants. Mario Trotta's statement (appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 376: "Signorsì che in casa di pittori ci praticano gentilhuomini ch'io son stato in casa del Cavalier Giuseppe [d'Arpino] e c'ho visto Monsignor Santoro e altri signori e gentilhuomini e cardinali e mal nome io non ho mai inteso in casa del Cavaliere per la pratica di detti signori") certainly applies to a totally different setup, with a clear distinction between residential spaces and working quarters. Other witnesses were asked what they though of this "andari di gentilhuomini et altri"; see, for example, Coppino's deposition, appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 378v.
46. See Artemisia's answer to Agostino, who is evidently implying she was alone with Artigenio: "Signorsì che fui ricercata a fare un ritratto [di Artigenio] per una donna che diceva essere sua innamorata et lo feci et che volete voi dire per questo et fu Tutia che mi ricercò a fare questo ritratto" (Menzio 1981, 123). The translation of this passage in Garrard (1989, app. B, fol. 128) reverses the meaning of the sentence.
47. Menzio 1981, 124. Francesco Gentileschi was born on May 31, 1597 (AVR, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Battesimi, fol. 167v; Bissell 1981, 100). Artemisia falsely asserted that Francesco was sixteen when Francesco Scarpellino lived with them, that is, before May 1611; see Menzio 1981, 46.
48. Menzio 1981, 87, 152.
49. Appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 411v, Carlo Saraceni: ". . . so ch'[Horatio] ha una figliola chiamata la signora Artemisia ch'io l'ho sentita nominare ma non la conosco e l'ho sentita nominare con occasione che lei dipingeva. . . ."
50. Ibid., fol. 420, Antinoro Bertucci: "mentre habitava in strada della Croce Horatio . . . mi menò di sopra che mi mostrò certi quadri e viddi lì una giovane ch'io mi imaginai che fosse sua figliola perché havevo inteso dire che haveva una figliola."
51. See cat. 17 and appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 379v.
52. See note 9 above. Both Passeri (1995, 122) and Baldinucci (1811–12, vol. 3, 713) mention Artemisia's beauty.
53. "E con questa buona promessa mi racquetai e con questa promessa mi ha indotto a consentir doppo amorevolmente alle sue voglie" (Menzio 1981, 49). I disagree with Cohen's (2000, 71) interpretation of the word as "willingly."
54. Costanza de Bargellis described the physical appearance of her brother during the trial for incest (ASR, processi, b. 62, 111); Cavazzini 1998, 204; Bertolotti 1876, 199.
55. See appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 383r,v, Fra Pietro Giordano's deposition: ". . . viddi ch'una di quelle donne all'uscir di Cancelleria sin al cancello andava appoggiata al braccio di detto Agostino et al separarsi facero gran segno d'amor et affettione insieme. . . ." See also Porzia Stiattesi's deposition in Menzio 1981, 138.
56. See Lapierre 1998, 169–70, for this interpretation of the development of the trial.
57. See note 12 above and appendix 1, sect. A, fols. 401v–403. Orazio's servant, the Nicolò Bedino discussed below, did household chores in exchange for food, lodging, and instruction in drawing. He did not receive a salary, but, according to Richard Spear, expenses for food were substantial. His position seems to have been common at the time; see Cavazzini 1997, 408–9; and Lukehart 1993, 41, 46–47.
58. On July 16, 1612, Orazio moved to the "portone di Santo Spirito"; Menzio 1981, 57. Tassi had been living at the "salita di Sant'Onfrio" since the late summer of 1610; see, for example, appendix 1, sect. A, fols. 427, 443r,v.
59. Menzio 1981, 124, Artemisia: ". . . non se ne è dato querela prima perché s'era ordinato di fare qualche altra cosa acciò non si divulgasse questo vituperio." The relationship was known to many people, including Artemisia's brothers; ibid., 42.
60. Cohen and Cohen 1993, esp. 173–74; Cohen 2000.
61. Farinacci 1606–49, vol. 4 (1618), Quaestio CXLVII, Stuprum, 519–27, vol. 6, Decisio LXXIV, 579. A man who had violated a woman had to provide a dowry for her even if he married her, but the dowry had to be larger if he did not marry her. A *stuprum* involving abduction was considered a much more serious crime, and for this reason Agostino was also accused of having repeatedly tried to take Artemisia away from Rome, see Menzio 1981, 43. But this accusation was not pursued in the trial.

    That a violent *stuprum* could be punished by the gallows is recorded in the *Statuti Almae Urbis Romae* of 1580, where, however, it is also said that charges should be pressed within two months. Elizabeth Cohen has kindly informed me that the punishments established by the *Statuti* were much stricter than the ones applied in practice.
62. Menzio 1981, 154. Nicolò's full name was Nicolò di Bernardino de Felice, but his name is always spelled Bedino—without abbreviations—in this trial. See ASR, Trib. Crim. del Governatore, Processi del secolo XVII, b. 62, i.e., fol. 555, and note 72 below.
63. See appendix 1, sect. C.
64. For the sentence, see ibid.
65. Cardinal Scipione Borghese settled his accounts with Agostino on December 15, 1612. Evidently, more than two weeks after the sentence of exile, Agostino was in Rome. On January 26, 1613, Agostino nominated as his proxy a Giacomo Pavalli from Pisa in the office of a Roman notary; see ASR, 30 Notai Capitolini, uff. 36, vol. 25, fol. 73. I owe this information to Alexandra Lapierre.
66. Appendix 1, sect. B, fol. 106, and sect. C. See Lapierre 1998, 456.
67. Appendix 1, sect. A, fols. 442v–445.
68. For these documents, see appendix 1, sect. C, under March 13, 20, 23, 1613, April 9, 1613.
69. Cavazzini 1993, 318, 325.
70. See note 14 above for Orazio's presence in Rome. Passeri ([1772] 1995, 122, 124) states that after a period of bitter contention, Tassi and Gentileschi became friends again and even painted together at Bagnaia. This was certainly not the case; see Bissell 1981, 199–200, and Cavazzini 1993.
71. See appendix 1, sect. C, under April 9, for the document. My incorrect transcription is in Cavazzini 1997, n. 77, cited in Lapierre 1998, 456. There were not two different pronouncements on April 8 and 9, but only one on the ninth. For various reasons, I suspected that Tassi had been exonerated of the crime. My suspicions seemed to be confirmed by the sentence beginning "in Tassi's favor" and ending with the order to release him from jail, not to accompany him to the border of the Papal States, as in Lapierre 1998, 214. Thus, I misread "iniustum exilium" for "iniucto exilium" and constructed the meaning accordingly. I realize now that these formulas apply to all the sentences of exile, at least to all of those in the Registrazioni d'Atti. A prisoner condemned to exile was evidently released, sometimes under bail, and no provisions seem to have been made to ensure that he actually left the city or the states.
72. ASR, Processi sec. XVII, b. 62, 602, Nicolò di Bernardino de Felice, 19 novembre 1619: ". . . io per la verità m'essaminai a favore del detto Agostino et detto Gentileschi mi fece mettere pregione sotto pretesto che io non havessi detto la verità e saranno da cinque o sei anni in circa e fui assoluto nel tribunale del medesimo che era giudice il signor Girolamo Felice."
73. Mancini (1617–21) 1956–57, 252: "[Agostino] è huomo destro, e nel parlare molto libero e pronto, che per tale prontezza e libertà s'è rotto spesse volte con gli

amici, e per tale rottura ha patito dei travagli; nodimeno con il cervello si è saputo difendere, et si deve credere che vi sia stata accompagnata l'innocenza." Mancini probably knew Tassi well, because he lived nearby the "portone di santo Spirito," in the same neighborhood. See ASR, Stato civile, appendice, Santo Spirito in Sassia, Stati di anime, 1614, unpaged.

74. Passeri (1772) 1995, 122: ". . . Artemisia . . . nella pittura si rese gloriosa, e sarebbe stata degna d'ogni stima se fusse stata di qualità più onesta e onorata . . . Agostino . . . fu da Orazio querelato, ch'egli l'havesse stuprata, e successe veramente il caso; ma che fusse stato Agostino non se ne ha certezza . . . uscì dalla prigione innocente, se pure era tale. . . ."
75. ASR, Camerale I, fabbriche 1544, in Borsi, Briganti, and Del Piazzo 1973, 251–54, and Cavazzini 1998, 220. For the chapel, see Fumagalli 1992, 240–42, and Laureati and Trezzani 1993, 58–75.
76. Cavazzini 1997, 419; Laureati and Trezzani 1993, 76–135.
77. The Casino delle Muse was not quite finished when Tassi was imprisoned in early March 1612, even though work on the apartment of Cardinal Lanfranco had already started by that January. See note 37 above. Both painters were paid by Scipione Borghese on April 20—Tassi was in jail at that point—and the account was settled in December 1612 only with Tassi. Gentileschi seems to have worked on the casino after the beginning of the trial. A painter called Pietro Hernandez saw him there after Nicolò had left his service, and therefore after Tassi's arrest; see appendix 1, sect. A, fols. 418v, 413. However, Gentileschi may have been prevented from completing the figures on the lower register, between the arches, which do not seem to be by him, especially those on the outside wall; see Bissell 1981, 157.
78. Crinò and Nicolson 1961, 144–45.
79. See ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Registrazioni d'Atti, 165, fol. 208v, 10 gennaio 1612, "Pro fisco contra Carolum Saracium venetum pictorem degentes in via [tinda] versus Populum et Augustinum Tassum pictorem in iudicium coram Ill.mus et excell. Anselmo Ciolo locumtenens meque et Portio Camerarius subst. locumtenens [fasto] reportavit moniturium de non descendendo de domo. . . ."

    Lanfranco had already worked for the Borghese, but in a relatively minor capacity; see Fumagalli 1990.
80. AVR, Santo Spirito in Sassia, matrimoni, fol. 17; Bissell 1981, 103. For the date of the couple's departure for Florence, see Lapierre 1998, 457.
81. Appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 395v, Molli: ". . . io ci viddi in casa [in via Margutta] oltre detto Signor Horatio una sua figlia grande e tre figli maschi che uno dei quali che era il più grande macinava li colori et anco un nipote del Signor Horatio che andava apprendere. . . ." As discussed in the appendix, it is not precisely clear at what time Molli posed on via Margutta. Appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 403, Caterina Zuccarini: ". . . prima che detto Nicolò s'accomodasse con detto signor Horatio [this must have happened around November 1611] io ce l'ho visto venire in casa non so che volte che sarà doi o tre volte in circa che veniva a imparare di disegnare e disegnavano insieme lui e Francesco figliolo di detto signor Horatio che imparavano da loro. . . ."
82. Appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 403, Pietro Hernandez: ". . . et [Nicolò] imparava di disegnare et anco l'ho visto dipingere che la signora Artemisia gli insegnava." See note 81 above.
83. For artists' training, see, for example, Goldstein 1996, 10–14; Lukehart 1993, 41–43.
84. Appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 374v: ". . . l'essercitio mio è di pittore, cioè principiante, che vado disegnando."
85. Glenn 1999, 123.
86. See note 33 above for the letter.
87. Appendix 1, sect. B, fols. 112v–113.
88. For Tassi's workshop, see Cavazzini 1997.
89. An album of drawings sold by Sotheby's in 1964 seems to have included not only autograph drawings by Tassi, but also copies of them by his students; see Cavazzini 2000.
90. Appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 407.
91. Ibid., sect. B, fol. 114v.
92. For Orazio's practice of making drawn studies from the model, see Christiansen, pp. 9–12, in this publication.
93. Appendix 1, sect. A, fols. 395, 431v; see also fol. 424v, Margherita milanese lavandaia: ". . . poche volte io l'ho visto dipingere et in casa sua ho visto praticare li supradetti che lui li ritraheva in camera che non si poteva vedere, ma mi mostrava bene li quadri che lui faceva a similitudine di costoro."
94. Various depositions give this impression; see, for example, ibid., fol. 424, where Margherita the washerwoman from Milan lists Orazio's models and repeatedly says that Orazio, not Orazio and Artemisia, painted them. Both Molli and Bernardino de Franceschi claim that Orazio, not father and daughter, employed them; for a description of the house, see also fols. 395, 396v, 397, 399. In particular, see Franchi's deposition, fol. 410v: ". . . di sopra so che ci sono dui stanze dove ci stava la zitella che di sopra io non ci andai mai. . . ." Nicolò (in Menzio 1981, 150–51): ". . . son stato in detta casa del signor Horatio in strada Margutta . . . di sopra ci stanno doi stanze che in una ci dipingeva nell'altra si faceva la cucina . . . e la signora Artemitia dormiva in una camera in alto a capo le scale."
95. Menzio 1981, 48.
96. Ibid., 61, 68.
97. Ibid., 70. ASR, 30 Notai Capitolini, uff. 34, 11 maggio 1612, cc. 446–56, "S. Cecilia in ginocchio sopra un cuscino rosso, palmi 10 di altezza, S. Susanna con doi vecchi con la cornice tutta indorata con la medesima altezza. . . ." The inventory of Quorli's possessions has been found by Lapierre (1998, app. 3).
98. Menzio 1981, 61, 112.
99. For a contrary opinion, see Harris 1998, 110.
100. Appendix 1, sect. A, fols. 407v–408.
101. Ibid., sect. B, fols. 107v–108: "Io come ho detto ho visto dipingere il sig. Horatio Gentileschi nella sala al Monte Cavallo dove ci dipingevo io ancho . . . Ho visto anco di poi dipingere la loggia del Card. Borghese dove ho lavorato ancora io . . . Io so che il sig. Horatio Gentileschi ha figli maschi et femmine che l'ho sentito dire et conosco un figlio maschio che si chiama Francesco che l'ho visto venire su nel [lavoro] a Montecavallo." See also ibid., sect. A, fols. 375v–376v, Mario Trotta's deposition: "Io conosco Horatio Gentileschi et Agostino Tasso perché ho lavorato a giornate con loro a Montecavallo . . . Signor no che io non conosco Artimitia figliola di Horatio et io non so di che fama e conditione si sia" (also in Lapierre 1998, app. 5). Menzio 1981, 109, Antonio Mazzantino: ". . . io incollavo al giardino del signor Cardinale Borghese dove dipingevano . . . Io lo so [che Orazio ha tre figli maschi e una femmina] perché li ragazzi li ho visti, e della femmina l'ho inteso dire dal Gentileschi che l'haveva."
102. Baldinucci 1811–12, vol. 3, 713. See also De Dominici 1840–46, vol. 3, 82; Costa 2000, 36.
103. Artemisia Gentileschi: "Et il medesimo giorno, che era tempo piovoso, stando io pingendo un ritratto di un putto di Tutia per mio gusto"; Menzio 1981, 48. See note 46 above.

    Glenn (1999, 122) argues that women needed a man to mediate between them and their clients, while here we seem to witness a chain of mediation by women: Artigenio's lover talks to Tuzia and Tuzia to Artemisia. However, Artigenio may have discussed the matter directly with Orazio. Tuzia brought him to see Orazio, who was painting, and the two talked together; see Menzio 1981, 123.
104. Glenn (1999, 123–30) convincingly argues that women were trained as history painters only for lack of a better alternative, that is, if they had no brothers.
105. For Artemisia as a painter of still lifes, see Baldinucci 1811–12, vol. 3, 714, and Costa 2000. For the paintings by Orazio and Artemisia in the Galleria Spada, see ASR, 30 Notai Capitolini, uff. 28, 1637, 969, in Cannatà and Vicini 1992, 103. The inventory mentions "due ovati piccoli con due teste rappresentanti Pittura e Poesia una che ha la cornice rifatta." One of these is probably the *Self-Portrait as*

Painting, once in a private collection in Brazil, rejected by Bissell 1999, 327; see also Spear 2000, 574, and Papi 1994, 198–99.

106. Menzio 1981, 124: "Io non so scrivere e poco leggere."

107. Ibid., 151: "Io ho visto leggere detta signora Artimitia litere stampate et anco scritte a mano ma lei non sa scrivere." Appendix 1, sect. A, fol. 392.

108. Chartier 1989, 112.

109. Harris's claim (1998, 120) that artists became more learned in the second half of the seicento is unwarranted. Depositions in trials and receipts of payment are reliable documents by which to test the writing skills of painters and assistants, much better than letters, which are often dictated. The formula "Io . . . ho deposto quanto di sopra mano propria" indicates autograph statements by people who could both sign—and therefore read—and write. (Receipts of payment usually include similar statements, "Io . . . ho ricevuto quanto di sopra mano propria.") See appendixes A and B for various examples. Previous transcriptions of the 1612 trial do not include these formulas, which are present throughout. Spelling and handwriting give an indication of the literacy of the author. It was not unheard-of for young women to read and write; see Ottavia, daughter of a merchant, in Cohen and Cohen 1993, 113–14. For literacy in Rome, see Grendler 1989, esp. 78–80, and Petrucci 1982, esp. 12–17. For the education of artists in Bologna, see Dempsey 1980.

110. See note 105 above.

111. Papi in Florence 1991, 114.

112. An engraving and a medal identify Artemisia's features for us; Bissell 1999, figs. 97, 100. It has often been suggested, but not unanimously accepted, that the woman with a fan painted by Orazio in the Casino delle Muse (see frontispiece, p. 282) may be a portrait of Artemisia. I believe the identification to be correct, and I see a similar face, with slight variations, repeated endlessly in Orazio's and Artemisia's works, certainly in the *Susanna*. For another example of Artemisia's features on a nude body, see fig. 110. A self-portrait of her Florentine years, published by Papi (2000), may show her countenance after numerous pregnancies.

113. "Uno specchio grande di valore di scudi tre in circa quale è di acciaro con cornice e due colonnette." See note 97 above for Quorli's inventory. Full-length glass mirrors were indeed invented later, as Harris states (1998, 114).

114. See note 37 above for payments from the Borghese, which establish the timing of Orazio's work for them.

115. See note 33 above.

116. Pollock 1999, 116–19.

117. Bissell 1999, 117, 122. For a contrary opinion, see, for example, Harris 1998, 113.

118. Among the vast literature on the painting, see Spezzaferro 1975 and Vodret in Rome 1999, 24–26. No early engraving after the painting is known.

119. See Orazio's letter cited in note 33 above.

51.

Susanna and the Elders

Oil on canvas, 66⅞ × 46⅞ in. (170 × 119 cm)

Signed (on wall behind figure): ARTIMITIA / GENTILESCHI F / 1610

Collection Graf von Schönborn, Pommersfelden (inv. 191)

1610

New York, Saint Louis

The story of Susanna in the Apocrypha tells of a beautiful matron who is seen and desired by two elders who frequently spy on her house. One day Susanna decides to bathe in her garden and sends her servants for oil and balsam. When the servants leave, the elders approach Susanna, demanding sexual favors and threatening to declare they had seen her with a young lover if she refuses them. Susanna does reject them, and true to their promise, they falsely accuse her. Eventually, a young man named Daniel questions the elders separately, and when details of their stories do not agree, he knows they have lied and condemns them to death. Susanna, in refusing to yield to the elders' demands, came to exemplify virtue, chastity, and marital fidelity, although sixteenth- and seventeenth-century artists often depict her as an alluring temptress—or at least a willing victim—prominently posed for the viewer's admiration, notably in Paolo Veronese's painting in Dresden and in the Cavaliere d'Arpino's on copper, dated about 1607, now in the Pinacoteca, Siena.

The Pommersfelden *Susanna* reveals a painter acutely attuned to narrative nuance. While the Susanna story is most often represented as a lateral composition, Artemisia's version is arranged vertically, allowing the elders graphically to press the heroine to comply with their demands. By spreading the two elders across the top of the fountain wall and depicting them as dark elements literally on top of the pale, nearly nude Susanna, the artist enables the viewer to empathize with the terrible plight of the defenseless woman. Treated as a unified pair, in collusion, the elders maintain power over their victim; Susanna triumphs only after they are interrogated separately. The solid stone wall behind the heroine enhances our understanding of her entrapment. Annibale Carracci's 1590 engraving of the subject, a likely source for the picture, uses an open balustrade, a motif copied by most other artists. But Artemisia grasped the implications of such a seemingly small detail. The extreme simplicity of the setting must also be seen as Artemisia's invention. Gone are the details of fountain and foliage that appear in nearly every other *Susanna*, and their absence contributes to the stark power of the image.

No other artist had interpreted the psychological dimension of the biblical story in such an effective format, and this aspect alone indicates that Orazio did not design the composition or develop the interpretation. Orazio rarely focused on the logical denouement of his narratives, and he often ignored essential details of a story altogether. The Dublin *David Slaying Goliath*, for example (cat. 12), presents the protagonist trying to wield (with one hand!) an oversized sword in a position that will in fact not allow him to decapitate the giant. His David is not tall enough to maneuver such a large weapon, nor are his feet firmly planted on the ground to offer the solid footing required to land the blow.

Garrard (1982, 1989) has argued eloquently that the picture reflects a specifically female point of view, which had autobiographical meaning for Artemisia, noting that she was raped in 1611 by Agostino Tassi and may already have received sexual overtures from

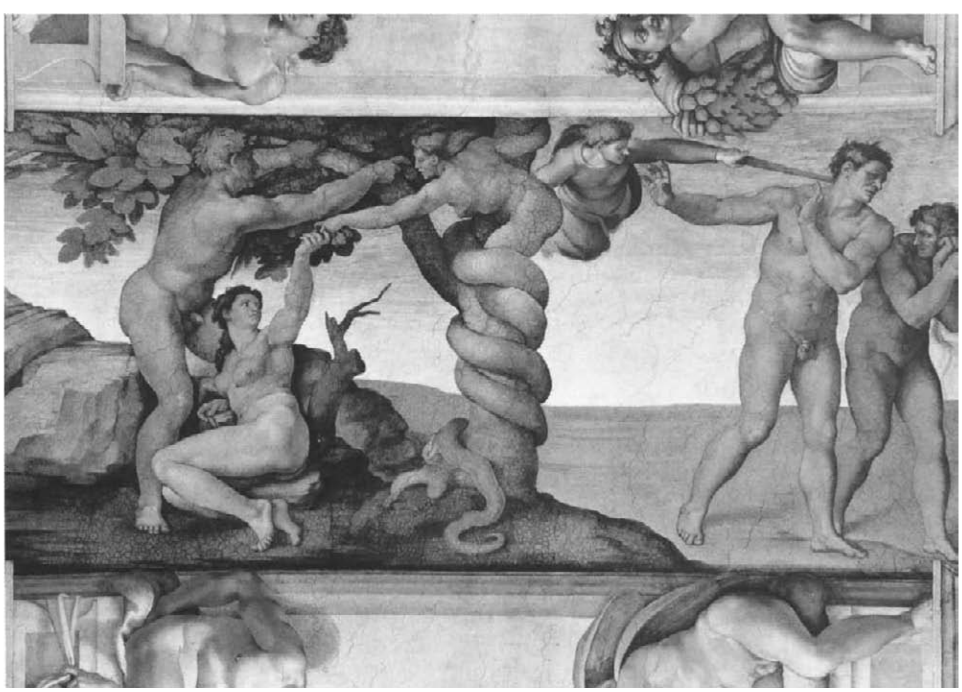


Figure 105. Michelangelo (1475–1564), *Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden.* Fresco. Sistine chapel, Vatican City



PROVENANCE: Benedetto Luti, Rome (until 1715?); family of Dr. Karl Graf von Schönborn, Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden (from the early 18th century).

REFERENCES: Heller 1845, 23; Longhi 1916, 475–92; Boll 1928, 235–36; Schönborn Collection catalogue 1935, 22; Longhi 1943, 47 n. 38; Emiliani 1958b, 42; Bissell 1966, vol. 2, 262; Bissell 1968, 153, 157; Gregori 1968, 415; Borea in Florence 1970, 71, 414–21; Harris in Los Angeles 1976–77, 119–20; Greer 1979, 191; Bissell 1981, 64, 92 n. 5; Garrard 1982, 146–71; Slap 1985, 339–41; Hagen 1988, 78–79; Garrard 1989, 15–18, 182–209, 528–34 nn. 1–63; Rave in Nürnberg 1989, 373–75; Berti, Contini, and Papi in Florence 1991, 21, 34, 58, 109–33 no. 7; Spike 1991b, 732–33; Stolzenwald 1991, 18–19, 69–72; Bionda 1992, 21–22; Cropper 1992, 195, 202; Merkel 1992, 350, 352; Harris 1998, 115–17; Bissell 1999, 187–89 no. 2.

him that paralleled Susanna's story. Papi (Florence 1991) has supported this interpretation by identifying the two elders as Orazio Gentileschi and Agostino Tassi. However, it is difficult for us to re-create the specific experience of Artemisia as of 1610, and male artists also presented sensitive portrayals of Susanna's anguish, including Ludovico Carracci in 1598 and Gerrit van Honthorst in 1655.[1]

This superb painting must serve as the touchstone for understanding Artemisia's early development, her artistic relationship with her father, and her evolving artistic personality. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge that, notwithstanding its signature and the date of 1610, it has been challenged on both its attribution and its date of execution. These last two issues are closely intertwined and must be discussed together.

The painting is first mentioned in a 1715 letter from the Florentine artist Benedetto Luti to his patron Hofrat Bauer von Heppenstein. Working in Rome at the time, Luti offered to send a picture (the *Susanna*) by Orazio Gentileschi from his own collection.[2] The first published acknowledgment of Artemisia's authorship came in 1845, in Joseph Heller's guidebook to the Pommersfelden collection. Heller may, in fact, have been the first to correctly read the signature, which, as Boll posited in 1928, was made legible when the picture was cleaned by a Nuremberg restorer in 1839. However, the proficiency in the modeling of the body of Susanna and its unclear date led some scholars (Longhi 1943, Emiliani) to question whether Artemisia, who was only seventeen at the time, was actually the author. The problem was exacerbated by the incorrect identification of her birth date as 1597. This error was corrected by Bissell (1968), who discovered and published her birth records. Nevertheless, scholars continued to question the date, suspecting it should read 1619 rather than 1610. Hagen and Berti have suggested that the picture was made in Florence and backdated to 1610, the Roman period, while Rave believes that the last digit is either a 6 or a 9, placing the picture in Artemisia's Florentine period. In 1977, during the touring exhibition "Women Artists: 1550–1950," the picture was analyzed in the lab of the Brooklyn Museum of Art by Susanne P. Sack, then Chief Conservator. Her analysis, with ultraviolet-light photography, indicates that the signature and date are original to the picture and were neither altered nor overpainted. These results, published by Garrard (1982), have been accepted by most scholars.

While, for some, the naturalism of the unidealized body of Susanna remains the most important argument for seeing the painting as exclusively by Artemisia, the issue of her sole authorship is still questioned, and several scholars (Greer, Garrard 1989, Contini, Stolzenwald) have found strong evidence for Orazio's guidance. Indeed, it makes sense that Orazio would have assisted Artemisia in this endeavor. His much quoted letter of 1612, written to the dowager grand duchess of Tuscany, Cristina of Lorraine, claiming that Artemisia had "no peer," shows Orazio to be an ardent advocate of his daughter's art.[3] The conception of the picture, a female nude seated in an expressive contrapposto attitude, seems designed to reveal the virtuosity of its maker, as Harris also points out. Might not Orazio have worked with his daughter to design such a vehicle for the display of her talents, a painting to which she must have devoted herself for some time in his workshop, given that she was only seventeen?

Orazio surely assisted his daughter in her choice of models. Garrard (1982, 1989) argues that Artemisia's source for the pose of Susanna was a figure on a Roman sarcophagus illustrating the story of Orestes and that this same sarcophagus inspired her father in his conception of the *David*, a painting that Artemisia must have observed as her father painted it. More likely, the model was Michelangelo's figure of Adam being expelled from Paradise, from the Sistine ceiling (fig. 105). There, the gesture is used to fend off the threat of the avenging angel, a function analogous to Susanna's rejection of the elders' demands. As in Michelangelo's figure, Susanna's left hand is shown with an open gesture, the thumb extended, and with the back of the hand to the viewer—rather than the palm, as in the sarcophagus. Artemisia may never have seen the Sistine chapel itself, but it is likely that she knew the imagery through a print made after the ceiling paintings. Testimony at the 1612 rape trial paints a picture of Artemisia's leading a sheltered life in those early Roman years. An outing in 1611 to see the frescoes that Orazio was completing for Scipione

Borghese is described as an unusual event and suggests that such excursions for the young painter were not routine. Artemisia's models must therefore have been drawn from a restricted repertoire.

Other models available to Artemisia may have been her father's pictures, her own or her father's drawings (it is unfathomable to imagine that Orazio, trained in the 1580s as a Mannerist painter, did not base his practice on the execution of preparatory drawings, in spite of the absence of any such drawings today), and various prints. The general configuration (Susanna seated in the foreground with the elders behind) may indeed have been originally inspired by Annibale Carracci's engraving. And Artemisia undoubtedly knew an important representation of Susanna in Rome, Baldassarre Croce's fresco in Santa Susanna—a church she could well have visited—whose seated, gesturing heroine is echoed in Artemisia's composition. The quieting gesture of the gray-haired elder so closely echoes Domenichino's 1603 *Susanna and the Elders* (Doria Pamphili, Rome) that Artemisia must have known it or the lost original by Annibale Carracci that inspired it.[4]

1. For Carracci's painting, see Bologna–Fort Worth 1993, 116–18. For the Van Honthorst, see Judson and Ekkart 1999, no. 18, pl. 6.
2. Rave in Nürnberg 1989, 373–75.
3. The original letter is stored in Florence, Archivo di Stato, *Mediceo*, fil. 2 LVI segn. di N moderno 6003, 1612, and is published in Tanfani-Centofanti 1897, 221–24.
4. For the picture, see Rome 1996–97, 380–81 no. 6.

52.
Madonna and Child

Oil on canvas, 45⅞ × 34 in. (116.5 × 86.5 cm)

Galleria Spada, Rome (inv. 166)

1610–11

This engaging rendition of the Virgin breastfeeding her child can be traced back to its first owner, Alessandro Biffi, in the early seventeenth century. It entered the Spada collection through the owner's indebtedness. Biffi rented living quarters near the Veralli family. When he fell behind in his rent, he entered into an agreement with the administrator, Virgilio Vespignani, allowing him to discharge his obligation by consigning to the family some of his property. Biffi owned several works of art, and these were bequeathed to the Veralli heirs in an inventory signed by Biffi on December 22, 1637. Marchese Maria Veralli married Orazio Spada in 1636, and the painting may have entered the Spada collection sometime after 1643, when Giulia, Maria Veralli's only (unmarried) sister, died. Among these works was the present painting, described as "A Madonna by Artemisia with the child in her arms."

These inventory notices were published only in 1992. Prior to that date, the painting had a varied attribution history. An 1862 inventory lists it as by Bernardo Strozzi, while in 1925 the painting was given a tentative attribution to Francesco Cozza (both in Cannatà and Vicini). Porcella gave the picture to Artemisia, while Zeri attributed it to Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri, to whom it was, until recently, ascribed by the Galleria Spada. Emiliani, following Longhi, assigned the picture to a Baglionesque artist. Alfred Moir questioned its attribution to Angelo Caroselli. However, since the publication in 1968 of Bissell's important chronology of the artist, most writers (Borea, Gregori, Garrard, Papi in Florence 1991, 1994) have acknowledged the attribution to Artemisia. Surprisingly, in his new catalogue raisonné, Bissell rejects Artemisia's authorship, evidently unaware of the early provenance and the 1637 inventory. He



Figure 106. Agostino Carracci (1557–1602), *The Holy Family.* Engraving. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna



Figure 107. Attributed to Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri (1589–1655/59), *Madonna and Child.* Oil on canvas. Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, Florence

PROVENANCE: Alessandro Biffi, Rome (until 1637; 1637 list of paintings, as by Artemisia); Veralli collection, Rome (1637–43/86); Spada collection, Rome (after 1643/86); Galleria Spada, Rome.

REFERENCES: Porcella 1931, 7, 215; Lavagnino 1933, 9, 12; Longhi 1943, 41 n. 28; Zeri 1954, 88–89 no. 298; Francini Ciaranfi 1955, 63; Emiliani 1958b, 19–20, 50; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 55–56, vol. 2, 64; Paolucci 1967, 78; Bissell 1968, 155; Borea in Florence 1970, 74 no. 46, 125; Nicolson 1970, 641; Volpe 1970, 116–17; Sricchia Santoro 1974, 44; Neppi 1975, 144; Bissell 1981, 92 n. 4, 147; Menzio 1981, 40, 48, 64; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, vol. 1, 147; Emiliani in San Severino Marche–Bologna 1988, 15, 33–35, 68–69 no. 3; Garrard 1989, 23–35, 411, 415, 423 and n. 57, 492–93 nn. 19–20; Berti, Contini, and Papi in Florence 1991, 19, 24, 114–15 no. 8, 150–51; Stolzenwald 1991, 18, 25 fig. 9; Bionda 1992, 26; Cannatà and Vicini 1992, 188, 192, 195; Vicini 1992, 44; Sotheby's, London, sale cat., May 20, 1993, under lot 55; Szigethi in Milan 1993, 93; Papi 1994, 198–99; Vicini 1998; Vicini 1999; Bissell 1999, 327 no. X-19; Papi 2000, 450; Vicini 2000, 7–12.

finds the composition lacking in originality and has revived Emiliani's attribution to an artist in the circle of Baglione. Nevertheless, the style of and approach to the subject fit well within Artemisia's early Roman oeuvre.

In several respects the painting recalls the Pommersfelden *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 51). The physiognomy of the Virgin closely resembles the features of the Susanna, and the choice of similar coloration for the drapery of the Madonna and for the elder on the right reinforces the placement of the *Madonna and Child* around the same date as the *Susanna.* A comparison with the Pommersfelden picture is telling and reveals the artist working simultaneously in two different styles. Where Artemisia's sophisticated treatment of the human figure in the Pommersfelden painting suggests careful working and reworking of a posed female model through drawings, perhaps under the guidance of her father, the Madonna in the Spada painting is not nearly as accomplished. The Virgin's right arm is awkwardly proportioned and its placement not thought through, while the left arm, of which only the hand is shown, appears to be longer than its mate. The graceful, elongated fingers of the right hand are not repeated in the fleshier proportions of the left. Pentimenti along the Madonna's right elbow indicate that Artemisia reworked the contours of the arm, never reaching a fully satisfactory solution.

The painting may have been made in response to Orazio's 1609 *Madonna and Child* (cat. 15), an intimate portrayal of mother and infant as the baby suckles at the mother's breast. The picture is filled with examples of minutely observed details—the flexed feet and wrinkled left hand of the child, the mother's braided hair and carefully observed facial features, a rendering which suggests that Orazio painted directly from the model. Nevertheless, the sitter is obviously posed, and the image ends up being somewhat contrived.

Artemisia's version, on the other hand, though not based on the observation of two individuals, portrays



an intimate interaction between mother and child. Artemisia has chosen a less static moment, in which the child reaches up to caress his mother's cheek, holding his head in a corresponding angle to that of his mother, while she in turn bows her head in sympathetic response. The Virgin is based on a type, and her physiognomy, similar to that of the Susanna in the Pommersfelden painting, shows that Artemisia used this general image on at least two occasions. The Virgin's left hand may derive from that of her father's painting. Artemisia's arrangement integrates elegance of pose with an affective use of gesture—traits that reappear in the artist's mature production but that here strike a distinctly juvenile and unresolved note.

Bissell (1999) correctly observes that while Artemisia's *Madonna* clearly derives from the painting by Orazio—specifically the left hand of the Virgin—another source for the composition is undoubtedly an engraving of the *Holy Family,* either the original, from the workshop of Marcantonio Raimondi, or, less likely, a copy by Agostino Carracci (fig. 106). Although Vicini has most recently related the pose to Titian's *Madonna and Child with Saints Maurice and Jerome* (Louvre, Paris), it makes much better sense to see the artist working from the Carracci print, which would have been easily available to her and which exhibits much closer parallels to key elements of the composition. Undoubtedly, Artemisia may initially have been inspired by the pose of the Virgin and the reclining position of the Christ child and his grasping gesture, but the painting has the sense of a child responding to his mother. The treatment of the baby, in particular his enlarged forehead, long golden curls, and tousled hair, suggests the artist had experience working with a real child. A number of writers have associated this picture with a passage in the summation of the testimony for Agostino Tassi's rape trial, in which Artemisia is described as "painting, accompanied by Tuzia with her son seated on her lap."[1] Tuzia was the Gentileschi's tenant, who often served as Artemisia's chaperone.

A second version of this composition, in the Galleria Palatina, Florence, has been closely linked to the present picture (fig. 107) and has been attributed to Artemisia by a number of writers (Menzio, Gregori, Contini, Stolzenwald, Bissell 1999). Its more studied positioning of the child and correction of the awkward right elbow and left hand indicate it was made at a later date. And while the two paintings must be related, the Madonna and the child in the Palatina *Madonna* lack the physiognomies characteristic of Artemisia's other figures and cannot be considered autograph.

1. ". . . dipingeva et con lei assisteva Tutia con il figlio suo fra le gambe a seder . . ." See Menzio 1981, 40.

53. *Cleopatra*

Oil on canvas, 46½ × 71¼ in. (118 × 181 cm)

Amedeo Morandotti, Milan

ca. 1611–12

PROVENANCE: See cat. 17.

REFERENCES: See cat. 17.

Painted when Orazio and Artemisia worked together in Rome in the early 1610s, the Morandotti *Cleopatra* falls within a period when their styles were very similar, and it has been attributed to both artists (see cat. 17). Conceptions of the building up of form as well as the depiction of similar physiognomies and drapery textures seem characteristic of the work of both father and daughter during this period; the case for Artemisia's authorship of this remarkable painting must therefore focus on its interpretive tone.

After the death of her lover, Mark Antony, the Egyptian queen Cleopatra takes her own life to avoid the indignity of being paraded in a triumphal procession by Octavian, the future Roman emperor Augustus. Sources vary as to how this deed was actually accomplished. The most popular account tells of an asp, concealed in a basket of figs, whose poison Cleopatra administers to herself after sending a request to Octavian that she be buried alongside Mark Antony. Octavian, upon receiving Cleopatra's letter, sends



soldiers to find her, and when they arrive and enter her chamber, they discover the dead bodies of Cleopatra and her maid Iras. A second maid, Charmion, is found replacing the crown upon her mistress's head. Charmion, too, succumbs soon after. The most thorough account of the death of Cleopatra is told by the Greek historian and biographer Plutarch, and it is his version that probably informed most artists who represented this infamous event.

The painter of this picture, in my view Artemisia Gentileschi, has focused on the moment when the solitary Cleopatra (as described by Plutarch) prepares to administer the asp's venom. Traditionally, artists portrayed the act itself or its immediate aftermath, when, as the poison begins to take effect, the heroine writhes in agony. These pictures derive their erotic power from the juxtaposition of the asp (with its obvious phallic symbolism) and the bare and vulnerable breasts of the expiring queen. Here, Cleopatra pauses before she positions the serpent, arresting the action and deviating from tradition, an approach to narrative that we find in both the *Jael and Sisera* (cat. 61) and the later *Lucretia* (cat. 67).

Artemisia's penchant for displaying her talent at the handling of the nude figure (already demonstrated in her debut composition of the *Susanna* in 1610; cat. 51) and her predisposition for original narrative interpretation suggest she, and not Orazio, is the author of this painting. The powerful gesture (no other Cleopatra grasps the snake so forcefully), coupled with the glaring nakedness of the body, in this bold rendition of the last moments of the Egyptian queen's life, is unmatched. The coiling snake may have been suggested by Agostino Veneziano's 1515 engraving in which a standing Cleopatra brings the serpent, wrapped around her wrist, to her breast, but here the artist has infused the gesture with new dramatic intensity, silhouetting the flicking tongue against the pale abdominal flesh.

The parting of the background drapery on the far right also exemplifies the kind of attention to narrative detail that specifically characterizes Artemisia's work of the first several decades of her career. While initially it reads as simply the source for the light that floods over Cleopatra's body, other interior images painted by both Gentileschi do not always include an identifiable source. Rather, the curtain aperture reminds us that although Cleopatra was alone at the moment of her suicide, her lifeless body was discovered, first by her own two maids who also killed themselves, and then by Octavian's soldiers, who discovered all three. The maids figure prominently in Artemisia's later *Cleopatra* (cat. 76) from the 1630s.

Unlike Artemisia, Orazio did not typically invent new interpretive moments; rarely does he stray far from the established norms for representing specific narratives. Nevertheless, he did at times introduce original elements into his compositions that enhanced the setting or the tone of the story, such as the endearing donkey peering over the masonry wall in the Birmingham *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. 34). Although he painted moving and affecting images of individuals in contemplation (the Fabriano *Magdalene* [cat. 24] and his Spada *David* [cat. 18] come to mind), the novel aspect of the present painting, in which Cleopatra's gesture underscores her will to carry through her suicide, does not comply with Orazio's way of thinking. Rather, it recalls other paintings in Artemisia's oeuvre. The *Cleopatra*, which as Bissell (1981) has pointed out shares the physiognomy of the Uffizi *Judith* (cat. 62), also brings to mind the tormented isolation of the Seville *Magdalene* (cat. 68) and the Milan *Lucretia* (cat. 67).

Garrard (1989) has identified the particularized anatomy of the figure as a mark of Artemisia's being a female painter. Christiansen (see pp. 11, 98) argues that such realism testifies to Orazio's use of the living model during the three-year period between 1609 and 1612. Orazio's other nudes, the two versions of the *Danaë* from the 1620s (cat. nos. 36, 41), certainly do not exhibit such brutal naturalism and show a far different anatomical form. But in the work of Artemisia, with the exception of the Burghley House *Susanna* ([cat. 65], where, I believe, she intentionally selected another figural type), the rounded stomach, swelling conical breasts, and ample hips reappear—as, for example in the later Bathshebas—over and over again. This is the same body type that we find in the earlier *Susanna*, and although some have argued that the *Susanna* was designed by Orazio, he did not reuse the figure type, while Artemisia did.

While not necessarily advancing an Artemisia attribution for the picture, Pollock has used the painting to analyze its possible indicators of female authorship. She finds it yields contradictory meanings, since its individualized body rejects the conventional generic nude and represents a real woman, while at the same time the pose can be interpreted as connoting eroticism and as intending to suit the tastes of male clients. She has related the portrayal of an expiring woman in this painting as well as in the later *Cleopatra* (cat. 76) to the artist's own experience of the death of her mother in 1605, making the works indirect expressions of the painter's personal trauma.

While Christiansen identifies the model for Cleopatra's head as the woman with a fan from the Casino delle Muse (traditionally understood as an image of Artemisia; frontispiece, p. 282), to my eye the head of the lute player in the casino ceiling (fig. 6) remains the more probable source.[1] Not only do they share the same angular orientation, but Cleopatra's nose and mouth appear to be duplicated from the fresco. Whether Cleopatra may represent Artemisia herself remains a tricky subject. Given that Orazio's primary motive for bringing suit against Artemisia's rapist was the honor of his family, it seems highly unlikely that in the middle of the trial proceedings he would have created a large-scale picture (undoubtedly intended for a patron) of his naked daughter. Nearly everyone who has written about the picture has noted its erotic expression, and it seems problematic that Orazio would willingly have subjected himself to the kind of tongue wagging and street gossip that such an obvious personal reference would have engendered.

1. Garrard (1989, 19–20) maintains that the figure with the fan is an image of Artemisia. Bissell (1981, 202) notes the similarity of the physiognomy of the lute player to that of Cleopatra.

54. *Danaë*

Oil on copper, 16 × 20⅝ in. (40.5 × 52.5 cm)

The Saint Louis Art Museum (inv. 93:1986)

ca. 1612

First appearing in the 1986 Sotheby's Monaco sale, this small painting on copper has generated active discussion among Gentileschi scholars, who have disputed its authorship as well as its dating. Freedberg, Schleier, and Bissell have argued that Orazio painted the picture, although Schleier has more recently questioned this view.[1] Matthiesen first published the picture as a work by Artemisia, and that attribution is accepted by Nicolson and by Papi and Contini. Garrard has suggested that a third artist, perhaps one of Artemisia's daughters, made this reduced version, clearly intended as a copy of the nude figure from the Morandotti *Cleopatra* (cat. nos. 17, 53).[2]

Bissell has most recently and most extensively argued for an attribution to Orazio, based on the high quality of the handling and the assumption that both this painting and the *Cleopatra* were executed by the same hand. His argument for Orazio's authorship of the *Cleopatra* is based on several points, including the correspondence of the head to a figure in the Casino delle Muse frescoes, the similarity of the linens to those in Orazio's Pommersfelden *Madonna and Child* (Schloss Weissenstein), and a reference in a 1615 letter indicating that Orazio had a *Cleopatra* in his studio that he intended to send to Florence. To these Bissell has added further points specifically germane to the *Danaë*. He has related the headdress of the maidservant to Orazio's ex-Colnaghi *Judith* (fig. 46) and notes similarities in the lost profile of the maid with the same motif in the Oslo *Judith* (cat. 13). He further argues that Orazio specialized in working on copper.

None of these assertions, however, offers a definitive argument for an attribution to Orazio; the *Danaë* can be related to Artemisia as well. The face of the protagonist in Artemisia's Uffizi *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 62) bears a close resemblance to a figure in

PROVENANCE: Private collection (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, February 22, 1986, lot 243, as by Orazio); Kate Ganz Ltd., London (1986); The Saint Louis Art Museum.

REFERENCES: Settis 1985, 219; London 1986, 52; Nicolson 1990, vol. 1, 110; Contini and Papi in Florence 1991, 48, 51 fig. 34, 61; Mann 1996, 39–45; Mann 1997, 6–9; Zarucchi 1998–99, 13–16; Bissell 1999, 310–13 no. x-7, 377–78.

Orazio's Casino delle Muse frescoes (as Bissell himself has noted), and it would not be uncharacteristic to see Artemisia using that same source in this earlier picture. Orazio's reputed proficiency on copper in his Roman works (five by his hand are known, of which four are included in the present exhibition; cat. nos. 10, 19, 27, 38) does not preclude Artemisia's having worked on this support, as painting on copper was widely practiced by Italian painters of the early seventeenth century. We know that Artemisia made at least two, and perhaps three, other copper pictures—the late *Virgin and Child with a Rosary* (cat. 84), a lost *Saint Apollonia,* and a lost *Sleeping Putto.*[3] And the inventory of her household effects, drawn up in Florence in 1621, lists three works on copper (see appendix 3).

The narrative sensitivity displayed in the interpretation of the mythological story certainly conforms more to Artemisia's approach than to that of her father. The story, treated as a bold assertion of sexual union and sensual eroticism, derives from the earliest complete version told by the Greek author Apollodorus (2nd century B.C.). King Acrisius of Argos had a daughter named Danaë. It was prophesied that Danaë would bear offspring who would kill the king, and Acrisius locked his daughter in a brazen chamber. But the amorous Zeus was able to penetrate Danaë's protective fortress by transforming himself into a shower of gold, and gaining entry he impregnated her. Danaë's son, Perseus, the offspring of this union, would later fulfill the prophecy by murdering the king.

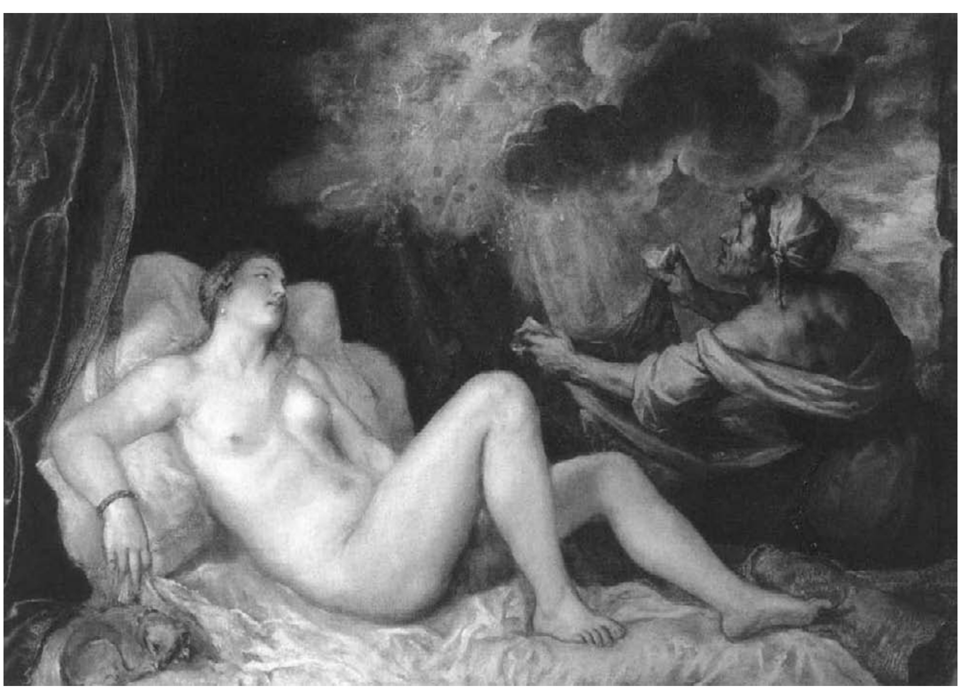


Figure 108. Titian (ca. 1485/90–1576), *Danaë*. Oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid

The painting depicts the sexually aroused Danaë, who clutches some coins in her right fist (a brilliant adaptation of the *Cleopatra*) while others accumulate on the tender flesh between her thighs, an entirely original conceptualization of the myth. The coins had by the sixteenth century replaced the golden shower as the visual reference to Zeus, tangible indicators of the god's forceful entry into her chamber and into her body.[4] Danaë's fist, the coins pushed between the clenched fingers, also becomes a metaphor for sexual embrace, suggestive of the fact that the god was not initially invited by the young and vulnerable Danaë.[5] This is one of the few images where Danaë is shown actually experiencing the consummation. More typically, she is portrayed either as a sexually aggressive temptress or as a chaste innocent unaware of her impending fate.

The artist who made this painting was surely familiar with sixteenth-century variations on the Danaë story and has expanded on these earlier prototypes.[6] The placement and pose of the maid were undoubtedly inspired by Titian's masterly rendition (or some version of it) in the Prado (fig. 108). Titian's maid has assumed the characteristic gesture of Danaë (found already in early antiquity) in which she holds up one end of the drapery to cover her lap.[7] In Titian's painting, Danaë still fingers the sheet, whereas Artemisia's Danaë has abandoned any reference to this tradition.

Tactile sensation has assumed primacy in this painting. The artist has used the suggestive device of metal coins resting on bare flesh, and while Tintoretto had also portrayed Danaë with coins lying on her thighs (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons), no other artist had positioned them for such obvious erotic meaning. The play between clothed and nude, seen in Titian's image, has been further developed by contrasting the maid's head scarf and covered shoulders with the stark nakedness of Danaë, whose longer hair caresses the upper part of her right arm to maximize the sensual force of the picture.

The Saint Louis *Danaë* displays the subtle variations in skin tone and the tightly composed format that are



characteristic of Artemisia's Roman work and cannot sustain a placement in the early 1620s, a dating that originally developed from a belief (now discredited) that Artemisia must have visited Genoa with her father at that time. Most important, the picture was done in the period during which Artemisia painted in the workshop of her father, employing the techniques that he had taught her, which are evident in the handling of pigment and glazes in the skin tones. The Caravaggesque shading in the body and the treatment of the velvet and linen bedclothes also derive directly from the work of Orazio. The somewhat looser handling of the bed linens when compared with those of the *Cleopatra* results from the polished surface of the copper support rather than an obviously different hand. This is the period in Artemisia's career when technically her work is as close as it will ever be to the work of her father.

1. Sidney Freedberg, conversation with James Burke, Director, The Saint Louis Art Museum, June 19, 1986; Erich Schleier, letter, February 16, 1988, document file, The Saint Louis Art Museum; Bissell 1999, 310–13.
2. Conversation with author, April 1990, The Saint Louis Art Museum. For further reading on this hypothesis, see Garrard 1989, 539 n. 85.
3. Bissell 1999, nos. L-68, L-11.
4. On the developing iconographies for this myth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Kahr 1978, 43–55.
5. I wish to thank Leo Steinberg, who on a visit to the Saint Louis Art Museum in March 1999 shared his astute reading of visual forms that enabled the true nature of this gesture to be understood.
6. See Santore 1991, 412–27.
7. The maid herself becomes a fixture of this imagery in the sixteenth century, derived perhaps from a late-fifteenth-century Danaë drama that featured a servant named Syro who was entrusted with the task of guarding the chaste princess. Ancient sources describe Danaë as having her lap covered; an early visual means for representing this element becomes the drape held in her hand. See Settis 1985, 225–29.

55. *Judith Slaying Holofernes*

Oil on canvas, 62½ × 49⅜ in. (158.8 × 125.5 cm)

Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. Q378)

1612–13

Judith, one of the "worthy women" whose story is told in the Old Testament Apocrypha, plots to kill the Assyrian general Holofernes as he lays siege to her town. Having donned her finest attire, she is permitted entry to the military encampment. Holofernes, smitten by her beauty, invites her to dine with him. Initially Judith refuses, but finally she accepts the offer. Holofernes becomes inebriated at dinner, and after he falls into a drunken slumber, Judith seizes his sword and cuts off his head. With the assistance of her maidservant Abra, she wraps the head, conceals it in the basket she had used for her food, and escapes the camp. The embodiment of such virtues as chastity and fortitude, Judith was often identified with the Virgin Mary and during the Counter-Reformation came to symbolize the Church's triumph over heresy. Some sixteenth-century artists, rather than focusing on her virtues, depicted the widowed heroine as a temptress who seduced Holofernes with her charms and lured him to his death. While most artists favored the scene of Judith and Abra fleeing after the assassination, Caravaggio's more dramatic depiction of the moment of the general's decapitation (fig. 109) was crucial to Artemisia's conception of the theme.

The Capodimonte painting and a related version in the Uffizi (cat. 62) have come to be associated with the presumed independent and fiery personality of the young Artemisia. This picture, which has been cut down, offers the more restrained interpretation of the story and was long assumed to be the second version. However, Garrard in her 1989 monograph places it early in Artemisia's career, dating it to 1612–13. Her conclusions are based in part on X radiography, which indicates numerous pentimenti (most notably in the arms and position of Holofernes and in the placement of Abra's arms), and in part on its dependence





Figure 109. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610), *Judith Beheading Holofernes.* Oil on canvas. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome

on prototypes by other artists working in Rome. While earlier scholars, on the basis of the Capodimonte provenance, have dated the picture to the 1630s, Artemisia's first Neapolitan period, more recent literature has followed an earlier dating.[1] The modeling and skin tones resemble those of the Pommersfelden *Susanna* (cat. 51), and the bold Caravaggesque presentation and the awkward treatment of space and anatomy further support an early Roman dating.

Garrard also associates the violence against a sexual aggressor with Artemisia's presumed rejection of traditional patriarchal interpretations (that is, Judith as temptress), inspired in part by the artist's response to her own rape in 1611 by Agostino Tassi. This interpretation has found wide currency in the literature, where the image is linked inextricably to the events of Artemisia's personal life. Other writers have focused on reconstructing Artemisia's psychological response to the trauma of the rape without, however, linking her experience directly to her paintings. More recent scholarship has attempted to enlarge the discussion by exploring the notions of the self in the seventeenth century, when rape was more bound up with family honor than with a sense of personal violation.[2] Furthermore, a definitive reading of the image as a revelation of personal struggle is complicated by the unknown circumstances of patronage for the picture. Pollock maintains that while Artemisia's response to her own rape may have informed the way in which she composed the picture, reactions to trauma are often sublimated and rarely emerge consciously: indeed, she cautions against an autobiographical reading of Artemisia's imagery in general. Recognizing that the painting cannot be read literally but represents a complex interaction of woman artist and historical context, she notes that the picture can be analyzed as an assertion of agency, "an active woman who can make art."[3] Most recently, visual rather than psychological motives have been emphasized, to the point of dismissing the rape almost entirely, with Adam Elsheimer's version and Orazio's Hartford *Judith* (cat. 39) cited as the primary formal sources for the picture.[4]

As Garrard, followed by Papi and Bissell, has claimed, the painting is inconceivable without the experience of the earlier treatment of the theme by Caravaggio, who also rejected the more popular moments in the narrative, the escape of Judith and Abra and the triumphant elevation of Holofernes' severed head. Artemisia's Judith repeats—even

PROVENANCE: Saveria de Simone, Naples (until 1827); Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

RELATED PICTURES: Galleria dell'Arcivescovado, Milan, on touchstone 32 × 22 cm; Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, 161 × 138 cm; location unknown, documented in a photograph in the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, no. E44973.

REFERENCES: Sandrart (1675) 1925, 290; Valentiner 1935, 101–4; Molajoli 1955, 51; Longhi 1961, 149–50, 259, 281; Moir 1967, fig. 160; Bissell 1968, 157–58; Borea in Florence 1970, 77; Greer 1979, 194; Bissell 1981, 149–50; Pointon 1981, 343 n. 2; Whitfield in London 1982, 168; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, 147; Pérez Sánchez in Madrid 1985, 164–65 no. 56; Cohen and Cohen 1989, 66–67; Garrard 1989, 32–34, 131–35, 306–13; Papi in Florence 1991, 116, 119–20, 182, pl. 9a,b; Stolzenwald 1991, 24, 33, 89, pl. 54; Bionda 1992, 22–24; Cohen 1992, 617; Hersey 1993, 327–28; Baumgärtel in Düsseldorf–Darmstadt 1995–96, 244–47; Daprà in Chambéry 1995, 90–91; Levenson in Atlanta 1996, 126; Bissell 1999, 191–98 no. 4; Pollock 1999, 117–24; Brown in London–Rome 2001, 296 no. 110; Christiansen 2001, 384.

exaggerates—the stiff-arm pose and the spatial relationship of killer and victim from Caravaggio's picture. Garrard, followed by Bissell, correctly argues that Artemisia probably also mined Peter Paul Rubens's painting the *Great Judith* (now lost) or the Cornelius Galle engraving after it for the lurid details of violence and that the reclining figure of Holofernes was inspired by Orazio's prone Goliath in the Dublin *David* (cat. 12). Brown and Christiansen have recently noted the formal debt to Elsheimer's small copper, clearly a reference point for Artemisia's work.

What has not been adequately discussed is the nature of Artemisia's borrowing from her sources. In adapting the pose of Holofernes from Rubens's *Judith* and in taking as her point of departure Caravaggio's representation, Artemisia builds on both in her effort to create a bloodbath, violence as a real occurrence. Rubens's Judith is no match for her formidably muscular victim. And Caravaggio's Judith, who approaches her victim gingerly and receives no help from her geriatric assistant, challenges credibility as an assassin. Artemisia's painting, by contrast, is a visualization of how such a grisly deed could actually be accomplished. As Garrard briefly acknowledges, what is most important about Artemisia's interpretation is that Abra is not only a loyal follower but a participant in the decapitation, what Baumgärtel (in Düsseldorf–Darmstadt 1995–96) calls "an active partner." Artemisia had already seen her father paint two versions of *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 13 and fig. 46), allowing her ample time to reflect on the details of this biblical story and its presentation. Her impulse toward naturalism is not, however, like Orazio's, limited to recording the specifics of surface and the physicality of form; rather, she has amplified his vision by presenting the story in strongly expressive terms.

The painting has suffered from abrasion and harsh cleaning, and the dark tones have deteriorated in the shadow areas. That it has been cut down on the left (by how much cannot be determined) has also compromised our full understanding of the artist's narrative intent. Discussion has been complicated by the existence of a copy, presumably made before the picture was cut down. Bissell (1999) summarizes the issues involved in determining the original appearance of the painting, drawing the conclusion that a precise reconstruction of the picture may continue to elude us. While Garrard argues that the original, complete, picture more closely approximated the Uffizi version, Papi's assertion (in Florence 1991) that the two pictures offer divergent sensibilities and that the Capodimonte painting never included as much of Holofernes merits consideration. In this first attempt to present the story of Judith, Artemisia creates a composition (an inverted triangle) that underlines the struggle of the three protagonists and offers the immediacy of an observed event. In so doing, she avoids the more balanced, less contentious, arrangement that she embraces in the later picture, in which the sword defines the midpoint of the composition.

1. Among those who have argued for a later dating are Longhi, Borea, Whitfield, and Pérez Sánchez. More recent assignments of an earlier dating include Papi, Stolzenwald, Bionda, and Bissell.
2. Cohen 1992, 617.
3. Pollock 1999, 123.
4. Brown, who characterizes arguments that seek to tie this picture to Artemisia's rape as explaining the painting as "a personal reaction to her 'date-rape' trial of 1612," grossly distorts the nature of the rape. Not only is the term inappropriate for the seventeenth century, but its colloquial usage denies the seriousness of the charges brought against Tassi.



Artemisia Gentileschi's Florentine Inspiration

ROBERTO CONTINI

Ten years after the first monographic exhibition devoted to Artemisia Gentileschi, it is still, I fear, almost futile to wonder about the influence Florence had on her art, for there are so many concrete indications that it had none. Unanticipated documentary discoveries relating to the chronology of Orazio's work and radical revisions in the assessment of Artemisia's Neapolitan production—both beyond the scope of this essay—remind us of the fragile basis of our knowledge of this remarkable painter, an artist endowed with a greater ability than her father to constantly transform her art in a naturalistic vein.[1]

We can be reasonably certain that Artemisia had shown considerable promise even before she arrived in Florence, as demonstrated, for example, in the Pommersfelden *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 51). Nevertheless, it is easy to play the devil's advocate and consider the signature and very early date of 1610 that appear on the painting to be fraudulent, or at least later additions, done either for commercial or for propagandistic reasons. There is the *Saint Cecilia* (cat. 63) and the *Madonna and Child* (cat. 52), both often considered autograph works done before 1612. And, above all, the *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 55), which may be unfinished and is now generally acknowledged to be one of Artemisia's earliest representations of this violent and bloody subject (and thus a product of her Roman years). When we think of the accomplishment of this last-mentioned work, we must ask ourselves what additional sustenance Artemisia could have found in Florence in the second decade of the seventeenth century. Florence was not exactly provincial, though the city's best artists had moved to Rome. However, it was still dominated by a generation of painters who were older than the almost twenty-year-old Artemisia, if only by a few years.

Florence had become a small center of "magnificent" painting following the example of Cigoli (1559–1613), who from 1604 increasingly worked in Rome, and the more austere Domenico Cresti, known as Passignano (1559–1638). If Artemisia arrived in Florence a decade too early to fully appreciate the talents of her local contemporaries, or slightly younger artists, so much the better. Otherwise, we would likely have witnessed an inexorable (though probably fascinating) tempering of her Caravaggesque inclinations and virile compositions in favor of a mawkish adherence to the Florentine current of decorative painting, which was dominated by Venetian-inspired color and a shamelessly epicurean vaunting of its own graphic style. In short, she would have become the most sumptuous of propagandists. Instead, nothing of what was happening there—whether on the scaffolding erected by Cardinal Carlo de' Medici in the casino on via Larga or in the work commissioned by Maria Maddalena of Austria for her residence at Poggio Imperiale—pertains to Artemisia's figural style. Slowly, however, and for decades after she lived along the Arno, an awareness of her presence took root in the grand-ducal city.

What did Florence mean for Artemisia as a context in which to affirm herself as an autonomous artist—beyond her father's supervision, though not necessarily out of his reach (was anybody in the Tuscan capital even acquainted with his art prior to 1615?)? An answer is perhaps to be found in the guise of her release from the shackles of illiteracy—in every sense of the term (for at the time of the rape trial, Artemisia claimed she could not write and could barely read).

It would seem that in Florence, Artemisia reached a turning point, in terms not of style but of a sense of color. Her indulgence in painting rich and brilliantly colored costumes, for example, must have been influenced by her stay in a place particularly prone to superficial extravagence. Yet, in the *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (cat. 59), rediscovered by Luciano Berti, and the

Opposite: Detail of the *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. 58)



Figure 110. Artemisia Gentileschi, *Allegory of Inclination*. Oil on canvas. Casa Buonarroti, Florence

Pitti *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. 58), I see no diminution in aggressiveness or in the brazen declaration of her personality, which indeed the artist rarely abandoned. It is this powerful mode of expression that constitutes the strength of her work and for which she received the numerous commissions from her broad-minded admirer Cosimo II de' Medici.

It does not seem to me that Artemisia's membership in the official art establishment, the Accademia del Disegno—an institution that regularly listed her on its roster from 1616 until 1620 (she is mentioned earlier, in 1614, but only because of unresolved debts)—necessarily means that she had obtained a privileged position, except in an arid, bureaucratic sense (she was the first female member). Nor can I believe that her friendship with Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (1568–1646), a truly erudite man and present in Rome in 1610, indicates that she had been launched in society. Did she have a temperament that could be educated? Certainly her father did not. One can be enamored of a painter's work without being particularly concerned about his or her training, and this, it seems to me, was the case with Buonarroti, who played something of a Pygmalion to the young artist.

As part of its dowry, Florence also brought Artemisia to the attention of, and indeed nurtured her friendship with, Galileo, who had visited Rome in 1611. It is not implausible that Cigoli—a close friend of Galileo's—was the connection between the scientist and the young artist, possibly also her father. And yet, based on the later, ample correspondence between Artemisia and the Palermo nobleman Don Antonio Ruffo and the sparse exchange of letters between the artist and that most cultivated and learned patron Cassiano dal Pozzo, there is no indication that she was ever expected to speak of herself as other than an artist—indeed, one ever better remunerated for her work. Nor did the correspondent, eminent or not, need to be anything other than an admirer of her work.

Who can say what illuminated Artemisia's relationship with Galileo, to whom she claimed in 1635 to be "infinitely obliged"? Perhaps theirs was something more than mere camaraderie, a kinship between the painter's strong artistic soul and the scientist's attraction to grandness of expression rather than to the mumblings of which he, a strong proponent of the poetry of Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1595), accused Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) of being guilty. That Artemisia should seem to some modern critics a woman of letters is somewhat mystifying. It is true that she was a lively correspondent during the years she spent in Naples (which is more than one can claim for the difficult years in Rome). It is also true that she denounced her illiteracy in the famous note in the Buonarroti archives in which she and her husband seem to compete with each other about who had more causes for complaint. Hers is a fine vernacular prose, more pleasing than the affected and cumbersome style of the tiresomely anecdotal Filippo Baldinucci, the biographer of Florentine artists. Although it is unlikely that Artemisia was, in any sense, a "Professore del Disegno" (professor of composition), her association with Buonarroti had the effect of redeeming her from the suspicion that she could not write and had only a very limited ability to read. I cannot deny that I would be gratified to be proved wrong on many of these points, for the image of an Artemisia who was literate, intellectually engaged, a fixture of the drawing room—perhaps even a delight to those in her company—would greatly increase the complexity of her personality.

Artemisia was, in any case, surely in contact with the Tuscan community before leaving Rome at the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the second. It seems indisputable that she knew Cigoli in Rome, the city in which he then lived and would stay until he died. Some of Passignano's more experimental works, such as the sinister *Burial of Saint Sebastian* (Capodimonte, Naples), painted, perhaps, for Cardinal Pompeo Arrigoni, may also have been of interest to her. Artemisia arrived in Florence just at the time of Bernardino Poccetti's (1548–1612) death. Little known outside his native city, Poccetti was a great master in the tradition of Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530). He may have been only a name that Artemisia heard from her father, but the monumentality of his compositions and his nostalgic deviation from the expressive norms of his day likely exercised some small influence on her.

Although Artemisia had no lasting interest in the neo-Mannerists in Florence in the 1620s, their coloristic pyrotechnics seem to have influenced the high-pitched range of hues in her Florentine work. We need only think of such examples as the *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (cat. 59), the *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. 58), or the *Jael and Sisera*, of 1620 (cat. 61). These coloristic qualities, familar to the young artist from her father's work (and especially evident in the Naples *Judith*; cat. 55), may have been reinforced by the work of artists associated with Cigoli, such as Giovanni Bilivert (1585–1644) and, later, the less talented Sigismondo Coccopani (1583–1643).

The gallery in the Casa Buonarroti (fig. 110), where Artemisia worked alongside Bilivert, Coccopani, and Matteo Rosselli (1578–1650), provided an occasion for young artists such as Giovan Battista Ghidoni—who was by no means a minor figure—to learn from her. It is possible that Bilivert's sumptuous *Tobias and the Angel* of 1612 (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) influenced Artemisia's color choices, though she may also have known, in Rome, his now largely unappreciated *Saint Calixtus Thrown into the Well*, painted in 1610 for the church of San Callisto in Trastevere, Rome. Cristofano Allori (1577–1621) was certainly the more talented painter, both in terms of his color choices and in the overall quality of his work, and his pictures would have been more congenial to Artemisia. She would have been drawn to the *Judith* in the Uffizi (now somewhat deteriorated) and to the noble expressiveness of his paintings, which display his own brand of naturalism. And she would have been interested in his drawings.[2]

As her career evolved, Artemisia would also make use of what she had observed in Tuscany, both in her compositions and in the mannered—or Mannerist—aspect of some of her figures. The *Esther Before Ahasuerus* (cat. 71), for example, has a suggestive relationship with works by the Sienese painter Rutilio Manetti (1571–1639)—although one does not know in which direction the influence ran. The *Esther* also has something in common with the *Theseus and Ariadne* (private collection), by the Florentine Bartolomeo Salvestrini (doc. 1600–1633), though he was still quite young when Artemisia was in Florence.

It is almost an assumption today that Tuscan painters were indebted to Artemisia, with the almost inevitable result that studies refer to now-lost "prototypes." And when all is said and done, little that is Florentine appears to have made much of an impression on Artemisia's stylistic development, at least from what we can glean from her extant work. That Artemisia proudly followed her own path seems unquestionable. Thus, the considerable influence she exercised on Florentine painting took some time to emerge. Works whose manner seems most to resemble Artemisia's appear many years after the eight that she spent in the city. Numerous cases could be added to those already cited in the literature,[3] but I believe that even as late as the early 1640s, Artemisia's *terribilismo* could not have been better interpreted than it is by Ottavio Vannini (1585–1644) in the monochromatic ovals (greenish with gold outlines) that he painted to simulate cameos on faux marble within festoons, in the window embrasures of a ground-floor room of the Palazzo Pitti (today the Museo degli Argenti; fig. 111). The oval on the right side of the second window is a particularly good example. The Medusa-like treatment of the woman's hair presupposes a knowledge of Artemisia's more Baglionesque works, perhaps even her *Self-Portrait* as it appears in the famous print by Jérôme David (fig. 95).[4]

Concealed among these later Baglionesque painters—a sort of Berensonian "Amico di Artemisia"—is Anastasio Fontebuoni (ca. 1580–1626), one of the most talented Florentines to go to Rome. In 1599, we find him staying with Agostino Ciampelli. Fontebuoni was open to Caravaggesque naturalism as practiced by Gentileschi and by Giovanni Baglione, Tommaso Salini, and Giovanni Francesco Guerrieri. It seems most likely that when Fontebuoni returned to Florence, before the end of July 1620 (thus crossing paths with the departing Artemisia), part of the commission to decorate the vault in the Ajax courtyard, on the ground



Figure 111. Ottavio Vannini (1585–1644), *Allegorical Figure.* Fresco. Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti, Salone di Giovanni da San Giovanni, Florence



Figure 112. Anastasio Fontebuoni (ca. 1580–1626), *Allegorical Figure of Prudence.* Fresco. Palazzo Pitti, Loggetta del Cortiletto, Florence

floor of the Palazzo Pitti, awaited him (fig. 112 offers a small example of that decoration).[5]

This interest in Artemisia after her departure might explain the presence in Florence not only of pictures she had executed for the Medici—which, as a matter of course, were accessible—but also of unfinished or undelivered paintings that had perhaps remained in the artist's studio. Knowledge of such pictures would justify and even help to resolve the debates surrounding the attribution of some single-figure compositions currently ascribed to her Florentine contemporaries. The argument can be constructed, at least in part, from an inventory of the goods that she left in Florence and that were sold, in February 1621, to Francesco Maria Maringhi for 175 ducats.

Maringhi was most likely a close acquaintance, if not a friend, of Artemisia's, and he appears in other Florentine documents that pertain to her. More interesting here than her relationship with Maringhi, however, are several entries in the 1621 inventory. This recent discovery in the Frescobaldi family archives (see appendix 3) was made by Francesco Solinas, who, with exceptional generosity made it available for publication. In truth, not all that much can be inferred from the inventory (does the sale of her household effects imply that Artemisia returned to Florence?).[6] Yet it is suggestive. For example, from a number of surviving paintings, one might suspect that some Florentine forgeries were based on prototypes that she had made—sweetened versions of works that were too potent for local tastes. One might also imagine Artemisia's half-disguised grimace when confronted with certain pictures marked by a pronounced Florentine style. (I am thinking here of that masterpiece of Florentine seicento painting, the *Apollo and Marsyas* in the Palazzo Pitti, the composition of which can be understood only in a Florentine context, although the details have a robust Roman flavor that does not quite overcome the neo-Mannerist poetry of Bilivert or of the less talented Salvestrini.) With the inventory in hand, we are in a position to suggest that some of these works were indeed unfinished autograph canvases, put into circulation and completed by Artemisia's Florentine colleagues—though not until the 1620s. These were the painters of the great Medici decorations—but we should not expect any particular compatibility between the style of these artists and the vigorous naturalism of Artemisia.

Among the pictures listed in the inventory—untraced or possibly just misidentified—are a "large canvas, half painted" and a "picture of a Magdalene, just begun, two *braccia* high." The latter is especially interesting if it can be identified with the Pitti *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. 58), even though the Pitti picture's height is greater than the two *braccia* listed in the inventory (146.5 × 108 cm as opposed to a height of only 120 cm). Nevertheless, the inventory should be taken into account, especially by those who

see stylistic inconsistencies in the painting, which is Artemisia's most Florentine work in terms of color. It has been thought the picture was enlarged on the left side with a strip of canvas that includes the signature on the back of the red velvet chair and along the bottom (an arc including the terminating folds of the yellow-gold drapery, the saint's left foot, and an ointment jar, which would have been an indispensable iconographic attribute in an early design for the composition).[7] These additions have been ascribed to a second hand. Yet such speculation must be treated with the utmost prudence. It is one thing to take note of these unpublished documents and quite another to approach them with the caution required for a live grenade.

In addition to these two unfinished paintings, the inventory lists six more pictures; a seventh work, referred to simply as a "Crucifix," is probably a three-dimensional devotional object of very little value. Thus, the search is on for a "picture of a clothed Magdalene, two *braccia* high," a "Madonna" of the same size, a "portrait of a woman in a walnut frame," and "3 small paintings on copper." The latter would represent novel additions to our knowledge of the painter's work.

The inventory indicates that Artemisia did not lack for commissions in Florence. Also listed are four walnut palettes, four "legij da dipingere"—that is, easels—and fifteen canvases for paintings, both large and small. If the Florentine art market was indeed consumed by a passion for Artemisia's violent images (Orazio's work was not, it should be noted, part of the Medici's ambitions as collectors),[8] there was probably a market for substitutes, which brought pressure to bear on local artists to make pictures "in the manner of" the painter. At the same time, there is a continuing obligation to look for Artemisia's work among small pictures, even those painted on copperplates. No Florentine examples of paintings on copper survive, unless one dares ascribe to her the splendid *Penitent Magdalene* in London (fig. 98). Although it was auctioned in 1996 as "attributed to Artemisia Gentileschi," Bissell suggested, after it was cleaned, that it might be by Orazio.[9]

Maringhi also interceded on Artemisia's behalf after she failed to deliver a *Hercules* commissioned by Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici. Having told the duke that she was going to Rome for a few months, she promised, on February 10, 1620, to send the finished painting in, at the most, a couple of months (she had received an advance of fifty scudi). Just five days later, the likelihood that this commitment would not be met seemed quite clear. Artemisia had failed to pay for an ounce and a half of ultramarine blue that she had already received, as a result of which her household goods were sequestered. Maringhi then stepped in and guaranteed that she would finish the picture within six months, offering personally to pay her debt if the work were not delivered. Maringhi, who continued as Artemisia's agent in Florence, is mentioned again some fifteen years later in a feverish letter addressed by the artist to Galileo. In the letter, sent from Naples on October 9, 1635, Artemisia expressed her concern that she had received no notice of receipt (and thus no expression of appreciation) from Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici for two large pictures. She thus implied to her illustrious correspondent the disparity between the treatment she received from the Florentine court and her reception by her patrons elsewhere in Europe. If the grand duke would deign to reply to her, Artemisia told Galileo, the correspondence could be forwarded to Maringhi.[10]

One can speculate endlessly on the relationship between Maringhi and Gentileschi, and on the identification of the generically described paintings in the correspondence. However, a picture that should not be overlooked (at least as a possible prototype) is, unfortunately, not a *Hercules* but a *Samson Victorious* (fig. 113). This work, which was ceded by the Medici collection to the Palazzo Mansi in Lucca in the second half of the nineteenth century, has not yet received the attention it merits. Attributed to Domenichino (1581–1641),[11] it is instead the product of the "gentileschiana methodus," although perhaps softened in ways that are unlike Artemisia's approach. Nonetheless, the painting is rooted in a manner whose tempered naturalism and volumetric compactness seem alien to the school from which Domenichino—a pupil of Annibale Carracci (1560–1609)—came, yet not distant from the manner of the Gentileschi (both father and daughter).

I would like, finally, to discuss a painting that may have nothing to do with Artemisia's activity in Florence. I know this picture, the *Portrait of a Nun* (fig. 114), only from photographs, but it seems to me important since, if it is by Artemisia, it would represent both an addition to her oeuvre and a possible document of her trip to Venice in the late 1620s. The hypothesis that it was painted for a Venetian patron hangs by a slender thread: its appearance in the Italico Brass collection in Venice in the nineteenth century. Despite the risks of judging from a photograph the saturnine appearance of the nun, and despite the picture's evidently rather compromised state, one can dismiss outright the

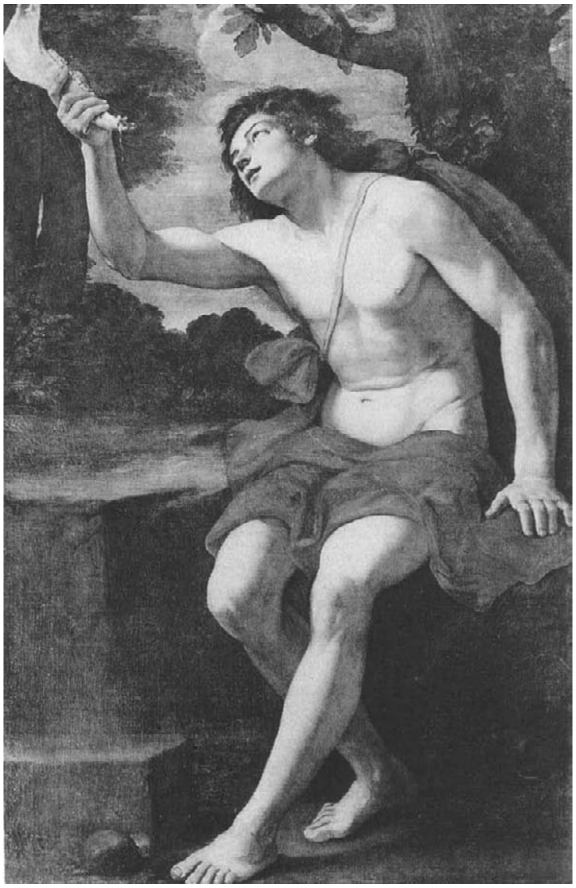


Figure 113. Seventeenth-century Tuscan painter, *Samson Victorious*. Oil on canvas. Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Mansi, Lucca

current attribution to Bernardo Strozzi (1581–1644). The surface of this psychologically penetrating, bust-length image appears to be dry and controlled—in short, naturalistic—and could not be further from the frothy impasto that characterizes the work of the Genovese painter.

I believe instead that the nun, fixedly gazing out of the picture with a feverish lack of indulgence either for the viewer or, in truth, for herself, has a well-known antecedent. It is to be found on the ceiling of the Casino delle Muse (fig. 6) as well as, in certain respects, in the *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 51), whose Florentine descendants include the Baglionesque *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. 58), the *Self-Portrait as a Female Martyr* (cat. 56), and the *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (cat. 59). There is a contradiction here, for although Artemisia is recorded in Venice between 1627 and 1628, the style of this intriguing portrait—assuming it is by her—is not that of the artist during this time. We have, it is true, but few cards to play in establishing a chronology for Artemisia during the years 1622–30, but there is in the painting evidence of a renewed familiarity with the Roman scene. Yet this is, perhaps, only a captious argument, since the most relevant point of reference seems to me to be the masterfully rendered angel in the *Resurrection* (Art Institute of Chicago), by the Lombard artist Francesco Buoneri (Cecco di Caravaggio; fl. 1610–20). That painting was executed (as we now know thanks to Gianni Papi's addendum to Corti's important documentary discovery)[12] for the Guicciardini chapel in Santa Felicità in Florence. Unfortunately, like Caravaggio—his compatriot and mentor—Buoneri suffered the shame of having his work refused. Nonetheless, one cannot help but think that Artemisia saw it.

Could the *Portrait of a Nun* conceivably be a canvas by Artemisia, painted in Florence or shortly after she left? Surely a work of this power serves as a provocative reminder of the limits of our current knowledge.

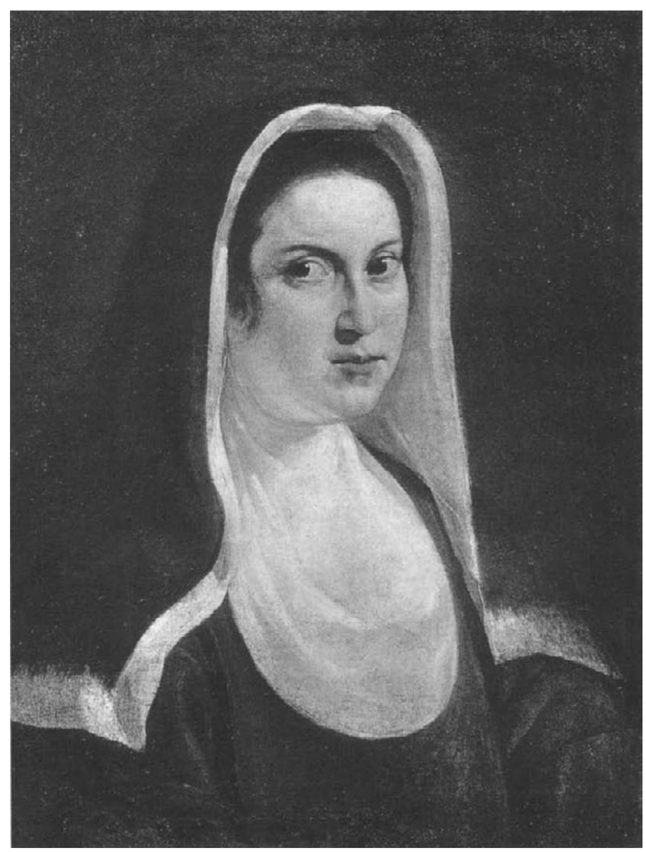


Figure 114. Attributed to Artemisia Gentileschi, *Portrait of a Nun*. Oil on canvas. Formerly private collection, Venice

1. Causa 1993, passim.
2. It is also important to note that Allori could be counted as one of Artemisia's true friends in Florence and not just a professional acquaintance. He was godfather to Artemisia's son, who was named for him and baptized on November 9, 1616. See Cropper 1993, 760 n. 6.
3. Contini in Florence 1991, 181–96.
4. The inscription on the tablet below the allegorical image reads, "ROS MARGARITAS GIGNIT, / PRINCIPIS GRATIAS CANDIDA IN PECTORE / VIRTUTUM PARENS."
5. Contini in Fossombrone 1997, 10–11, 16 n. 19.
6. Critics (Spike 1991b, 732–34) have taken aim particularly at the small *Female Martyr* (32 × 24.5 cm) in the Zeri collection (see cat. 56) and the *Saint Cecilia* (92 × 72 cm) in a private collection in Trent. Neither subject is mentioned in the Frescobaldi inventory. The *Saint Cecilia* seems to me at the very least Gentileschiesque and may even derive from a prototype by Artemisia. It would, however, require someone well trained in divination to discover its author (the picture is in less than ideal condition). Any reservations about the lovely painting in the Zeri collection seem to me gratuitous; there really is no alternative to an attribution to Artemisia. The only Florentine artist perhaps capable of rendering its powerful sweetness (if one will excuse the oxymoron) is Fontebuoni, in whose work there is always a trace of the academic (derived from Campelli). Nor should we take as an excuse the obvious disparity with the painting exhibited here (cat. 56). If the latter, like the Pitti *Magdalene*, reveals a dominant, stereotypical Baglionesque style, the Zeri picture reflects a later moment, with the *Allegory of Inclination* (fig. 110) the middle term. Certainly, when I see the *Aurora* (fig. 96) peddled as a work by Artemisia and the attribution of the *Mary Magdalene* at West Wycombe Park changed to "circle of Angelo Caroselli" (Bissell 1991, 220–22 no. 15, 340–41 no. x-35, figs. 87, 90, 232), even though there should be no doubt of Artemisia's authorship, I see also that the often seductive exercise of attribution should sometimes be autocratically self-censured.
7. Spike 1991b, 732–34.
8. Decisive here is the opinion of Orazio's abilities submitted to Cosimo II de' Medici by the Florentine ambassador to Rome, Pietro Guicciardini, on March 27, 1615; see Crinò and Nicholson 1961, 144–45. Guicciardini considered Cristofano Allori and Jacopo Ligozzi to be more talented than Orazio. Beyond the clear misrepresentations of the relative merits of these Florentine artists at the expense of Orazio (whose work can, however, bring to mind that of artists such as Ligozzi), his verdict does call attention to possible disagreements among the most avant-garde figures in Tuscany (the proto-Caravaggisti). This is especially important to bear in mind when evaluating the relationship of the later work of a sober Florentine naturalist such as Giovanni Martinelli to that of Artemisia.
9. Bissell 1999, 338 no. x-32, figs. 240, 241.
10. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, mss. Gal. P.I.T. XIII, ff. 269–70; Galilei 1929–39, vol. 16, 318–19, and, more recently, translated into English in Garrard 1989, 383–84.
11. Borella and Giusti Maccari 1993, 268 (where the picture is also attributed to Domenichino).
12. Corti 1989, 131, payment number 49; Papi in Florence 1991, 39–50; Papi 1992a, 7–26.

56.

Self-Portrait as a Female Martyr (Female Martyr)

Oil on panel, 12½ × 9¾ in. (31.75 × 24.76 cm)

Inscribed (on the reverse): Di mano di Artemisia figlia di A.rili.Lomi/Pisano Nipote di Orazio F[G?] . . . . E . . . /

Private collection

ca. 1615

New York, Saint Louis

PROVENANCE: Ignazio Hugford (until 1779?); Wollaston family? (19th century); by descent to Martha Beavan, née Wollaston, of Leintwardine, Herefordshire; Newhouse Galleries; private collection (1995?).

REFERENCES: Fleming 1955, 106–10, 197–200, 203–6; Del Bravo 1967, 82 n. 11; Sotheby's, London, December 9, 1987, lot 13; Bissell in New York 1989, no. 3; Contini in Florence 1991, 140–43, fig. 84; Spike 1991b, 734; Bissell 1999, 204–5 no. 7; Papi 2000, 452.

This picture is one of two works by Artemisia Gentileschi painted on panel. A bill sent to Artemisia dated February 12, 1615, lists materials and household furnishings that had been supplied to the artist by a joiner, and includes "a small wood panel for painting on," although as Bissell (1999) has correctly pointed out, the word *tavoletta* can mean both "panel" and "table."[1] The term is used in both ways in the February 1615 account. The 1621 inventory of Artemisia's Florence studio (see appendix 3) lists four "tavolozze" (which has been translated as "palettes," but which may also be interpreted as "panels") and three "tavolini" (translated as "small wooden tables," though it could be understood to mean "panels" as well).

While the palm frond identifies the subject as a martyr, most scholars (Contini, Bissell 1999, Papi) have accepted it as a self-portrait of the artist, noting the characteristic bow lips, slight dip in the nose, and full face evident in the engraved portrait of Artemisia by Jérôme David (fig. 95) of about 1628. Contini has likened the face to that of a figure in Orazio's ceiling at the Casino delle Muse (fig. 6), Rome, one of several understood to record the features of the adolescent Artemisia. The painting has convincingly been placed in the artist's Florentine period and can easily be compared with two key pictures of that time, the Pitti *Magdalene* (cat. 58) and the *Allegory of Inclination* (Casa Buonarroti, Florence; fig. 110), both of which share the same facial type, dimpled hands, and wavy, disheveled hair. It also warrants comparison with the Uffizi *Saint Catherine* (cat. 59). The accomplished handling of paint in the rose drapery and lapis blue turban is not unlike the flourish of paint more robustly displayed in the Pitti *Magdalene*. A Medici inventory dated March 17, 1625, lists a *Saint Apollonia* by Artemisia, a copper oval of relatively small size, attesting to her having produced small-format images of at least one saint while she was in Florence.[2]

Bissell (1999) associates the picture with the "Testa di Santa" lent by the Italian-born Englishman Ignazio Hugford to an exhibition at the Santissima Annunziata, Florence, in 1767. An inscription on the back of the panel, "By the hand of Artemisia daughter of A[u]r[e]li[o] Lomi/ Pisan, niece of Orazio," which confuses Orazio Gentileschi with his brother, Aurelio (such errors are common in early notations), specifies Lomi's Pisan origins, a fact that would have been noteworthy for Hugford, who was himself born in Pisa.

Counter-Reformation zeal to reaffirm the original teachings of the Church engendered a particular interest in the lives of the early Christian martyrs. Cesare Baronio, the Church historian and follower of Saint Philip Neri, completed important revisions to the *Martyrologium romanum* in 1586, and representations of saints who were put to death when they refused to forsake their Christian ideals were popular as devotional images among early-seventeenth-century patrons; this small panel may have served such a purpose. However, the absence of an identifying attribute is unusual, and the depiction of the sitter with a turban wrapped loosely around her head conforms more to the standard artist portrait than to images of martyred saints. The painting appears to have been used as the model for a similar canvas in the Zeri collection, included by Contini in the 1991 Florence exhibition as an autograph work, though in my view by another hand.

1. The date in the account is recorded as 1614. As the new year in Florence did not begin until March, it is actually 1615, however.
2. Cited by Gregori 1968, 419 n. 18.



57.

Self-Portrait as a Lute Player

Oil on canvas, 30½ × 28¼ in. (77.5 × 71.8 cm)

Curtis Galleries, Minneapolis

ca. 1615–17

A 1638 inventory of the Villa Medici at Artimino records "Un Quadro in tela alto b. 1½ largo b. 1¼ con adornam.to nero filettato d'oro entrovi dipinto il ritratto della' artimisia di sua mano che suona il liuto" (A picture on canvas 1½ *braccia* high and 1¼ *braccia* wide in a black frame bordered in gold, the portrait of Artemisia playing a lute painted by her own hand), a description that most certainly refers to the present painting, as Papi has recently pointed out (a Florentine *braccia* equals 58.4 cm). A comparison with the Jérôme David engraving of Artemisia's face (ca. 1628; fig. 95) confirms this as a likeness of the painter, notable in such details as the full chin, the configuration of the nose, and the pursed, bow lips. Unknown until it appeared at the Sotheby's London sale of July 1998, the painting has now been accepted by most scholars, and its Medici provenance establishes it as an important reference point for Artemisia's career in Florence; it was perhaps even a commission from Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici himself.

There has been a tendency among writers to assume that Artemisia used her own countenance as her model in nearly all the works that include young women, and it is important to weed out the true self-portraits in order to come to grips with her oeuvre and its meaning. All her Judiths at one time or another have been considered self-representations, as have the Pitti *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. 58), the *Allegory of Inclination* (fig. 110), the Milan *Lucretia* (cat. 67), and the Pommersfelden *Susanna* (cat. 51). These interpretations in part relate to the tendency to read the narratives in autobiographical terms as well (see, for example, cat. nos. 51, 55). However, while there is clearly an Artemisia "type" in the early paintings, she employs a range of physical features, and not all of them appear to be drawn from the same model. Furthermore, we know that Artemisia had people model for her. In her trial testimony, she describes how she was sketching her neighbor Tuzia's little boy when Agostino entered her room prior to the rape itself, establishing this practice as early as 1611. And later in her life, in a letter written on June 12, 1649, to her Sicilian patron Don Antonio Ruffo, she lamented the difficulties of completing a commission for a figure painting given the problem of finding suitable models: "Because out of the fifty women who undress themselves, there is scarcely one good one."[1]

Stylistic affinities with other pictures from Artemisia's Tuscan period confirm the placement of the *Self-Portrait as a Lute Player* within her Florentine sojourn. There are similarities with the *Allegory of Inclination*, the one documented picture of the period (we know that the patron, Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, made the final payment in 1616): in the type of the eye, the handling of the hair, and the configuration of the hands. Furthermore, the lighting along her left forearm and hand seems analogous to the more filtered, enveloping light of the Buonarroti picture. The facial type links it as well to the *Self-Portrait as a*



Figure 115. X radiograph of cat. 57

PROVENANCE: Possibly Medici collection, Villa Medici, Artimino (inv. 1638); sold, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1998, lot 68; Curtis Galleries, Minneapolis.

REFERENCES: Garrard 1982, 163; Garrard 1989, 204, 393; Florence 1991, 34; Papi 2000, 452.





Figure 116. Gerrit van Honthorst (1592–1656), *Smiling Girl, a Courtesan, Holding an Obscene Image.* Oil on canvas. The Saint Louis Art Museum

Female Martyr (cat. 56); they share the nearly identical pose, the wide clear gaze, and soft, wavy hair. It can also be likened to the Uffizi *Saint Catherine* (cat. 59) and the Pitti *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. 58). Other traits shared in these works include the configuration of the hands with long, fully rounded fingers, and dimpled knuckles that seem especially characteristic of Artemisia. The decorative motif on the face of the lute as well as the metallic edging of the sash also recall ornamental flourishes found in other works, such as the pillow and tassel in the Rome *Cleopatra* (cat. 76) and the elaborate upholstery of the chair in the Pitti *Magdalene*. The lavish materials of her head scarf and sash together with the sumptuous detailing of the sleeves of the blue dress further support a Florentine origin, which ties Artemisia's paintings during this period to the canvases of Cigoli, Jacopo da Empoli, and Cristofano Allori.

This type of subject—that is, young men and women playing musical instruments—was popular among artists in Rome in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century. Northern artists who came to Rome and were influenced by Caravaggio seem to have been especially fond of the theme. Young female musicians were portrayed by such painters as Gerrit van Honthorst and Dirck van Baburen, often with overt erotic connotations. The inclusion of musical instruments in seventeenth-century pictures, for example, has been associated with allusions to lust and sexuality. Here, the prominence of the lutenist's full breasts and the formal similarity of the pose with images such as Van Honthorst's *Smiling Girl, a Courtesan, Holding an Obscene Image* (fig. 116) raise the question of whether Artemisia intended to make such an association. It is likely that she is presenting herself in costume, playing a role. This is supported by an entry in the Medici inventory, of another self-portrait, described as portraying the artist in the costume of an Amazon, with a curved sword and a helmet.[2]

The appearance of the present picture in the Medici inventory and its presumed Medici patronage suggest that it was commissioned once Artemisia had established herself within the Florentine art world. Indeed, a letter written in 1615 by Grand Duke Cosimo's secretary of state, Andrea Cioli, describes Artemisia as having established a reputation in Florence.[3] This picture may have been commissioned after that time, making a dating between 1615 and 1617 appropriate.

The canvas was cleaned immediately after its sale in July 1998. Old varnish was removed, as was the old lining. The picture was realigned on the stretcher, bringing the pose of the sitter to a slightly more vertical position. X radiographs taken at the time of the Sotheby's sale (fig. 115) reveal the presence of an inverted female head underneath the left sleeve, an indication that the picture was painted over. Documents from Artemisia's Florentine period record debts that she accrued during these years, and the reuse of a canvas, while not unusual, may have been common practice during this phase of her career.

1. Garrard 1989, 393 letter no. 19.

2. Papi (2000, 452) gives the full description from the inventory. Lapierre (1998, 464) mentions an untraced picture of an *Amazon en armes,* translated in the English edition (2000, 420) as *Amazon Dressed for Battle.*

3. For the letter, see Crinò 1960, 264, in which Cioli wrote to the grand duke's ambassador in Rome, Pietro Guicciardini, for verification of Orazio's standing as a painter, having heard he was one of "the most excellent and famous painters," and being inclined to believe that, based on the high quality of the paintings he knew by Artemisia.

58.
Conversion of the Magdalene

Oil on canvas, 57⅝ × 42½ in. (146.5 × 108 cm)

Signed (on back of chair): ARTIMISIA LOMI

Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (inv. 142)

ca. 1615–16

Rome, New York

Counter-Reformation theology championed the repentant saint, and Mary Magdalene's dramatic rejection of a life of sensual vanity exemplified the virtue of penitence. Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend,* a popular thirteenth-century compendium of the lives of the saints, describes the Magdalene as "known for the way she gave her body to pleasure—so much so that her proper name was forgotten and she was commonly called 'the sinner.'" After hearing Christ preach at the house of Simon the Pharisee, Mary becomes an ardent follower and is absolved by Jesus of all her sins (Luke 7:47). Later in her life, she withdraws to the wilderness and lives in penitent seclusion until her death.[1] The extraordinary popularity of Mary Magdalene in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave rise to a variety of images recording events from the saint's life, as well as representations intended for devotional purposes. In these images, artists attempted to achieve a subtle balance between depicting her virtue, which had allowed her to renounce her life of sin, and her sensuality, which had led her there.

Artemisia has addressed the seeming dichotomy of the Magdalene's example by balancing sensuality and virtue, action and contemplation. Titian's famous image of the saint, painted in 1530–35 (fig. 68) and widely disseminated through copies, as well as through the 1566 engraving by Cornelis Cort, acknowledges the sexual nature of Mary's sin through the prominent and sensuous presentation of her bare breasts, which were, as noted by Hart in a recent study on the saint, "her weapon of seduction."[2] Many other artists depicted a partially clothed Magdalene or made her breasts the central focus of the composition, although the saint's nudity was regarded as problematic by some theologians. Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti of Bologna warned in 1582 that such immodestly attired figures could "foment the lascivious desires" of those who viewed them.[3] Avoiding overt sensuality, Artemisia illustrates Mary's sins through costume as well as through gesture. The golden dress trimmed in blue and the oversized pearl earrings attest to a pursuit of earthly pleasures, underscored by the richly upholstered chair. At the same time, however, the saint is shown in the dramatic act of renunciation, as with her left hand she pushes away the mirror, symbol of vanity, in whose shiny surface is reflected her opulent jewelry. In an image of elegant efficiency, Artemisia has combined penitential contemplation with dramatic conversion. Although Harris (in Los Angeles 1976–77) and Garrard have noted the expressive inadequacy of the picture, one can argue that Artemisia has achieved a synthesis; Mary's expression connotes penitential focus, while her pushing left hand and forceful, slightly oversized legs suggest an active and spirited rejection.

The mirror bears the inscription OPTIMAM PARTEM ELEGIT, written in gold on the upper frame. Translated as "She chooses the better part," it is drawn from a story told in the Gospel of Luke 10:42, in which Mary and her sister Martha host Jesus for dinner. As Martha hastens to prepare the meal, Mary sits and listens

Provenance: Palazzo Pitti, Florence (by 1826).

References: Bissell 1968, 156; Borea in Florence 1970, 74–75 no. 47; Harris in Los Angeles 1976–77, 121 no. 11; Whitfield in London 1982, 166–67 no. 58; Mosco in Florence 1986, 159–61 no. 55; Garrard 1989, 40–41, 45–48; Spear 1989a, 604; Contini in Florence 1991, 129–32 no. 12; Spike 1991b, 732–34; Stolzenwald 1991, 33, 125 n. 21; Bionda 1992, 26; Hart 1995, 75–76; Mann 1997, 171–72, 174–75, 177–79; Harris 1998, 119; Bissell 1999, 209–11 no. 10.

attentively. When Martha complains that she is doing all the work while Mary remains idle, Jesus replies, "It is Mary who has chosen the better part, and it is not to be taken from her." Voragine expounds upon the meaning of these words, saying that between penance, inward contemplation, and heavenly glory (all evident in Mary's life), penance is the better part.

The Magdalene often inspired images of despair and soul-searching, sentiments that were expressed in a sixteenth-century sermon by the Venetian preacher Francesco Panigarola, who described Mary Magdalene's conversion in grandiose and exaggeratedly active terms: "Casting down her necklaces and jewels, shaking out her tresses, violently wringing her hands, she trembled and declared, 'Oh floor, why don't you open up? Why don't you swallow me? Oh bed, you who have witnessed so many of my evil deeds, why don't you smother me?'"[4] While Artemisia has clearly made reference to the more physical aspects of Mary's transformation—for example, the disheveled locks, the dress that has slipped from her shoulder, and her bare feet, which belie her otherwise elegant attire—her representation offers a calm contemplative, who, having undergone a dramatic conversion, now devotes herself to her penance.

Artemisia's dazzling technique in her treatment of the gold drapery makes the *Magdalene* one of the high points of her Florentine years. Art historians have unanimously placed it in her Tuscan period, primarily because of its location in the Pitti palace since at least the nineteenth century (it is first mentioned there in 1826) and because of the signature, which includes her paternal surname Lomi, a form that the artist employed more frequently in Florence than elsewhere.[5] Contini traces the choice of the lavish yellow gold for the gown to the influence of Cristofano Allori (as does Garrard) and associates the picture's Florentine richness with her experience of such artists as Jacopo Ligozzi, while Garrard links the Florentine style in Artemisia's work to the sixteenth-century court and the portraits of Agnolo Bronzino. Some authors have noted a more Caravaggesque quality in the painting. Harris describes it as a "bold Caravaggesque presentation," while Contini, in acknowledging formal similarities to the work of Giovanni Baglione, notes its basis in Caravaggesque naturalism. Whitfield remarks a synthesis of naturalism inherited from Caravaggio "overlaid" with the Florentine interest in material richness deriving from the tradition of Cristofano Allori and Cigoli.

Most scholars date the picture to the years directly following the *Allegory of Inclination* (fig. 110), between 1617 and 1620 (Bissell [1968, 1989], Mosco, Garrard, Contini, Stolzenwald, and Bionda), though Harris places it in the last two years of the period, 1619 and 1620, and all have associated it with patronage from the Florentine court, assuming that it may have been commissioned by Grand Duke Cosimo II for his wife, Maria Maddalena of Austria, or even by the duchess herself (Bissell 1968). In 1997, I argued for a date of 1613–16, noting the picture's overtly self-promotional characteristics and the awkwardness in the handling of the figure. Nevertheless, a slightly later date should perhaps be put forward, 1615–16, based on the figure's close ties to the Buonarroti *Allegory*, while the more aggressive and expressive demeanor, rather than the quieter tone of the pictures of the later part of the decade, argues against a dating after 1616.

Both Spike and Bissell (1999) have suggested that the signature along the exposed wood of the chair back and the inscription on the mirror are later additions and should not be included in any analysis of the painter's intent. The picture is painted on three separate pieces of canvas sewn together; the signature is written along one of the seams. While the signature does appear to have been strengthened, it is difficult to ascertain whether it is a complete fabrication. Given the autograph appearance of the drapery in the lower left, it is perhaps best to assume that the left portion has been augmented but that it was part of the original painting. The inscription on the mirror appears to have been painted by the same hand as the signature. Given that Artemisia acknowledged, in 1612 at the rape trial, that she could neither read nor write, and as the trial documents do not bear any form of her signature, it is not surprising that she may have had someone else add the lettering for her.[6]

Harris has suggested that in creating the Pommersfelden *Susanna* (cat. 51), Artemisia intended to advertise her skills by selecting a challenging pose



for a female nude. One must wonder whether the Pitti *Magdalene* as well, with its virtuoso technique and flashy signature, was intended as a demonstration piece.

1. Jacobus de Voragine 1993, vol. 1, 375. Other sources regarding the iconography of the Magdalene include Janssen 1974, 516–41; Moltmann-Wendel 1982, 61–90; Ingenhoff-Danhaüser 1984; and Florence 1986.
2. Hart 1995, 75–76.
3. Paleotti 1582, cited in Barocchi 1960–62, vol. 2, 267.
4. Aikema 1994, 58.
5. On the use of Lomi in and out of Florence, see the Burghley House *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 65).
6. I wish to thank Patrizia Cavazzini for providing this information.

59. *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*

Oil on canvas, 30⅜ × 24¼ in. (77 × 63 cm)

On the reverse of the original canvas, before relining: 123, 39, 4344, 1725, 4778

Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. 8032)

ca. 1618–19

Rome, Saint Louis

PROVENANCE: Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (1890 inv., as by follower of Artemisia); Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence (until 1970); Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

REFERENCES: Solerti 1905, 92; Sricchia 1963, 251; Gregori 1968, 416; Borea in Florence 1970, 72–73; Nicolson 1970, 641; Volpe 1970, 116; Schleier 1971, 89; Bagnoli in Siena 1978, 103–4; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, vol. 1, 147; Valli in Bologna–Los Angeles–Fort Worth 1988, 186; Garrard 1989, 48, 499–500 n. 72; Contini in Florence 1991, 147–49 no. 18; Hersey 1993, 329; Bissell 1999, 203–4 no. 6; Schleier 2000, 168.

First cited as by an unknown follower of Artemisia Gentileschi in an 1890 inventory of the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence, this painting was initially attributed to the artist in 1966 by Berti when it was restored, and confirmed by Borea in 1970 when it appeared in Florence in the exhibition "Caravaggio e Caravaggeschi nelle Gallerie di Firenze." Although Bissell did not include it in his 1968 chronology of Artemisia's paintings, he lists it as autograph in his catalogue raisonné of 1999, a view shared by all major scholars on the artist.

Saint Catherine, the daughter of King Costus of Alexandria, was a fourth-century convert to Christianity. Catherine pleaded with the pagan emperor Maxentius (r. 306–12) to spare the lives of the persecuted Christians. So Maxentius selected a group of fifty learned thinkers to debate with Catherine the tenets of Christianity. Catherine's oratorial skills intimidated the philosophers and enraged Maxentius, who ordered that she be starved and then placed between two sets of revolving wheels studded with spikes and nails. An angel stayed her torture by breaking the wheels, but, incensed, Maxentius had her beheaded.

Saint Catherine's attributes are a wheel, shown here on the left, a book, which testifies to her erudition, and a sword. She is often portrayed, as she is here, wearing a crown and holding a martyr's palm. Her royal lineage led to her being portrayed in sumptuous costume, as in Caravaggio's *Saint Catherine* (Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid), and Artemisia has given her a lavishly jeweled crown and a gown embroidered with bands of gold. While Hersey has suggested that Catherine's assertive resistance to authority made her an ideal subject for Artemisia's repertoire, this representation of the saint adheres to a more contemplative model and in that way can be associated most closely with Guido Reni's image of the saint (Prado, Madrid) painted in Rome about 1606. The upturned gaze, palm frond, and sumptuous attire may relate to that often copied model or, as Valli has suggested in the case of Reni's saint, to Agostino Carracci's 1581 engraving. As she rests her left hand on the instrument of her most heinous torture, she casts her eyes heavenward, assuming an expression recommended in Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's 1584 treatise on painting as a means to represent contemplation.[1]

In spite of its relationship to Roman prototypes, the picture must be placed in Artemisia's Florentine period, when the facial type, wispy halo of hair, and dimpled knuckles are particular features of Artemisia's style, established in the *Allegory of Inclination* (fig. 110) painted for Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger in 1616. The heavily jewel-encrusted crown, the elaborately embroidered edging bands within her red garment, and the finely wrought veil across her chest fit the Florentine taste for opulent fabric and refined coloration. The 1998 discovery of the *Self-Portrait as a Lute Player* (cat. 57) has established a group of Florentine pictures that share similar formal and stylistic qualities and appear to derive from a common



model. And while the *Saint Catherine* has generally been recognized as from Artemisia's Florentine period, opinions differ as to the precise sequencing of the works Artemisia created in that city. Bissell assigns a date of 1614–15, placing it slightly before the *Self-Portrait as a Female Martyr* (cat. 56) and the Pitti *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 60), while Contini places it after the *Allegory of Inclination,* of 1616. Undoubtedly, the painting relates to the *Female Martyr,* but it is logical to suppose that it expands on the smaller depiction of the unidentified martyr rather than serving as a preliminary phase of that composition. The contemplative tone of the picture places it closer to the *Jael and Sisera* (cat. 61) than to the more active and exuberant *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. 58).

The dating of the picture has been complicated by a reference Artemisia made to a *Saint Catherine* in a letter she wrote in 1635 to Andrea Cioli, Cosimo's secretary of state, in which she refers to a painting of the saint that she had made "a while ago." Now it is generally assumed that the reference is not to the present picture, and attempts have been made to relate it to two other images that have been variously attributed to Artemisia, a painting on slate in the Uffizi[2] and a three-quarter view of a standing Saint Catherine in the El Paso Museum of Art.[3] I do not believe either of these paintings is autograph, however, and it is likely that the 1635 reference is to a still-unknown or lost work.

The selection of Saint Catherine as the subject for this painting has been associated with the Florentine court of Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici. After Artemisia moved to Florence in late 1613 or early 1614, she certainly associated with members of Cosimo's court. Indeed, she may even have been present at a court ball in 1618, when a contemporary document describes "a lady Artemitia" who danced at one of the lavish court spectacles. Catherine de' Medici was Cosimo's sister. She lived in Florence until her marriage in 1617 to the duke of Mantua, and several writers have posited that the association of Catherine and her patron saint, Catherine of Alexandria, may explain the popularity of the image. Although nothing is currently known about the circumstances surrounding Artemisia's *Saint Catherine,* it is not unlikely that it was painted in reference to the Medici Catherine.

1. Lomazzo 1584, vol. 2, 150, as cited by Valli in Bologna–Los Angeles–Fort Worth 1988, 186.
2. Sricchia 1963; Borea in Florence 1970.
3. Gregori 1968; Gregori in Naples 1984–85; Schleier 2000.

60.
Judith and Her Maidservant

Oil on canvas, 44⅞ × 36¾ in. (114 × 93.5 cm)

Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (inv. 398)

ca. 1618–19

New York

In a dramatically darkened setting, presumed to be the interior of Holofernes' tent, Judith and her maidservant Abra pause, perhaps in response to something they have heard. Having devised a plan to free her city of Bethulia, the recently widowed Judith had cast aside her widow's attire, donned her most elegant clothing, and gained entry to the enemy's camp by promising to help their leader, Holofernes. Accompanied by Abra, she is permitted to see the general, who is attracted by her beauty. On the fourth day, Holofernes invites Judith to dine with him. He drinks heavily and falls asleep. Judith seizes the opportunity and, using Holofernes' scimitar, cuts off his head. Abra places it in their bag, and the two women leave the camp. Judith takes the general's head and displays it to the Israelite army, galvanizing the troops and ensuring victory.

Clearly a masterwork within Artemisia's oeuvre, this *Judith and Her Maidservant* is best understood as the culmination of a series of Judith paintings by both



PROVENANCE: Medici collection (1637 inv.); Palazzo Pitti, Florence (by 1638).

RELATED PICTURES: Smaller replica, formerly in Galleria Corsini, Florence (present location unknown; attributed to Artemisia by Longhi 1916, 29); copy in storage in the Galleria di Palazzo Rosso, Genoa; replica in the Quiròs Collection, Madrid; closely related version that belonged to the dealer De Boer, Amsterdam; *Judith with Her Maidservant*, signed, in a private collection, Milan, exhibited by Relarte as by Artemisia in 1964; *Judith with Servant*, in the Puerto Seguro (Aveyro) Collection, Málaga (cited by Pérez Sánchez 1965, 500); a *Giuditta eretta chre impugna la spada*, once belonging to Barone Staffa at Montegiorgio (cited by Ortolani 1938, 45–46); replica in Galerie Charpentier, Paris (cited by Richardson 1952–53, 83 n. 2); three additional copies are listed by De Witt 1939, 51.

REFERENCES: Longhi 1916, 293–94, fig. 30; Valentiner 1935, 101–4; Gregori 1962, 38, 39; Bissell 1968, 155 n. 22, 159 n. 51; Borea in Florence 1970, 44, 75–76; Greer 1979, 189–91, 194; Whitfield in London 1982, 168; Hagen 1988, 80; Garrard 1989, 8–9, 39–41, 200, 305, 313, 314, 318, 319, 497 n. 55; Florence 1991, 120, 122, 124, pl. 10a,b; Stolzenwald 1991, 22 fig. 13, 23, 24, 36, 86, pl. 24; Bionda 1992, 22; Hersey 1993, 327, 333 n. 50; Lapierre 1998, 144, 146–47, 157, 445–48; Bissell 1999, 198–203 no. 5.

father and daughter. Artemisia had illustrated the biblical story of Judith once before, in her riveting visualization of assassination, the Naples *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 55), which she probably completed before she came to Florence. That work, inspired by Caravaggio's *Judith* (fig. 109), focused on the moment of death, Holofernes' bloody struggle as Judith pulls the sword through his neck. This second Judith follows a more long-standing tradition for depiction of the Judith narrative, showing the moments after the killing, when mistress and servant flee the Assyrian camp. Memorable works by Andrea Mantegna and Sandro Botticelli record the flight of the two women as they hurry from the military encampment with their grisly prize.[1] Artemisia has chosen the beginning of their escape, with Judith shouldering her sword and Abra holding the trophy head in a basket.

Most scholars have acknowledged that the Pitti *Judith* is related in some way to the *Judith* in Oslo (cat. 13), accepted by many scholars as the work of Orazio.[2] While Greer sees it as an improvement on the Oslo composition, Garrard has argued that the Oslo painting must derive from the Pitti version, an unlikely scenario. With the emergence of another early *Judith and Her Maidservant* by Orazio, the ex-Colnaghi picture (fig. 46), a reasonable relationship can be posited among these three early representations of the story, as Gregori also has noted. The Pitti *Judith* is the logical third version. The ex-Colnaghi *Judith*, most likely a picture of the first half of the first decade, was a painting that Artemisia undoubtedly knew quite well. Although it was probably completed before Artemisia herself began to paint, the supposition that it was the famous *Judith* "of large size" cited in the 1612 testimony given in Agostino Tassi's rape trial[3] indicates that the picture remained in Orazio's studio for the rest of the decade. Because Artemisia herself painted an important representation of the Judith narrative in the early 1610s, she must have noted the picture and thought about its version of the story as she painted her own. The ex-Colnaghi picture records a similar moment of arrested action, when Judith and Abra respond to some nocturnal disturbance. Judith's awkward grasp of the sword in front of Holofernes' head and Abra's nearly untenable position as she holds the basket but bends backward as she strains to listen demonstrate Orazio's typical narrative style where details of feasibility have not been worked out.

The Oslo painting represents a thoughtful improvement on the depiction of this particular moment. Judith's grasp of Abra's shoulder allows the repetition of their profiles, a far more effective dramatic representation, and the gesture of the mistress toward her servant unites the two protagonists in common purpose. The Oslo picture was executed by Orazio during the time when Artemisia herself was beginning to paint, and it represents the one instance in Orazio's oeuvre in which he shows the same kind of attention to narrative detail that characterizes Artemisia's early paintings. We don't know whether Artemisia had any input into the conception of the painting, but clearly she remembered the picture when she created her own version.

Artemisia has built upon the Oslo picture and refined the composition. By moving the two figures closer together (now Judith rests her left hand on Abra's right shoulder) and by framing the picture more closely, she has made an image in which the two women are united. The majestic diagonal sweep of the composition confers greater monumentality and hence greater theatrical force. The sensitive adjustment in the interpretation of the story, complete with the screaming face on the pommel of the sword, again reveals an artist sensitive to narrative detail. Garrard's suggestion that the women's poses recall those of Christ and Saint Peter in Caravaggio's *Calling of Saint Matthew* (Contarelli chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome) may indeed be correct. However, rather than confirming a Roman origin or a dating early in Artemisia's Florentine period, it merely indicates that she filed away examples of successful dramatic interpretation for later use, especially since the relationship to Caravaggio's picture is of a general nature rather than an example of borrowing a specific motif.

Listed and published for the first time in a Medici inventory of 1637, the Pitti *Judith* is securely accepted within the oeuvre of Artemisia Gentileschi by all major scholars. What has remained unresolved is the dating of the picture and the city of origin. Several scholars have argued that it must have been made in

Rome, shortly before Artemisia left for Florence in late 1613 or early 1614.[4] Evidence garnered in support of this dating includes references to works the artist would have known in Rome. The pose of the maid has been related to that of the seated swordsman in Caravaggio's *Calling of Saint Matthew* and to a fresco decoration in the private burial chapel for Paul V in Santa Maria Maggiore, by the Florentine painter Cigoli.[5] Contini, who does not place the picture definitively in either Rome or Florence, also notes a dependence in the Pitti painting on the works of the Roman painter Giovanni Baglione. Bissell (1999) posits that the relationship of the painting to the two earlier works by Orazio is ample evidence for placing it in Artemisia's early Roman period. A second group of writers places it early within the period Artemisia spent in Florence, finding that the more sumptuously conceived costume reveals the impact of courtly taste and opulent appointments.[6] The looser handling of paint is more typical of her Florentine pictures than of her early Roman work.

The painting may date to an even later within Artemisia's Tuscan career. The quietly dramatic tone of the picture and its close-up view of the protagonists relate to her work at the end of the second decade. The picture can be associated with the *Saint Catherine* of 1618–19 (cat. 59), in which the subject shares the same heavy-lidded physiognomy of Judith, and to the Budapest *Jael and Sisera* of 1620 (cat. 61). The use of the expressive face on the sword pommel, described by Garrard as a Gorgon but more likely a reference to Holofernes, as an interpretive element can be related to the Budapest picture, in which the face on the sword pommel slumbers, perhaps a surrogate for the sleeping general.

The picture has suffered considerably over the years; numerous areas of loss and retouching are visible. Garrard, followed by Bissell (1999), notes that the painting has been cut down, most likely on the top and left side, as evidenced in an engraving of 1837 and several extant copies.

1. There is a large and growing body of literature on Judith in art. Garrard (1989, 278–305) offers a good introduction to the subject, with good bibliographic citations. See also Anderson 1997; and Düsseldorf–Darmstadt 1995–96, 238–79.
2. Garrard 1989; Bissell 1999.
3. Whitfield and Banks (in New York 1984) and Pepper (1984a) have argued that the inscriptions on the back of the canvas relate to the trial, and Lapierre (1998, 447–48) believes that the inscription "Piz" may well be a reference to trial notary Tranquillo Pizzuti, whose name is abbreviated in the records as "Pizz°."
4. Whitfield in London 1982; Hagen 1988; Papi in Florence 1991; Hersey 1993; Bissell 1999.
5. Contini (in Florence 1991, 120) likens Abra's pose to that of an apostle in Cigoli's fresco decoration of the private burial chapel for Pope Paul V in Santa Maria Maggiore.
6. Garrard 1989; followed by Stolzenwald 1991 and Bionda 1992.



"I have made up my mind to take a short trip to Rome"

RICHARD E. SPEAR

Evidently frustrated with her life in Florence, where for eight years she had to juggle her duties as professional artist, wife, and mother, cope with debts run up by her husband, and bear the strains of four pregnancies (still, only one of the four children survived), Artemisia wrote to Cosimo II de' Medici in February 1620, telling him about her travel plans: "I have made up my mind to take a short trip to Rome," she said, because she hoped to recover there from "my many past illnesses [*indispositioni*]" and "not few troubles at home and with family." She told the grand duke that she expected to spend "a few months with my people [*i miei*]" in Rome, undoubtedly meaning her father and brothers.[1]

This brief essay addresses the social and artistic context—chiefly politics and patronage, which so often were intertwined—of Artemisia's Roman activity.[2] The few months that Artemisia envisioned in Rome actually became at least six years. It is not recorded when she left Florence, or if she ever returned, but by March 1621, she was in the papal capital, accompanied by her husband. His name disappears from the records in 1623. In 1627–28 she was in Venice, where possibly she stayed longer, for no documents pin down her whereabouts at the end of the decade. It nonetheless is likely that she returned to Rome at least briefly before settling in Naples by 1630.[3]

During Artemisia's absence, the papal capital inevitably had changed. The population had crept up to about 110,000, three times its size after the disastrous Sack of 1527. It was half again the size of Florence, but still smaller than Venice and only half as big as Naples, Italy's largest city and one of the great metropolises of Europe. A new pope, Gregory XV Ludovisi (r. 1621–23), who was Bolognese in origin, had been elected that February. Giovanni Baglione's eyewitness account of the main Roman projects undertaken by his predecessor, Paul V Borghese (r. 1605–21),[4] includes the Pauline chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, which had been lavishly decorated on the eve of Artemisia's departure in late 1612 or early 1613; the Borghese's own palaces and villa; major additions to the Palazzo del Quirinale, the Vatican palace, and Saint Peter's; a host of restoration projects; and new granaries, which must have interested the Roman public more than all the pope's art projects combined, since the supply and price of grain, and weight of a loaf, were constant and contentious issues in heavily taxed, debt-ridden Rome.

Upon her return to Rome, Artemisia also would have seen some large churches under construction, most prominently Sant'Andrea della Valle for the Theatine order, and San Carlo ai Catinari for the Barnabites. Together with numerous smaller projects, they promised lucrative commissions for the favored artists, though private sponsorship, not that of the religious orders, typically would determine who got work. Artemisia was not to be among the lucky ones.

The church of Santa Maria della Vittoria was under way, too, for the Discalced (Barefoot) Carmelites. The *vittoria* of its name refers to the Battle of the White Mountain (1620), near Prague, where, in an early phase of the wars known collectively as the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), the Catholics won a decisive victory over the Protestants, thanks, it was thought, to a miraculous image of the Madonna that was carried into battle and then brought to Rome. It was welcomed in 1622 by Gregory XV and installed in Santa Maria della Vittoria.[5]

The image displaced a painting by Gerrit van Honthorst, the Caravaggesque Dutch master of nocturnes who in 1620 had returned to his native Utrecht, but not before making a strong impression on Roman art, as Simon Vouet's recently completed paintings in San Francesco a Ripa (1618–20) and his decoration of the Alaleoni chapel in San Lorenzo in Lucina (1623–24; fig. 117)

Opposite: Detail of *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 69)

both attest. As discussed below, Artemisia's own *Judith and Her Maidservant* in Detroit (cat. 69) brilliantly builds on this Caravaggesque tradition.[6]

In 1622, Gregory XV canonized Saint Teresa of Ávila, the founder of the Discalced Carmelites (Bernini's famous chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria showing an angel piercing the saint's heart was built a generation later). The founder of the Oratorians, Saint Philip Neri, was also canonized in 1622, as were the first Jesuits, Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. And in the same year, Gregory XV established the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, in an effort to spread the Catholic faith.

Clearly, this was a vital time socially and politically. As the fabric of Rome and the city's response to Protestant threats expanded, the pan-European war was bringing about a basic realignment of church and state, which resulted in the emergence of our modern, secularized nations. The war was in essence a political struggle for European hegemony between Spain and the Austrian Hapsburgs on one side and France on the other, but complex issues of faith, trade, and trust drew virtually every European power into the bloody conflict.

While a few of the theaters of war were in northern Italy, most were well beyond the Alps. Nevertheless, it is hard to imagine that anyone in Rome could have been unaware that a great conflict was tearing Latin Christianity apart, especially because, like President Bill Clinton with the Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, the Vatican tried, with scant success, to appear neutral and broker



Figure 117. Simon Vouet (1590–1649), *Temptation of Saint Francis.* Oil on canvas. San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome

peace between two stubborn sides. Not surprisingly, by the end of the war the Roman Church had lost its historical authority in European politics.

How much Artemisia personally cared about these affairs is impossible to know. On the basis of her patronage and travel, it would seem that she, like many artists of the time, was far more concerned with where the money flowed (as one Renaissance writer bluntly put it) than with political or religious allegiances.[7] Venice, for instance, despite being Catholic, earlier in the century had created a major crisis between church and state by refusing to recognize Rome's authority, and then during the Thirty Years' War for economic self-interest allied itself with anti-Hapsburg and anti-Catholic factions. Worse, from the Vatican's perspective, in an early phase of the War of Mantuan Succession (a complicated struggle about religion and control of Alpine passes that broke out in 1628, just when Artemisia was in Venice), France, with Savoy and Venice as allies, had attacked papal troops in the Valtelline.

Officially, the Vatican was neutral on the Spanish-French struggle, but under Gregory XV and Urban VIII (r. 1623–44) its leanings were strongly pro-French. This did not discourage Artemisia or others from working for the Spanish king, Philip IV (r. 1621–65), and his ambassadors and viceroys. In 1621, both Orazio and Simon Vouet (1590–1649) sought fortune by moving to a Spanish client-state, mercantile Genoa, as had Agostino Tassi a decade before them. Orazio was even willing to settle in Protestant England (1626) when it was at war with Spain, and he remained there after England engaged France in war as well (1627). In doing so, Orazio accepted a position rejected by Guercino, who took the unusually principled stance that he "didn't want to live with heretics."[8]

Jacques Thuillier's conclusion—"we must admit that if the Thirty Years' War left little mark on the arts [Callot is an obvious exception], it is because artistic creation is most often detached from everyday life"—undoubtedly is too sweeping, unless everyday life is narrowly defined as professional politics, and one disregards how politics can determine opportunities and affect taste.[9] In Artemisia's case, there is a pattern of support from Spanish patrons that provocatively, if elusively, corresponds with her relative neglect in Rome.

Orazio's departure for Genoa in 1621 coincided with Artemisia's return. If their paths crossed is unknown. Had Artemisia decided to stay in Rome to fill a gap left by her father? Presumably she went around the city to see what was new, not just to study what she did and didn't like but also to catch up on what her potential competitors were doing. Most of the leading painters of her youth were long dead, including Federico Zuccari and Annibale Carracci (both in 1609), Caravaggio, Adam Elsheimer, and Francesco Vanni (all in 1610), Barocci (1612), and Cigoli (1613). A group of less-celebrated Mannerists, who played a major role in decorating Rome's sixteenth-century churches, all died in 1614–15: Cesare Nebbia, Giovanni de' Vecchi, and Cherubino Alberti, as well as Lavinia Fontana, the other important woman painter active in Rome. Bartolomeo Manfredi, who more than any other artist was responsible for the survival and transformation of Caravaggio's innovations, died in 1622, about a year after Artemisia arrived, so she could well have met him and been encouraged by his success.

From the old guard, four prominent painters remained, of whom two, like Artemisia's family, were Tuscan: Domenico Passignano (1559–1638), whom she would have known from Florence, and Agostino Ciampelli (1565–1630), whose support from the Florentine Sacchetti family she should have envied. Cristoforo Roncalli, called Pomarancio (ca. 1553–1626), was still alive, as was the indefatigable Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640).

Although Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci were dead, their followers were flourishing. Foreign artists in particular poured into Rome and embraced Caravaggio's, or more often Bartolomeo Manfredi's, manner. The Dutchman Hendrick ter Brugghen, the Frenchman Guy François, and perhaps the Fleming Gerard Seghers arrived before Artemisia first left, but by the time Vouet took up residence in 1613 and Dirck van Baburen by 1615, she was in Florence. Van Honthorst reached Rome by 1616, more likely earlier; Nicolas Tournier before 1619, Valentin de Boulogne before 1620, and Nicolas Regnier by 1621, among others. The mysterious Frenchman Trophime Bigot, who perhaps is the Candlelight Master, probably arrived in Rome when Artemisia did.

Jusepe de Ribera had been in Rome during 1613–16, just when Cecco del Caravaggio (Francesco Buoneri) collaborated with Tassi at Cardinal Montalto's villa in Bagnaia. The list of Caravaggio's other main Italian followers active in Rome while Artemisia was in Florence—Orazio Borgianni, Carlo Saraceni, Spadarino, Angelo Caroselli, Giovanni Baglione, Antiveduto Gramatica, Bartolomeo Cavarozzi—makes evident that Caravaggism had a strong, if fragile, presence in Rome when Artemisia returned, fragile because



Figure 118. Guercino (1591–1666), *Saint Mary Magdalene with Two Angels.* Oil on canvas. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City

its tenebrism was entirely unsuited to fresco work and its naturalism increasingly seen as being more suited to easel than to altarpiece painting.

Inasmuch as Artemisia had no opportunities to paint frescoes or altarpieces in Rome, Caravaggism remained compatible with her assignments. None of them, however, included the Caravaggesque street themes that were so popular at the time—fortune-tellers, cardsharps, musicians, gypsies, drinkers, and soldiers—possibly because they were understood as being unsuited to a woman, but more likely because by then Artemisia was known as a painter of stories with powerful female protagonists.

Conversely, frescoes and altarpieces were the bread and butter of the Carracci's followers and the real measure of artistic success, but alongside them was a burgeoning market for genre subjects, portraiture, landscapes, and still lifes (female artists traditionally specialized in the last). A group of Northerners in Rome called the Bamboccianti, who were known for their genre scenes of street life, organized themselves into a society in 1623 and became quite successful. Artemisia, however, chose to compete at the loftiest level as a history painter, that is, as a painter of elevated religious, historical, and mythological scenes meant to instruct, although she also had a reputation as a portraitist and perhaps did some still lifes.

One of the most celebrated history paintings of the time, Guido Reni's *Aurora* (Casino dell'Aurora, Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Rome), had been commissioned by Scipione Borghese and completed in 1614, but Reni, like his compatriot Francesco Albani, had gone back to Bologna before Artemisia was in Rome again. Three of Domenichino's greatest works, the *Last Communion of Saint Jerome* (1614; Musei Vaticani), his fresco cycle of Saint Cecilia in San Luigi dei Francesi (1612–15), and the *Hunt of Diana* (1616–17; Galleria Borghese, Rome), also were painted while Artemisia was in Florence. Meanwhile, Lanfranco completed his first public Roman commission, the Buongiovanni chapel in Sant'Agostino (1616), and he decorated the Sala Regia in the Palazzo del Quirinale (1616–17), in collaboration with Tassi, Saraceni, Turchi, and Spadarino. Then he was awarded the commission to fresco the vault of the Benediction loggia of Saint Peter's (1620), although the job fell through when Paul V died the following year. Unlike Reni and Albani, however, Domenichino and Lanfranco chose to stay in Rome during the 1620s. It was their work that defined the highest artistic achievement and presented a daunting challenge.

Another Emilian painter, Guercino (1591–1666), arrived in Rome just when Artemisia did because the election of a Bolognese pope promised him patronage. His star rose quickly, thanks to former connections with the Ludovisi family, which gave him major commissions in Rome, including the Benediction loggia of Saint Peter's (again nothing came of it); a ceiling painting of *Aurora*, set illusionistically in fictive architecture by Tassi in their villa's casino; and the enormous *Burial and Reception into Heaven of Saint Petronilla* for Saint Peter's (Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome), which was finished just before Guercino left Rome, in 1623.

If Artemisia's *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 69) challenges Van Honthorst and Vouet on their own terms, then her *Susanna and the Elders*, dated 1622 (cat. 65), demonstrates that she could paint in an Emilian way as well, for she must have recognized that the Carracci's followers had the upper hand in Rome. Its design is Carraccesque while its coloration, lighting, expressive gestures, and

background evoke Guercino's work in particular, for example, his *Saint Mary Magdalene with Two Angels* (fig. 118), painted in 1622 for Santa Maria Maddalena delle Convertite al Corso. Emulation of Guercino's manner was a clever strategy at a time when the Bolognese Ludovisi were ascendant, all the more so if the picture was painted for them (see cat. 65 regarding this likelihood).[10]

Artemisia's strikingly veristic *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* (cat. 66) can also be dated to 1622, which means it was done just when Van Dyck was in Rome and painting portraits of the shah of Persia's emissary to Gregory XV, Sir Robert Shirley, and Lady Shirley in a more astonishingly free, neo-Venetian manner. Sixteen twenty-two was a productive year in Rome altogether, despite the "mortalità grande" (big loss of life) that the diarist Giacinto Gigli observed sweeping the city.[11] Domenichino had begun designing the most important commission in Rome, frescoes for the crossing and apse of Sant'Andrea della Valle, a project he shared with Lanfranco. Concurrently, with Guercino, Paul Bril, and Giovanni Battista Viola, he was painting another ceiling in the casino of the Ludovisi's villa, and a second in the Palazzo Costaguti (at the time the Palazzo Patrizi), with Tassi as collaborator. Another ceiling in the Palazzo Costaguti was decorated by Guercino and Tassi. Tassi had further work in the Palazzo Lancellotti, both on his own and together with Guercino. One wonders what Artemisia thought of her rapist-lover's conspicuous success.

In 1622, Andrea Sacchi painted his earliest surviving work, the *Vision of Saint Isidore* (Sant'Isidoro, Rome). Vouet signed and dated his *Circumcision* for Sant'Angelo a Segno in Naples. The gallery of the Palazzo Mattei had been begun, with frescoes by Pietro Paolo Bonzi and a rising talent from Tuscany, Pietro da Cortona. Its walls soon would display oils by Cortona, along with others by Serodine, Gramatica, Riminaldi, Turchi, and Valentin. Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) was carving two of his youthful masterpieces that year, *Pluto and Persephone* and *Apollo and Daphne*, and was ready to start his *David* (all Galleria Borghese, Rome). Lanfranco was busily at work with his powerful decoration of the Sacchetti chapel in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini.

Marcello and Giulio Sacchetti were Florentines, but they never supported Artemisia, despite the fact that Baroque patronage so often was determined by regional loyalties and friendships. Poussin, for instance, shortly after arriving in Rome in 1624, was introduced to Marcello Sacchetti by the poet Giambattista Marino, whom he knew from Paris. Sacchetti, in turn, became Poussin's link to Barberini patronage. Pietro da Cortona benefited from the same Sacchetti-Barberini link. It is surprising, therefore, that during the 1620s, when Tuscan patrons were so prominent in Rome (not by coincidence, the Barberini were Florentines), Artemisia fared so poorly with them.

Like the Sacchetti, Cardinal del Monte, another Tuscan, apparently bought nothing from her. A *Donna con un'amore* is the only painting by her that appears in the numerous Barberini inventories (see cat. 70), together with a lost "libro con molta diversità de fiori et erbe" (book with many different flowers and plants)—the kind of work one would have expected from a woman artist, such as Giovanna Garzoni—cited in 1649 as a Barberini commission.[12] In the 1630s, Artemisia sent paintings to Francesco and Antonio Barberini from Naples, hoping in vain to win their patronage. Even her later correspondent Cassiano dal Pozzo, who was nominally Tuscan, evidently owned only a *Self-Portrait* (see cat. 81).

This same pattern of scattered support persists with the other main Roman collectors of the 1620s. As far as one knows, the Ludovisi, who amassed a large collection of ancient sculptures and many paintings, owned only a *Susanna* by Artemisia, very likely the Guercinesque picture at Burghley House dated 1622 (cat. 65). At the time of his death in 1624, the Roman-born papal treasurer Costanzo Patrizi, whose family was Sienese, owned a lost *Cupid and Psyche*. Vincenzo and Benedetto Giustiniani's important collection included only a lost *David with the Head of Goliath*, probably from the 1630s. The Mattei family acquired nothing from her hand, nor did Enzo or Guido Bentivoglio or Paolo Giordano Orsini, despite the implications of Pierre Dumonstier le Neveu's unusual, encomiastic drawing of "la digne main de l'excellente et sçavante Artemise" (the worthy hand of the excellent and skillful Artemisia), dated, in Rome, 1625 (fig. 119).

It was probably during the Jubilee Year of 1625, which witnessed more than fifty thousand Masses celebrated in Saint Peter's (Bernini's *Baldacchino* for the crossing in the church had been started the previous year), or in early 1626, when the new Saint Peter's finally was consecrated, that the Spanish ambassador to the Vatican, the duke of Alcalá, acquired Artemisia's *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 68), along with two (now lost) pictures of *Christ Blessing the Children* and *David with a Harp* (for a candidate for the former, see fig. 132). Later, as viceroy in Naples, Alcalá bought three more of her works.

Artemisia must have valued his support, given that she was entirely ignored as commissions for altarpieces in Saint Peter's were being awarded, some even to old-fashioned painters of the *maniera* like Gaspare Celio and others to die-hard Caravaggisti, such as Valentin.[13] Artemisia's absence from that list of who's who in Roman painting is conspicuous, probably the result of her lacking sufficient support from any of the prominent patrons, since it mattered as much in the art world then as it does now whom you knew. Domenico Passignano uniquely was given three commissions in Saint Peter's; he also was the best paid. He was Tuscan and, of course, male.

Artemisia enjoyed further support from Spain—why is unknown. In 1625, after France had attacked papal forces in the Valtelline (this was the year the siege of Breda ended, which Velázquez commemorated a decade later), Cardinal Francesco Barberini was sent to Paris by his uncle Urban VIII to negotiate peace between Spain and France, but he failed to make headway with a more clever cardinal-politician, Richelieu. The next year he was sent to Spain, with Cassiano dal Pozzo in his retinue. That great antiquarian and partisan of Poussin kept a diary of this second, equally unsuccessful diplomatic mission. For this time, Philip IV's chief minister, the count of Olivares, candidly revealed that Spain already had negotiated with France without any need of papal input. In his diary, Cassiano notes seeing in a private collection in Madrid a (lost) *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* by Artemisia.

Two years later, when the conde de Oñate, on behalf of Philip IV, awarded the king's first Italian commissions, Artemisia (then in Venice) was among the artists chosen. She was asked to paint a very large *Hercules and Omphale*, for which she received the equivalent of 147 Roman scudi, a reasonable but not generous sum, at least not compared with the one thousand scudi that Domenichino was paid at the same time for two pictures for Philip IV. Of course, Domenichino was much more famous than Artemisia. By contrast, Poussin, who had recently settled in Rome, was paid only sixty scudi for his *Death of Germanicus* (Minneapolis Institute of Arts) commissioned by Francesco Barberini right after he returned from Spain, far less than the two hundred to four hundred scudi Manfredi commanded for his easel paintings toward the end of his career.

Our principal contemporary source, Giulio Mancini, estimated that a good painter could earn three to six scudi a day, so by that measure 147 represented about a month's to six weeks' labor. Guercino, who was more in demand than Artemisia, on average made about fifteen hundred scudi a year; Domenichino earned two thousand a year while in Naples during the 1630s. Canons of Saint Peter's were paid about eight hundred scudi annually, which was roughly the going minimum rate for a new altarpiece in their basilica.

Scipione Borghese's income of 140,000 scudi in 1612, like Francesco Barberini's of eighty thousand to one hundred thousand scudi in 1630, dwarfs such earnings, yet on a comparative basis artists were well off, their constant complaints notwithstanding. For instance, a field hand or tailor was paid only about one-fifth of a scudo a day, half the cost of a pair of shoes, and a skilled construction worker just fifty to sixty scudi a year. Cardinal Francesco Barberini's majordomo received just six scudi a month, while musicians working for the family were paid anywhere between three and fifteen scudi a month. Therefore, had a

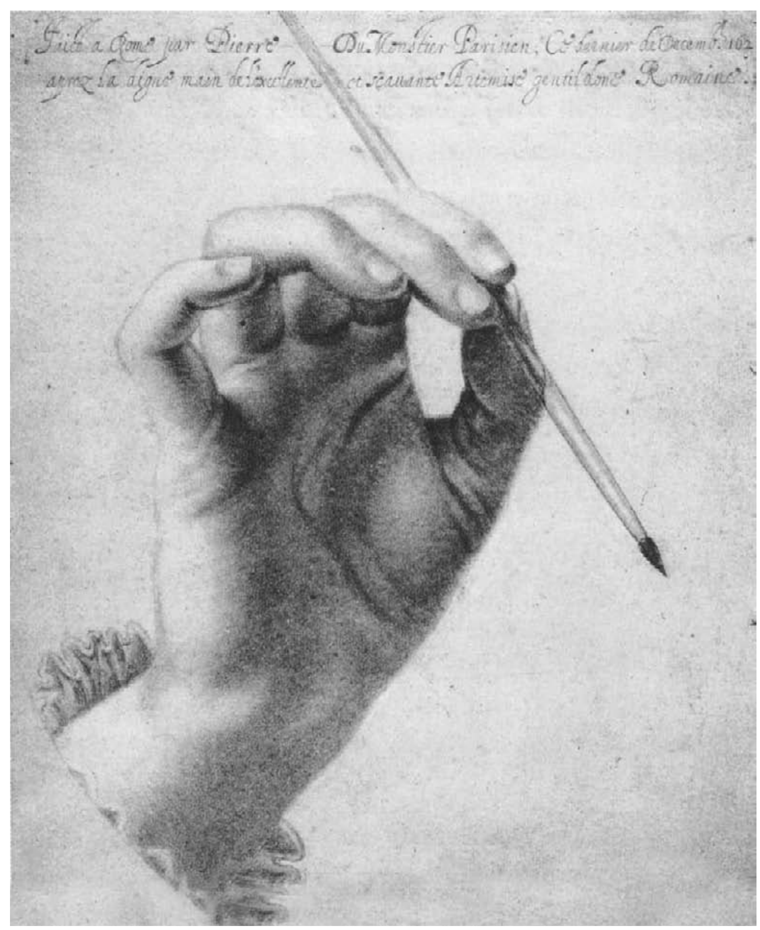


Figure 119. Pierre Dumonstier le Neveu (1585–1656), *Right Hand of Artemisia Gentileschi Holding a Brush*. Pen and ink on paper. The British Museum, London

musician wanted to buy even a copy of a painting by Caravaggio, it would have taken a good month's salary, for Mancini reveals that such copies at the time cost fifteen scudi apiece, more than Caravaggio was paid for some of his youthful originals.[14]

The smaller of Domenichino's two pictures for Philip IV, a *Sacrifice of Isaac*, is still in Madrid in the Museo del Prado, but his large *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, like Artemisia's *Hercules and Omphale*, is lost. Both were part of a group of similar-size canvases for the Salón Nuevo, or Hall of Mirrors, of the Alcázar in Madrid, whose iconographic unity was stories of women. In addition to Artemisia's and Domenichino's pictures, Reni was asked to paint an *Abduction of Helen*. The catalyst for the series was *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* by Rubens and Van Dyck in the royal collection, which, like Artemisia's work, showed a man in a woman's role. Orazio's dazzling painting of the daughter of Pharaoh finding Moses, now in the Prado (fig. 87), was sent to Madrid in 1633. Ribera contributed *Jael and Sisera* and *Samson and Delilah*. By 1686, four Tintorettos also were hanging in the room: *Judith and Holofernes*, the *Abduction of Helen* (Reni's picture of that subject never reached Spain), *Pyramus and Thisbe*, and *Venus and Adonis*.[15] Perhaps Cassiano dal Pozzo helped Artemisia get a commission for the Salón Nuevo, or maybe Alcalá put in a good word. In either case, the depiction of a powerful, possibly nude woman fit Artemisia's reputation and probably contributed to her being selected.

A variety of circumstances account for Artemisia's limited success in Rome, but it is difficult to recover their relative significance. That she was a woman working in a man's world doubtlessly impeded her chances for winning church commissions, particularly because, unlike Lavinia Fontana earlier, who painted traditional altarpieces, she had established a reputation for specializing in female nudes, whether by choice or market necessity. The absence of any paintings by her of Christ, for instance, is quite remarkable for the time, and probably indicative that patrons thought of Artemisia as suited only to certain subjects. The two exceptions that depicted Christ—*Christ Blessing the Children* and *Christ and the Samaritana*—were stories about children and about a woman (both are lost).

It is possible that had Gregory XV lived longer and the Ludovisi remained the papal family, Artemisia would have developed the Bolognese manner she explored in her *Susanna*, dated 1622, and thus moved further away from the chiaroscuro-based work that by the mid-1620s in Rome, unlike in Naples and Florence, was becoming old-fashioned. Her harshly tenebristic *Lucretia* (Etro collection, Milan, cat. 67), if painted as late as the 1620s, would have looked especially *retardataire*, which is why Ward Bissell's counterproposal of an earlier date, when Artemisia was working in a more starkly realistic style, is attractive. The Barberini, it is true, supported Valentin's earthy Caravaggism throughout the decade, but how much they tilted toward his art because of their French leanings is hard to say. Poussin had their backing as well. And another Frenchman, Vouet, was enormously successful in Barberini Rome, winning major commissions, including an altarpiece for Saint Peter's, and being elected to the presidency of the Roman academy, in 1624.

Artemisia may have thought that the Barberini would like her work, for if stylistically she identified with anyone other than Orazio, it would have been with Vouet.[16] He, too, had been drawn to the naturalism, dramatic lighting, compositions, and subjects of Caravaggism, and, like Artemisia, tempered its realism not only with demonstrative expressions of the passions derived from Bolognese art but with the decorative effects of elaborately tailored, colorful costumes. Artemisia's *Penitent Magdalene* in Seville, like her more openly Caravaggesque *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. nos. 68, 69), parallels Vouet's complex style, which had assimilated a variety of up-to-date traits, including the painterly qualities of Borgianni's work, the boldness of Lanfranco's compositions, and the elegance of Reni's art. By the time Vouet left Rome in 1627, however, practically all signs of Caravaggism in his paintings had disappeared and were replaced by a lighter, clearer palette, more idealized figures, more graceful, curvilinear designs, and a tendency toward Venetian colorism in fabrics.

At that date, Artemisia probably felt that she was stuck at the margins of the Roman art world. She would have sensed that while the Barberini were supporting the new "Baroque" style of Bernini and Cortona as well as the "classicism" of Poussin and Sacchi, her work did not fit in either of those (oversimplified) categories. Moreover, absolutely nothing by her was on public display in Rome, which is why her local influence, unlike that in Florence and Naples, was negligible, probably limited to those who shared her penchant for embellishing dramatically lighted, quasi-Caravaggesque types in fancy dress—not only Vouet, but an older Roman artist, Antiveduto Gramatica. While Vouet's



Figure 120. Antiveduto Gramatica (1571–1626), *Judith and Her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes*. Oil on canvas. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

public commissions undoubtedly were influential, it is hard to pin down all the interactions between these three artists because so many of their works are undated, including Gramatica's *Judith and Her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes* (fig. 120), which used to be attributed to Artemisia herself and probably preceded her picture in Detroit (cat. 69). Gramatica's Judith represents the kind of elegantly clothed, full-bodied, calm figures that Vouet and Artemisia also preferred to the boisterous, brash, sinister types who populate Valentin's world and that of most of Manfredi's followers.

In 1627, Artemisia decided to try her luck in Venice—the same year, by coincidence or not, that Vouet left Rome for Paris by way of Venice. For a painter to pull up stakes for fame and money was not unusual. Reni, for example, despite his success in Bologna, was persuaded to return to Rome that year to work in Saint Peter's, but because he had shipped his huge *Trinity* to Rome the year before, his contemporary, lighter, more elegant style already was known and admired. In 1627, too, Tassi's former student Claude Lorrain (1600–1682) settled in Rome, one year after its leading landscape painter, Paul Bril, had died. Another "foreign" artist was there in 1627, the Neapolitan Massimo Stanzione (1585?–1656). In view of Artemisia's decision to settle in Naples shortly thereafter, it might be noted that Ribera visited Rome again in 1626, in order to be knighted. Stanzione already had worked in Rome in 1617–18, and is documented there in 1621 as well, when he was knighted by Gregory XV. One wonders if and to what extent Artemisia may have had contact with Stanzione at this time, given that, perhaps of all artists, his fusion of Bolognese and Caravaggesque elements most closely parallels her own later path in Naples.

Apart from issues of taste and patronage, Artemisia's work of the 1620s is arguably her most impressive (I leave aside the much-damaged *Jael and Sisera* of 1620 in Budapest; cat. 61), for on one end stands the bold *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 62), commissioned in Florence probably by Cosimo II, followed by the *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* (cat. 66), *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 65), the *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 68), and *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 69), and, on the other end, *Esther Before Ahasuerus* (cat. 71), one of Artemisia's most ambitious and brilliant achievements. Like *Susanna and the Elders*, it demonstrates her gift for quickly adjusting to local taste, in this case a Venetian, more specifically Veronesan, manner, though it is possible, too, that the "neo-Venetian" strain in Vouet's, Poussin's, and Cortona's art already had pushed her in this direction. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the commission or critical response to *Esther Before Ahasuerus*, nor do we know for certain who wrote three verses published in Venice in 1627 dedicated to three of Artemisia's (lost) paintings, an *Amoretto*, a *Lucretia*, and a *Susanna* (though Bissell plausibly argues that Gianfranco Loredan may have been their author).[17]

Artemisia in any case decided in 1629–30 to move again. Considering her success with Spanish patrons, she made a wise choice. Naples was under Spanish control and rich in opportunities for artists, as Domenichino and Lanfranco recognized by moving there in 1631 and 1634, respectively. As fate would have it, although Artemisia managed to avoid the terrible plague of 1630 that ravaged northern Italy (Venice lost a third of its population), and then she survived the huge eruption of Mount Vesuvius in

1631, she still had her former Roman rivals to contend with. Nonetheless, she made an impressive start. In 1630, she signed and dated the first altarpiece of her career (cat. 72). Three years later she was engaged in a prestigious commission for the Buen Retiro in Madrid (cat. 77). And by mid-decade she had secured the job to paint three big canvases for a major church, the cathedral of Pozzuoli (cat. 79), an opportunity that had eluded her in Florence, Venice, and Rome.

1. See Crinò 1954 for the full text of the letter.
2. Magnuson (1982–86) provides a rich overview of Roman art, politics, and patronage during the seventeenth century. For further information on individual patrons, see the pioneering study by Haskell (1963) and the entries in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* and Grove's *Dictionary of Art*, all with additional bibliography.
3. Bissell (1999, 37) assumes that Artemisia visited Florence again in the later 1620s. Costa (2000) speculates that she may have remained in Venice as late as 1630.
4. Baglione 1642, 94–97.
5. On the Battle of the White Mountain and Santa Maria della Vittoria, see Bätschmann 1998.
6. For discussion of all the paintings by Artemisia, see the fundamental studies by Garrard (1989) and Bissell (1999), the latter also with a detailed catalogue of the preserved and lost works alike.
7. Francesco Sansovino, as cited in Spear 1997, 210.
8. Malvasia 1841, vol. 2, 261.
9. Thuillier 1998, 23; see also the many other essays on the Thirty Years' War and the arts in Münster–Osnabrück 1998–99.
10. Garrard (2001, 101–5) speculates that Guercino himself may have been the "second hand" that she believes reworked Artemisia's *Susanna and the Elders*, though elsewhere she excludes him (ibid., 111).
11. Gigli 1958, 69.
12. See Costa 2000 on the book of still-life drawings.
13. Rice 1997 provides an excellent history of the commissions in Saint Peter's.
14. These matters of money are discussed in Spear 1994 and Spear 1997, 223, with further references; on the cost of copies after Caravaggio, see Maccherini 1997. An overview of Rome's economy in the seventeenth century is given by Petrocchi 1970.
15. See Gerard 1982 and Orso 1986 on the decoration of the Salón Nuevo.
16. See cat. 61 for the suggestion that Artemisia's *Jael and Sisera* was painted in response to a picture by Vouet. In my view, both an engraving of the subject by Philips Galle and especially a lost painting of about 1620 by Guercino (Garrard 2001, 66, fig. 37) are closer models; moreover, I do not believe that the alleged prototype is by Vouet. Stylistically, Artemisia's *Jael and Sisera*, whether painted in Florence or Rome, does not emulate Guercino's manner.
17. Bissell 1999, 355–56.

61.

Jael and Sisera

Oil on canvas, 33⅞ × 49¼ in. (86 × 125 cm)

Signed (on column at center): ARTEMITIA.LOMI / FACIBAT / M.D.CXX; marks (on back of frame): KK [branded] / 1115.

Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest (inv. 75.11)

1620

The story of Jael and Sisera, from the Old Testament Book of Judges (4:11–22; 5:24–31), concerns a time when Israel, having done evil in the eyes of the Lord, is given, in retribution, to the Canaanites. Sisera, the commander of the Canaanite army, has abandoned his chariot in the midst of battle. While his entire force is slaughtered, he flees on foot to the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, who was at peace with the Canaanites. Jael gives him refreshment, and when he falls asleep, she goes to him and drives a nail from the tent through his temple. The Israelites then defeat the Canaanite army. In the following chapter, Jael is feted and extolled: "Blessed above women shall Jael [be]. . . . With the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote off his head, when she had pierced and stricken through his temples. At her feet . . . he fell down dead. . . . So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord: but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might."

Jael was often represented in cycles of the lives of biblical heroines. Artists most often depicted the moment when she raised her mallet to strike the murderous blow. Sometimes Sisera is shown sleeping peacefully, while at other times he wakens and writhes in pain. In some representations, Jael exhibits the slain Sisera to attentive observers. A third variation, an extrapolation of the text, includes a standing Jael raising her hammer in triumph over her victim's recumbent body. In Artemisia's painting, Jael kneels beside the sleeping general. As she places the nail against his temple, she raises the hammer in her right hand. Her forearm, highlighted against the darkened interior, provides the only real drama within the painting. True to the biblical text, the general lies between her feet, unaware of his impending doom. His abandoned sword rests beside him, its hilt carved in the form of a sleeping lion in obvious reference to his own imminent fate.[1]

Bissell describes the manner in which Jael holds the mallet as awkward and nonfunctional, while Szigethi finds the lack of dramatic action and quiet tone of the picture "feminine." And indeed the overall tenor of the painting is restrained and contemplative. Artemisia has abandoned a dramatic interpretation and strives, instead, for greater elegance and refinement, eschewing the eyewitness drama of the Naples *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 55). At the same time, details such as the sword hilt and the position of the general's body in relation to Jael show the artist's attentiveness to the specifics of her narrative. Jael's grip on the mallet suggests a symbolic raising of the weapon; she will need to adjust her hold in order to deliver the deathblow. Pollock has noted the same sort of rhetorical gesture in Artemisia's *Lucretia* (cat. 67) where the dagger is oddly positioned, not aimed as it would be by someone about to stab her own body. Artemisia's prominent signature indicates that she considered her efforts worthy of recognition.

This picture was painted either just before Artemisia left Florence to return to Rome in 1620 or just after



Figure 121. Philip Galle (1537–1612), *Jael and Sisera* (from the series *Women's Tricks in the Old Testament*). Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Provenance: Transferred from the imperial collection in Vienna to the royal palace at Pressburg (1781); royal palace, Buda (from 1784 until July 1856?); Enterprise des Magasins de Commission, Budapest (sale 38, 1974, lot 85); Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest.

References: Salerno 1960, 95, 682; Garas 1969, 91, 97–98, 102 n. 29, 116, 193; Szigethi 1979, 35 n. 4, 38–44; Lattuada in Naples 1984–85, 40–42; Papi in Florence 1991, 143–47 no. 17; Stolzenwald 1991, 33, pl. 23; Szigethi in Milan 1993, 90, 92–93; Baumgärtel in Düsseldorf–Darmstadt 1995–96, 232–33 no. 101; Bissell 1999, 211–13 no. 11; Pollock 1999, 161; Garrard 2001, 64.


FACIBAT
MDCXX



Figure 122. Copy after Guercino (1591–1666), *Jael and Sisera*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown



Figure 123. Attributed to Simon Vouet (1590–1649), *Jael and Sisera*. Oil on canvas. Whitfield Fine Art, Ltd., London

she resettled there. Scholars have linked its style to both phases of her career. Papi sees the less brutal depiction as more Florentine and places it in the context of the work of artists such as Santi di Tito or Jacopo da Empoli. Without ruling out a Roman origin, he notes that the form of the signature, in which Artemisia's paternal surname, Lomi, appears, may indicate a Florentine patron, as that is the manner in which she signed her Tuscan paintings. Bissell also points out that the general style and treatment of Jael's costume relate to Artemisia's Tuscan work, and several scholars have compared the picture with the Florentine painter Cigoli's interpretation of the subject (private collection, Florence).[2] The arrangement of the two protagonists may have been suggested by Philip Galle's 1610 engraving from a series entitled *Women's Tricks in the Old Testament* (fig. 121), as Bissell has noted.

Garrard identifies a clear similarity between Artemisia's *Jael and Sisera* and a lost canvas painted by Guercino, probably in 1619–20 (fig. 122), most likely for Cardinal Giacomo Serra, papal legate to Ferrara. How Artemisia knew this picture is not possible at present to determine. Certainly the poses are nearly identical, although Artemisia has replaced the ambitious landscape background with a darkened and monumental interior. This element may have been inspired by a *Jael and Sisera* (London art market; fig. 123) which has been attributed to Simon Vouet and which certainly seems to have been painted in Rome during the second decade of the century. The palettes are similar, and the evocative use of dark, empty space, where the figures occupy only a portion of the pictorial field, may also derive from this Roman version and suggests that Artemisia conceived this composition in Rome rather than in Florence. Moreover, Artemisia's interpretation typifies her Roman paintings of the 1620s, as she responds anew to Caravaggism, either through her reacquaintance with the pictures themselves or through the work of Caravaggio's followers, who were translating his style into a more international idiom.

It is uncertain when Artemisia could have seen the London *Jael and Sisera*. The newly discovered inventory of Artemisia's household effects in Florence, sold to Francesco Maringhi in 1621 (see appendix 3) may indicate that she was still in Florence as late as February 1621. However, since she wrote, on February 10, 1620, to Grand Duke Cosimo II, telling him of her impending "short trip to Rome," she may

have been living in Rome in 1620, returning to the Tuscan city in 1621 in order to raise money and settle affairs before moving again to Rome, where she resided for the next seven years.

The provenance for the painting has been thoroughly discussed in the literature, and most authors accept this work as having come from the imperial collections in Vienna, based on the KK (Königlich Kaiserhaus) burned into the frame, which dates from the eighteenth century.[3] Szigethi and Garas link the picture to an inventory compiled in 1781, when the collection was moved from Vienna to Pressburg and in turn transferred to Buda in 1784. The collection was dispersed in the nineteenth century.

The ruinous condition of the painting's surface limits a full appreciation of the work. The surface has been badly rubbed and substantial losses appear, most evident along the far left and right edges. Jael's drapery has been reworked and Sisera's costume has been partly repainted. Surprisingly, as Bissell has noted, the base of the background pillar, where the artist's signature appears, is still intact.

1. It would appear that Artemisia attempted some sense of an actual weapon here. The pommel of the sword, depicting a grotesque head, resembles drawings for weaponry by Filippo Orso of Mantua, dating to the mid-sixteenth century. I wish to thank Walter J. Karcheski Jr., Senior Curator, Arms and Armor, Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts.
2. Affinities with Cigoli's work can be found in the angle of Jael's face, the general positioning of her upper body, and the conception of her left arm. Bissell also notes that Sisera's position derives from a drawing made by Cigoli in preparation for his finished painting.
3. See Bissell 1999, 212, for an overview of the information relevant to the painting's history.

62.
Judith Slaying Holofernes

Oil on canvas, 39⅜ × 64 in. (100 × 162.5 cm)

Signed (at bottom right, on sword blade): EGO ARTEMITIA / LOMI FEC.

Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. 1567)

ca. 1620

Rome, New York

If the name Artemisia Gentileschi has come to be associated with any single image, it is this one of Judith slaying Holofernes. Its frequent inclusion in survey texts of the history of art has made it a famous and easily recognized picture that has profoundly shaped the understanding and expectation of Artemisia's art. A grandly conceived image of violent struggle, it was undoubtedly made as a variant of the Naples *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 55). Given the Florentine provenance, the signature that includes the paternal surname "Lomi" (a form of signature Artemisia used mostly in Florence), and Artemisia's mention in a letter written in 1635 to Galileo of a *Judith* painted for Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici, it was almost certainly commissioned by the grand duke in Florence. Most recent discussions of the painting have argued that it was painted in Rome after Artemisia returned from Florence in 1620 and then was sent back to Florence.

The painting's emblematic status within Artemisia's oeuvre has prompted a wide range of scholarly interpretation. Its most exceptional feature, the spurting, seeping blood, makes it among the most violent of all the representations of the biblical story. In light of Artemisia's own sexual history, writers have often associated the image with her personal experience.[1] Psychoanalytic and feminist studies have explored various associations for such violence, including references to childbirth and castration.[2] Pollock has offered a particularly rich feminist analysis of both this picture and its Naples prototype (cat. 55), arguing that the painting should perhaps be read less in terms of its overt references to Artemisia's experience than as an encoding of the artist's sublimated responses to events of her life and the historical context in which she worked. The painting certainly exemplifies Artemisia's penchant for representing strong heroines. But it also documents Artemisia's response to

PROVENANCE: Probably Cosimo II de' Medici, Florence (from about 1620); Palazzo Pitti, Florence (by 1638?–1774); Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (from 1774).

RELATED PICTURES: Reduced copy in the collection of Luiz de Rocka Machado a Funchal, Madeira (notation on a photograph in the Musée du Louvre, division of documentation, cited in Papi in Florence 1991, 153).

REFERENCES: Baldinucci 1767–74, vol. 12 (1772), 11; Lastri 1791–95, vol. 2, pl. 84; Longhi 1916, 194–95; Voss 1925, 463, pl. 119; Milan 1951, 62 no. 101; Zürich 1958, 12 no. 20; Longhi 1961, 258, 281; Bissell 1968, 156; Borea in Florence 1970, 76–78; Greer 1979, 189, 191; Nicolson 1979, 50; Gorsen 1980, 76; Hofrichter 1980, 9–15; Parker and Pollock 1981, 21; Pointon 1981, 350–59; Slap 1985, 337–38; Garrard 1989, 38–39, 51–53, 326, 337–38; Nicolson 1990, vol. 1, 111; Papi in Florence 1991, 49–50 no. 19, 150–53; Cropper 1992, 204, 209; Wachenfeld and Barthes 1992, 30–31, 33–34; Bal 1996, 297–300; Topper and Gillis 1996, 10–13; Anderson 1997, 60–66; Bissell 1999, 43–44, 104–5, 213–16 no. 12; Pollock 1999, 115–24; Spear 2000, 569–71.

the presumed tastes of her patron, to which the adjustments made from the earlier Naples version in composition, size, and coloration all testify.

Compared with the Naples *Judith*, the Uffizi painting presents a more refined image of the protagonist. She wears an elegant gold damask dress that contrasts strongly with the arc of blood spurting from Holofernes' neck. Her hair is more tightly curled compared with the disheveled wispiness of the Naples heroine. The biblical account says specifically that Judith "dressed her hair" and that she wore necklaces, bracelets, rings, and earrings. The bracelet on Judith's right arm may have been inspired by the text and was most certainly encouraged by the Florentine taste for stylish attire. It is decorated with cameos or enamels depicting figures, interpreted by Garrard as images of Diana (Artemis in Greek) and hence referring to the artist's own name to suggest an autobiographical association. By contrast, Bissell views the bracelet medallions as showing Mars, the valiant god of war, intended as an ironic contrast with the vanquished Holofernes and a Bacchante intended to be juxtaposed with the forceful victor Judith. Color combinations have been refined, notably in the counterpoint of Abra's predominantly blue garment with the golden color of Judith's dress. Red, used to accent Judith's and Abra's sleeves, repeats the rich red of Holofernes' velvet drape and his spurting blood.

More significantly, the entire composition of the Uffizi picture is more studied and contrived than the Naples version, an effect that may derive in part from the discrepancy in size. The Naples picture has been cut down along the left side, making it smaller than the Uffizi version, although it has been suggested that the two were originally close in size. Papi and Bissell have argued, correctly in my view, that the two versions represent two different compositions, a suggestion that makes sense given the more symmetrical arrangement of the Uffizi picture. Pentimenti evident in the right leg of Holofernes suggests that the artist worked to achieve greater symmetry, an effect reinforced through the central axis of the nearly vertical sword blade and the central—also vertical—placement of Abra. The parallel arms of Judith, the analogous angle of the legs of Holofernes, and the placement of Abra form a triangular composition, with the head of Holofernes at the center. Such a self-consciously manipulated composition differs considerably from the Naples version, where the more skewed arrangement underscores the sense of an observed event. Artemisia signed her work prominently on the blade of the sword, and she clearly intended the picture as a demonstration of artistic prowess. In this sense, the gushing arc of blood, which many scholars have associated with her reacquaintance in Rome with the realist work of Caravaggio, seems an ostentatious display, assuring that this second version would surpass its earlier model in every way, including horror.

The argument that the picture was made (or at least finished) in Rome (about 1621) rather than in Florence has been based on the presumed availability in Rome of the earlier painting. However, we have no evidence for the early ownership of the Naples work, which Artemisia may have taken to Florence with her. Cosimo could have seen it there and requested a copy or a variant version. The placing of the picture as a Roman work finds support in Papi's observation of a stylistic similarity to the Milan *Cleopatra* ([cat. 53], which he attributes to Artemisia) and to the Milan *Lucretia* ([cat. 67], which he dates earlier than 1620), both of which he conjectures were still in Rome.

Borea first associated the painting with a 1637 (1638 New Style) inventory of the works of art in the Palazzo Pitti; the same picture is mentioned again in a Pitti inventory of 1663.[3] Papi questions whether this citation in fact refers to the painting, since there is no attribution in the inventory while our painting is signed. And Bissell notes a discrepancy between the measurements of the canvas cited in the inventory and those of the present, Uffizi version. The earliest certain reference to the picture is a 1774 notice of the transfer to the Uffizi of a *Judith* ascribed to Caravaggio, in which the biographer Filippo Baldinucci notes that he had seen the work and praises it, saying it caused "not a little terror." In 1791, an engraved copy of the painting was included in a history of Tuscan painting by Marco Lastri. The author remarks that the painting had been relegated to a remote corner of the gallery, since the grand duchess did not wish to be subjected to such horror.



The picture has suffered considerable damage, most recently in the 1993 bombing of the Uffizi, when it sustained as many as seven discrete losses. Even before this latest damage, there were considerable losses and repaintings throughout. The most severe losses have been noted in Holofernes' head, and there has been damage to Abra's face around her left eye. The background curtain is barely discernible as a result of sinking.

1. Bissell (1968) has noted that it is difficult not to see Holofernes as a stand-in for Agostino Tassi. Garrard (1989, 278), while noting the importance the theme seems to have had for Artemisia, acknowledges in discussing the Uffizi painting, "It is impossible to ignore the echo of personal experience in this *Judith* . . . ; indeed, the very imagery of the bloody bedroom scene invokes Artemisia's own description of Tassi's bedroom assault upon her, with its tangle of knees, thighs, blood, and knives." Whitfield (in London 1982, 168) has noted in general that Artemisia's own life caused her to select themes of women "whose lives were threatened by men." Daprà (in Chambéry 1995, 90) notes that the artist's taste for the decapitation theme must be put in relation to her life. Most recently, Levenson (1996, 126) has noted, after summarizing Artemisia's rape and trial, that "Artemisia's choice of themes for the Naples picture, as well as the extreme violence of the depiction, have not unreasonably been connected with the trauma of those events." Anderson has noted that the paintings of the Judith story reflect the trauma of Artemisia's rape experience.
2. See Pointon (1981, 343–67), who argues the picture can be read as a scene of childbirth; and Slap (1985, 335–42), who on the basis of dubious formal similarities in the objects portrayed has suggested castrated male genitalia.
3. The beginning of the year in Florence coincided with the feast of the Annunciation, on March 25.

63.
Saint Cecilia

Oil on canvas, 42½ × 30⅞ in. (108 × 78.5 cm)

Galleria Spada, Rome (inv. 149)

ca. 1620

New York, Saint Louis

Like the Spada *Madonna and Child* (cat. 52), this painting was once owned by Alessandro Biffi and came to the Spada collection through an agreement to offset debts. It is listed in an inventory that Biffi signed in 1637, where it is described as "una Santa Cecilia . . . sona un leuto" (a Saint Cecilia . . . playing a lute) by the hand of Artemisia.[1] In spite of its early documentation, the attributional history of the painting is long and varied, including eighteenth-century assignments to the school of Titian and to Caravaggio. While Venturi sustained the attribution to Caravaggio, Voss assigned the picture in 1911 to Artemisia, although he identified the subject as a generic female lute player rather than the Roman saint. A cleaning in 1988 rendered the background organ more visible, making it identifiable as an image of Saint Cecilia. Most writers have accepted an attribution to Artemisia, including Gregori, Garrard, Papi, and Vicini, although Bissell (1999) places the picture generally within a Roman workshop of the first decade of the seventeenth century.

Saint Cecilia, an early Christian martyr, enjoyed considerable popularity during the Counter-Reformation, with a particularly fervent following in Rome. Her body, still intact after over twelve centuries, had been discovered on October 20, 1599, when her church was rebuilt and her tomb was opened. Cecilia, born to a Roman patrician family, is fervent in her devotion to God and remains a virgin, although she has been given in marriage. Her husband, Valerian, together with his brother, is converted by Cecilia to Christianity. Cecilia's refusal to follow the practice of pagan sacrifice angers the Roman prefect, and he orders that she be suffocated. This attempt to end her life fails, and he has her beheaded. The executioner delivers three blows to her neck, but she lingers for several days. A celebrated sculpture by Stefano Maderno made in 1600 (church of Santa Cecilia, Rome) represents the saint in the fallen position in which she dies.

Saint Cecilia is often portrayed with musical instruments. In Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, she is described as arriving at her wedding to the sounds of



PROVENANCE: Alessandro Biffi, Rome (until 1637); Veralli collection, Rome (1637–1643/86); Spada collection, Rome (from 1643/86).

REFERENCES: Venturi 1910, 268; Voss 1911, 124; Voss 1925, 463; Porcella 1931, 222; Lavagnino 1933, 9; Marangoni 1945, 55; Zeri 1954, 85–86, no. 293; Longhi 1961, vol. 1, 502; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 55–56; Bissell 1968, 167; Nicolson 1979, 51; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, vol. 1, 147; Garrard 1989, 26–28; Nicolson 1990, vol. 1, 111; Papi in Florence 1991, 132–35 no. 13; Vicini 1992, 44; Szigethi in Milan 1993, 93; Papi 1994, 198–99; Bissell 1999, 333–34 no. x-28; Papi 2000, 451; Vicini 2000, 20–22; Brown in London–Rome 2001, 99.

music, although "she sang in her heart to the Lord alone."[2] By the fourteenth century, she is shown with instruments, and in the fifteenth century the organ becomes her most common attribute.[3] Nevertheless, she continued to be depicted playing a variety of instruments. Guido Reni's *Saint Cecilia* (The Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena) plays a violin; Peter Paul Rubens shows her playing the virginals (Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin), and Pierre Mignard paints her strumming a harp (Louvre, Paris).

Artemisia's saint stands in a murky interior, her attribute, the organ, barely visible behind her while she plays a lute. Her deep yellow garment recalls the costume of Orazio's Washington *Lute Player* (cat. 22), although the elegiac mood of that painting is absent here. Brown has also noted the direct influence of that picture. Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's treatise on painting and Cesare Ripa's iconographic handbook advocated that yellow garments be worn in painted representations of Saint Cecilia, coloration that symbolized the desire for God. Artemisia's saint is shown in the pose recommended by Ripa, with the face turned upward and the eyes gazing toward heaven. While Artemisia may not herself have consulted these sources (in her 1612 trial testimony she stated that she could neither read nor write), the characteristics she uses were part of the general iconography of Saint Cecilia in the seventeenth century. Artemisia's saint, standing close to the picture plane and nearly filling the allotted space, is one of the most monumental representations of this figure from the seventeenth century.

Theories on dating range from Artemisia's Roman period to the end of her years in Florence. A number of scholars (Porcella, Lavagnino, Zeri, and Garrard) have associated this image with the frescoed musicians made in 1611 by Orazio for Scipione Borghese's Casino delle Muse (fig. 6). While Zeri dates the picture to as late as 1620, Papi, followed by Vicini, finds the association with the earlier works from Artemisia's Florentine period more viable. In particular, he links the treatment of her dress to the drapery of the Pitti *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 60), the palette to that of the Pitti *Magdalene* (cat. 58), and the coiffure to those found in other Florentine works, such as the *Allegory of Inclination* (fig. 110) and the *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (cat. 59). Papi notes a correspondence to the work of Cristofano Allori, and he places the work in the early years of Artemisia's Florentine career. Vicini emphasizes the Venetian character of the picture.

Zeri's dating to the end of the Florentine period may warrant reexamination. Not only is the painting in tone and in color associated with the *Jael and Sisera* (cat. 61), but its more contemplative mood also conforms to the *Saint Catherine*. The importance of Saint Cecilia in Rome during the early seventeenth century may lend further weight to a Roman origin. The similarity of the pose of Cecilia and that of musicians in Orazio's Casino delle Muse frescoes may reflect Artemisia's reacquaintance with those paintings upon her return to Rome from Florence in 1620. The general demeanor of the saint recalls Caravaggio's *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (Galleria Borghese, Rome), which was owned by Scipione Borghese in the early 1620s.

1. See Vicini 2000.
2. Jacobus de Voragine 1993, 318.
3. There are various theories as to how music in general and the organ in particular came to be identified with Saint Cecilia, ranging from the association with virginity and virtue to the use of the word "organum," meaning "instrument," for the more specific "organ." See, for example, Stefaniak 1991, 345–71, and Connoly 1983, 121–39.



64.
Allegory of Painting

Oil on canvas, 37 5/8 × 52 3/8 in. (95.5 × 133 cm)

Musée de Tessé, Le Mans (inv. 10.69)

1620s

During the past decade, a number of new paintings have been ascribed to the hand of Artemisia Gentileschi. While a few that have received general acceptance are works in this exhibition (*Self-Portrait as a Lute Player; Self-Portrait as a Female Martyr; Penitent Magdalene;* cat. nos. 57, 56, 73), the curators wanted to avoid including too many pictures for which the attribution is tenuous. However, this painting from the Musée de Tessé, Le Mans, is perhaps the most provocative to receive this attribution. First published by Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée as autograph in 1988, the attribution is sustained by Chaserant. The picture takes up a theme, the Allegory of Painting, that Artemisia herself addresses in two other works, and

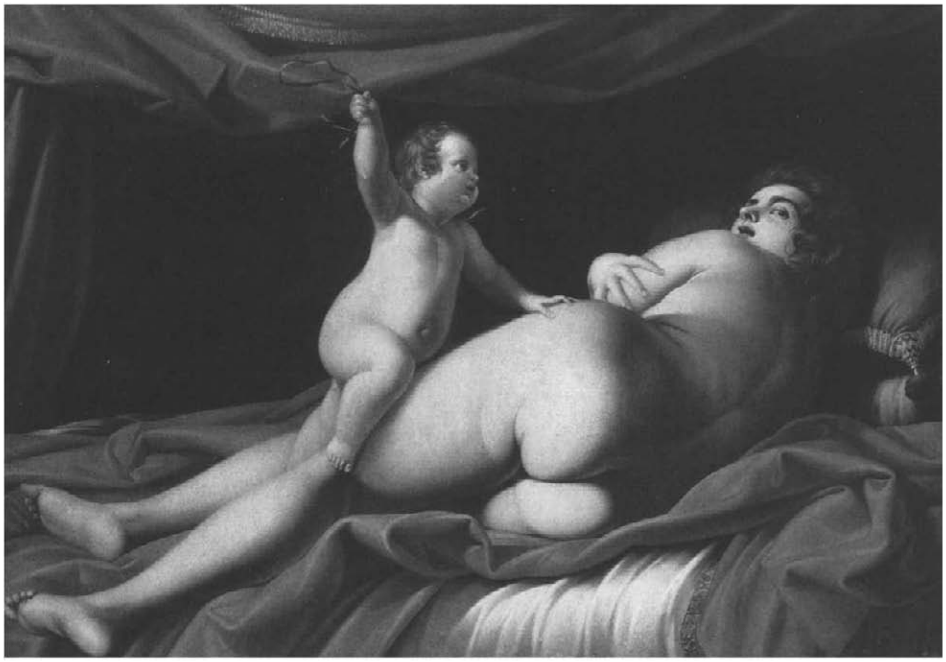


Figure 124. Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566–1643), *Cupid and Venus*. Oil on canvas. Private collection

PROVENANCE: Le Popelinière family; Musée de Tessé, Le Mans (from 1836).

REFERENCES: Lecoq in Dijon 1982–83, 40–41; Brejon de Lavergnée and Volle 1988, 161; Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France, conservation report, 1994; Chaserant in Chambéry 1995, 92–93; Bissell 1999, 299–301 no. X-1.

its overt Caravaggesque manner and the particular female physique relate to a number of works within the oeuvre.

In a dimly lighted room with a tiled or brick floor, a young woman lies sleeping, her head resting against the legs of an easel. A mahlstick, a canelike rod used to steady an artist's hand, has been propped through the legs of the easel. Next to the woman's left hand lie a palette, several brushes, and a drawing compass; a grimacing mask leans against her left forearm. A canvas can be discerned at the right side of the picture. Clearly the figure is based on the iconographic illustration of "Painting: La Pittura" in Cesare Ripa's artists' reference, the *Iconologia*. The mask, brushes, and palette are all standard attributes of painting, as is the shot fabric that she wears. Here, the description may refer to the rich damask drapery that lies across her body, painted in varying shades of dark blue and a rich maroon woven with golden threads. Lecoq has argued that the overt Caravaggesque style combined with the mask's expression—denoting falsehood—may have been intended as a kind of manifesto of the naturalistic manner of Caravaggio as opposed to the false style of Mannerism, exemplified by contrived compositions, unresolved spatial formulas, and exaggerated proportions, that had dominated Italian painting of the sixteenth century.

Bissell has focused on the erotic quality of this painting, drawing comparisons with two works by the Roman painter and nemesis of Orazio, Giovanni Baglione. The figure's position, the placement of the drapery (which draws attention to the genital area), and the known animosity between Orazio and Baglione warrant, Bissell argues, an attribution to Baglione. Baglione had been the victim of vulgar and derisive poems circulated in Rome by Caravaggio and Orazio, among others, in the first years of the century. Baglione sued for libel, and a trial ensued in 1603. According to Bissell, Baglione, who never completely reconciled with Orazio, made with this painting another crude barb, this one visual and designed to refer to Orazio's daughter, who would have been immediately recognizable in the picture. The painting can certainly be related in terms of composition and type to a work by Baglione (fig. 124) in which Venus reclines, with her back to the viewer, while Cupid chastises her. In a companion painting (Museo Provinciale, Valencia), Cupid restrains a libidinous satyr who approaches a provocatively displayed Venus. However, the softness of the modeling and the suppression of outline in the Le Mans painting distinguish it from the two paintings by Baglione. Although several scholars have placed the picture in Rome in the second or third decade of the seventeenth century, it has not been definitively assigned to any one hand.

The painting is undoubtedly an allegory but may present a meaning far more subtle than the one Bissell proposes. The quality of the work suggests that it was perhaps painted for purposes other than crude revenge by Baglione. The limited color scheme also indicates that it could have been made in accordance with a patron's very specific directives.

The conception of the picture seems designed to demonstrate the abilities of the artist, since the foreshortening of the figure, who is positioned diagonal to the picture plane, is a difficult pictorial exercise. It certainly has been handled with more refinement than is evident in Baglione's two overtly erotic canvases. Furthermore, this reinterpretation of the Allegory of Painting and the daring composition relate to other

works by Artemisia: the dramatic pose of Susanna in the Pommersfelden painting (cat. 51) and the London *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting* (cat. 81).

Given its format and its dependence on the prototypes of Baglione, the picture (if autograph) should be placed among Artemisia's works of the 1620s. Chaserant, however, based on the play of light and shadow that he traces to the influence of Caravaggio, assigns it to her Neapolitan period (presumably before 1638).

The painting has pinpoint losses throughout, with larger losses on the left cheek and within the flesh areas along the hip at the drapery line. X radiographs reveal another, inverted image, beneath the left arm, apparently depicting a bishop wearing a miter.[1]

1. I wish to thank Genevieve Aitken, Documentation peinture, Ministère du Culture, Direction des Musées de France, for providing the composite X radiations of the painting.

65.

Susanna and the Elders

Oil on canvas, 63 5/8 × 48 3/8 in. (161.5 × 123 cm)

Signed (lower center): ARTEMITIA GENTILESCHI LOMI/ FACIEBAT. A D. M DC XXII

Collection of the Marquess of Exeter, Burghley House, Stamford, Lincolnshire

1622

New York, Saint Louis

First listed as by Artemisia by the ninth earl of Exeter in an eighteenth-century inventory of his collection, this beautiful painting was attributed the following century to Caravaggio. Restored to Artemisia by Gregori in 1968, it has also been given to an anonymous seventeenth-century artist (Bissell 1999). Its style has confounded many viewers, for its lushly sensuous Susanna, who looks devoutly heavenward to beseech God's help in her predicament, does not conform to the type of dramatic, aggressive heroine that has become associated with the artist. There is, however, strong evidence that links the picture to her work.

Most obvious is the signature, near Susanna's right knee, which reads ARTEMITIA GENTILESCHI LOMI / FACIEBAT. A D. M DC XXII. Although visible today, it had become obscured through accumulations of dirt and varnish and was revealed only when the canvas was cleaned prior to the 1995 exhibition of works from Burghley House. Bissell (1999) and Garrard (2001) have been reluctant to accept the signature because of its unique format—which combines Orazio's maternal and paternal surnames—and repainting around the letters. However, there is really no consistency in Artemisia's signatures; of the seventeen signed works believed to be autograph, there are fourteen different variations. The use of "Lomi" has been associated exclusively with the Florentine period. But if the *Jael and Sisera* (signed ARTEMITIA.LOMI / FACIBAT / M.D.CXX; cat. 61) was indeed made in Rome, the circumstances for her usage of the name are not so easily understood. In fact, Artemisia is still recorded as "Lomi" by a Roman notary on November 17, 1621.[1] A technical analysis made at the Indianapolis Museum of Art in 1995 indicates that the signature is consistent with the rest of the painting and appears to have been inscribed by the same artist.[2]

There are also stylistic details that support an attribution to Artemisia. The worn stone bench, the physiognomies of the two elders, and the handling of the white linen chemise all relate to her 1610 rendition of the subject now in Pommersfelden (cat. 51). The substantial proportions of the thigh and leg, as well as the handling of the fleshy joint, recall both that painting and the Milan *Lucretia* (cat. 67). Nevertheless, such elements as Susanna's face, the more traditional rather than boldly innovative iconography, and the reworking of the canvas evident in the pentimenti have caused a number of scholars to hesitate over its attribution.[3] The configuration of the fountain is completely altered (there is also evidence of a fountain much farther back from picture plane), a branch above Susanna's head has been painted out, and a head directly above that of Susanna and turned to the viewer's right can be discerned even in photographs.



Figure 125. Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), *Susanna and the Elders.* Etching. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

These changes, however, may simply argue that Artemisia had a hard time bringing the composition to realization or that she made corrections based on the directives of a patron; they do not necessarily provide evidence of another hand. In fact, the ghost head above Susanna recalls the general form of the elder on the left in the Pommersfelden picture. Finding the grouping of the three figures in the earlier painting crowded, Artemisia may have placed the second elder's head above that of the other in order to underscore their licentious curiosity. This adjustment, in turn, may have required an alteration in the form of the fountain; the putto (who originally stood on the top) has been replaced by a broad basin, an enlargement that provided needed compositional balance.

Garrard (2001) has most recently argued that an initial composition was begun and finished by Artemisia but that the painting was significantly altered by a second, later hand, who added the present form of the signature, revised the expression of Susanna, and eliminated the original fountain. A key element of her argument holds that Susanna's demeanor, of the compliant seductress who casts her eyes invitingly back toward the elders, exemplifies an interpretive mode that she finds inconsistent with the work of Artemisia at this point in her life. Susanna, however, gazes toward heaven rather than toward the elders, in a pose drawn directly from the description in the Apocrypha, which appears in many seventeenth-century representations of the story: When Susanna is confronted by the two men, "Through her tears she looked up toward Heaven, for her heart trusted in the Lord." By the seventeenth century, there was a fairly well-established tradition that conflates the two narrative moments—the elders' lusting and their approach to Susanna—into a single scene, as Artemisia has done.

An important feature of this painting is its obvious dependence on the print *Susanna and the Elders* by Annibale Carracci, made between 1590 and 1595 (fig. 125), and its reliance on a work from the Carracci circle, a *Susanna and the Elders* (The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota; it bears the signature "Agostino Carracci" but is also attributed to Sisto Badalocchio) painted in Rome about 1600. The landscape background has also been associated with Guercino's paintings of the late teens and twenties (Brigstocke). In other words, the picture, which seems intended to emulate a Bolognese style, was perhaps designed to appeal more to Bolognese taste. This makes sense when we consider the inscribed date of 1622, the second year of the very brief papacy of Gregory XV (r. 1621–23). While Gregory himself patronized artists to a limited degree, his favored nephew, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, was a major player in Roman art of the 1620s, a formidable collector who acquired three hundred paintings in a frenzy of buying between 1621 and 1623.[4]

In fact, the Burghley House *Susanna* may be the one listed in the 1623 inventory of the Ludovisi collection, which includes a painting described as "a Susanna with the Elders . . . by the hand of artimitia."[5] This reference has previously been associated with the Pommersfelden *Susanna*, since it roughly matches the inventory dimensions and because the owners of the painting, the Schönborn, originally bought the picture in 1715 in Florence from the Florentine artist Benedetto Luti. Because Luti spent time in Rome, it made sense to suppose that Luti had somehow acquired the picture from the Ludovisi collection when he was in Rome and took it back to Florence before selling it. But it is far more logical to assume that the Burghley

PROVENANCE: Possibly Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, Rome (by 1623–before 1633); the ninth earl of Exeter, Brownlow Cecil (before 1793); collection of the marquess of Exeter, Burghley House, Stamford, Lincolnshire.

RELATED PICTURE: Castle Museum and Art Gallery, Nottingham (copy of nearly identical size).

REFERENCES: Waagen 1854, 405; Bissell 1968, 167; Gregori 1968, 414–19; Nicolson 1974, 418 fig. 87; Harris in Los Angeles 1976–77, 121 n. 18; Garrard 1989, 202–4; Contini in Florence 1991, 113; Wood 1992, 515–23; Hersey 1993, 327; Brigstocke in Pittsburgh 1995, 80–81 no. 20; Harris 1998, 117–18; Bissell 1999, 348–53 no. x-42; Brigstocke 2001, 276; Garrard 2001, 77–113.



House painting is the one in question, since it would have appealed to the Ludovisi, noted for patronizing compatriot Bolognese artists. The Burghley House canvas and the painting in Pommersfelden are very close in size, so the former picture fits the inventory description just as well as the latter. It does not appear in the more detailed 1633 Ludovisi inventory, so we can assume that the picture had been sold by that date.[6]

At this point, we have no further information as to the painting's whereabouts between its inventory listing in 1623 and its probable purchase in the eighteenth century by the ninth earl of Exeter, Brownlow Cecil (1725–1793). It is described in a list made in his handwriting as "Susannah and ye Elders by Arta: Gentileschi from ye Barbarini Pallace at Rome." Nevertheless, we must note that inventory listings made over a century after a picture was painted are often inaccurate, and the earl's citation does not argue definitively for an assignment to Artemisia, especially given that many of his attributions are, in fact, inaccurate.[7] Bissell (1999) questions the Barberini provenance, and indeed the painting does not appear in any of the Barberini inventories.

Should this painting prove to be the picture listed in the Ludovisi inventory, the ramifications for understanding Artemisia's oeuvre are immense. Certain pictures have already suggested an artist capable and willing to amend her style as conditions warranted; the Bologna *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* (cat. 66) and the *Virgin and Child with a Rosary* in the Escorial (cat. 84) are both stylistic anomalies, yet both are signed and the *Virgin and Child* is documented in a letter of 1651. Garrard's earlier assertion that the "nature of expression is sharply out of character for the artist" may be precisely the point—that this artist was capable of adapting her style and expressive mode to accommodate the expectations or stipulated wishes of her patrons.

1. I wish to thank Patrizia Cavazzini, who unearthed this information and was so generous as to share it with me. This document, without a notation of its designation of Artemisia, is referred to in Bissell 1999, 144.
2. Ibid., 349.
3. Bissell (1968, 167) considered the painting as possibly by Artemisia, although in his 1999 catalogue raisonné he rejects this attribution. Harris (in Los Angeles 1976–77, 121) also considered it a possible attribution, which she later accepts definitively (1998, 117–18). Contini (in Florence 1991, 113) is skeptical and suggests a follower of Simon Vouet. Garrard (1982; 1989, 202–4) initially rejected the attribution, although in her most recent essay (2001), she argues that the painting was originally by Artemisia but substantially altered by a later artist.
4. See Wood 1992.
5. Wood (ibid., 522) lists the inventory, where item 284, among a group located in a "Sala di Sopra," is described as "Un a Susanna Con li vecchi alta p. i 8 Cornice nere proliferate e rabeseate d'oro di m.o di artimitia. . . ."
6. Garrard (2001, 96–97) also suggests that the painting may indeed be the work listed in the Ludovisi inventory.
7. Bissell (1999, 351) notes that one-fifth of the pictures included in the 1995 Burghley House exhibition had their original Cecil attributions changed.

66.

Portrait of a Gonfaloniere

Oil on canvas, 81⅞ × 50⅜ in. (208 × 128 cm)

Signed (on back of canvas, visible before relining): ARTEMISIA. GENTILSCA. FA-/CIEBAT ROMAE 1622.

Collezione Comunali d'Arte, Palazzo d'Accursio, Bologna (inv. 6)

1622

Titian is credited with developing the tradition of standing male portraiture that became the definitive means for recording the likeness and power of wealthy patrons and influential rulers in the sixteenth century. Standing, and in elegant finery or full military regalia and accompanied by physical attributes of prosperity and influence, these figures command respect and exude authority. Artemisia here shows herself an accomplished practitioner of this form of celebratory painting. In an interior of minimal description stands a man in full armor, adorned with a sash worn diagonally across his chest. He rests his fingertips on the velvet-covered table to the left, upon which sits an elaborately plumed helmet (a cavalry type known as a close helmet). At the right hangs a banner (a *gonfalone*), the source of the portrait's title, as it suggests that this individual carried such a banner in processions or military engagements.

Artemisia's gift for describing the quality of disparate surfaces is abundantly evident in this



PROVENANCE: Agostino Pepoli, Bologna; Pinacoteca, Bologna (from 1920?); Palazzo d'Accursio, Bologna (from 1934).

REFERENCES: Baldinucci 1767–74, vol. 12 (1772), 9; De Dominici (1742–43) 1979, 45; Malaguzzi Valeri 1926, 30, 33; Zucchini 1938, 22, 24; Bissell 1968, 157; Harris in Los Angeles 1976–77, 121–22; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, 147; Garrard 1989, 59–62; Papi in Florence 1991, 157–60 no. 21; Bissell 1999, 44–45, 216–19 no. 13.

fine portrait. The steely hardness of the armor, the golden lace edging of the green silk sash, the feathery softness of the helmet plumes, the soft velvet coverlet on the table, and the starched stiffness of the ruff have all been captured with tactile exactitude heralded as the mark of a Caravaggesque painter. Harris suggests that this picture, while possibly an accurate likeness, does not demonstrate the kind of virtuosic gift that Titian often brought to this type of composition, in which dazzling brushwork and coloristic boldness lend majesty to his portraits. Nevertheless, it would appear that Artemisia gives a true likeness of the anonymous gonfaloniere, expressed through his balletic pose and the tentative yet energetic touch of his fingers on the edge of the table; more magisterial flourishes may have been inappropriate. We might note that the sword he carries is a civilian form known as a rapier and was employed by the artist more for visual impact than for military accuracy.[1]

The cross on the man's chest and the green sash and papal banner (its small size may indicate that it is a cavalry guidon) all suggest that he is a knight of the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus. Papi is surely correct in noting the similarities between this painting and the *Portrait of Asdrubale Mattei* (Musée Condé, Chantilly), which has been attributed to Caravaggio himself. And Gregori (in Naples 1984–85) describes the painting as one of "gli esempi più sensazionali della ritrattistica caravaggesca" (the most sensational examples of Caravaggesque portraiture).

Inscribed on the back with Artemisia's name accompanied by "ROMAE 1622," this portrait has been accepted as autograph from the early years of her second period in Rome. In a census document taken during Lent of 1622, Artemisia is listed as living on via del Corso together with her husband, Pierantonio Stiattesi, her daughter Palmira, and her brothers Giulio and Francesco.[2] The only point of controversy surrounding the picture is the identity of the model. The coat of arms on the table cover was revealed in the cleaning of 1964. Prior to restoration, it comprised fifteen squares arranged in a checkerboard pattern. The restored emblem, a chevron of two silver bands flanking a black band, has not been identified. Garrard's assertion that it was a generic template designed to be covered by a replacement coat of arms is untenable, as Bissell (1999) has recently argued. Further complicating attempts to identify the insignia is the fact that it is aligned not with the right side of the table, which is foreshortened to suggest spatial recession, but rather with the picture plane. This would suggest that it may not, in fact, be original to the painting. It does not, however, rule out the possibility that it relates to the subject.

This picture offers the sole testimony to Artemisia's celebrated gifts as a portrait painter (not counting the possible self-portraits), an important component of her artistic career according to the various seventeenth-century accounts. One, written by the Florentine Filippo Baldinucci and published between 1681 and 1728, states that "she dedicated herself first to making portraits, of which she made very many in Rome." Another, by the Neapolitan Bernardo de Dominici, offers the most eloquent praise of her portraiture when he writes that her acclaim was based on "portraits of important personages that she had so excellently painted." Scholars have struggled with the discrepancy between these accounts and the available evidence. Garrard suggests that these writers were merely repeating an assumption about women painters, who, not admitted to the academies or allowed access to representing the male nude, necessary for making narrative images, were forced to specialize in portrait painting. As Bissell (1999) correctly points out, however, a reference to a portrait by Artemisia in the 1612 rape trial testimony supports Artemisia's early accomplishment in the genre. An engraving of about 1628 by Jérôme David of another knight of the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, inscribed as having been copied from a "Portrait of Antoine de Ville by Artemisia Gentileschi," lends further support to Artemisia's activity as a portraitist. However, were the *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* not inscribed on the back (the inscription is now obliterated as a result of relining), its attribution to Artemisia Gentileschi

may not have gained the general acceptance it now has. For this reason and because of its extraordinary quality, we may assume that other portraits by her hand await identification and correct attribution.

1. I wish to thank Walter J. Karcheski Jr., Senior Curator, Arms and Armor, Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Mass., for his enormous help in identifying the armorial elements of this portrait.
2. The document, listed in Bissell's chronology (1999, 144), was originally published in Bousquet 1978, 106.

67.
Lucretia

Oil on canvas, 39 ⅜ × 30 ⅜ in. (100 × 77 cm)

Gerolamo Etro, Milan

ca. 1623–25

The story of Lucretia, the virtuous wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, who takes her own life after having been sexually assaulted by one of her husband's kinsmen, Sextus Tarquinius, was originally told in the Roman history of Livy.[1] While off at battle, Tarquinius Collatinus regales his men with claims of the loyalty of his wife, Lucretia, and challenges them to return home immediately to see whether their own spouses live up to her exemplary model. The soldiers accept this challenge and steal back to their homes to spy on their wives. While they find Lucretia innocently spinning wool, they discover the other wives engaged in various forms of idle revelry. Sextus Tarquinius is smitten with Lucretia's beauty and later returns to her house. To test her virtue, he attempts to rape her. In order to force her compliance, he threatens to kill Lucretia and, worse, to malign her character saying he will kill a slave and place his nude body beside Lucretia's, claiming they were lovers. Lucretia, loath to bring dishonor upon herself by the appearance of infidelity, succumbs to Sextus so that he will not spread this story. The next morning, after confessing to her husband and her father (and receiving their pardon), she stabs herself with a knife.

Although Livy's account makes clear that Lucretia is not alone when she commits suicide, she is, conventionally, depicted as a solitary figure, usually nude or at least with chest bared, posed provocatively as she wields the knife against her pale skin. Occasionally, she is represented as having already pierced her flesh with the blade. Sometimes, she wears elaborate jewelry and rich costume and, in a few instances, even lavish furs. This may echo the sentiments expressed by the sixteenth-century English reformer William Tyndale, who wrote that Lucretia, by taking her life, sought to preserve her own honor and thus fell prey to vanity. Typical of these images is the portrayal of Lucretia as a submissive female; this together with her nudity and the presence of weapons—with phallic connotations—heightened their erotic charge.

Selecting the close-up view and truncated figure she had used for the *Saint Cecilia* (cat. 63), Artemisia, in her presentation of Lucretia, invigorates the composition. In a pose that may have been inspired by her father's image of the reflective *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. 18) and drawing upon an early-seventeenth-century *Susanna* attributed to Agostino Carracci (The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota), Artemisia has conveyed the drama of the heroine's decision rather than the pathos of her death. While other artists had focused on the action of the story, Artemisia stills the action. Garrard has noted that the blade is shown pointing heavenward, and Pollock has commented that the weapon is not grasped so that it can be used.[2] The artist, therefore, shows us a new dramatic moment, as Lucretia pauses between life and death, symbolized by the nurturing breast in her right hand and the death-dealing blade in her left.

Save for Papi's recent suggestion that the painting should be included in Orazio's oeuvre, scholars have universally attributed the painting to Artemisia. There

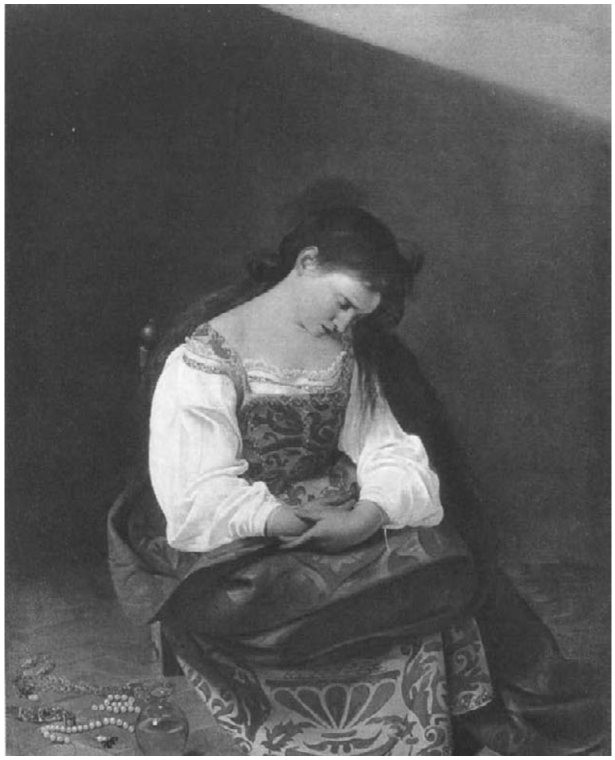


Figure 126. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610), *Penitent Magdalene.* Oil on canvas. Galleria Doria Pamphili, Rome

is less consensus about its date. The picture has traditionally been placed in the early 1620s, argued initially by Bissell (1968), who posited a Genoese trip that Artemisia made with her father when Giovan Antonio Sauli invited Orazio to the Ligurian city in 1621. The proposed trip by Artemisia to Genoa was based primarily on the presence of a *Lucretia* in Genoa as early as 1780, when Carlo Giuseppe Ratti noted it in the palace of Pietro Gentile. Although Ratti attributed the painting to Orazio, most scholars assumed it to be this *Lucretia* by Artemisia, as indeed it probably is. Some writers challenged the idea of a trip to Genoa, and Bissell (1999) has now abandoned the argument, noting that documentary evidence for Artemisia's continued presence in Rome between 1621 and 1626, including recent discoveries by Lapierre, makes a Genoese trip improbable.[3] Boccardo's conjecture that Gentile may have purchased the painting from the duke of Alcalá, who would presumably have bought the work in Rome or Naples, must be treated with caution, since no such work occurs in the inventories of his collection.

While Garrard's dating of about 1621 (Garrard 1989) is based on the painting's similarity to the work of the teens, most notably the Pitti *Magdalene* (cat. 58), other writers have associated it with Orazio's paintings from the first two decades of the century. Gregori notes the influence of Guido Reni on Artemisia's oeuvre and also suggests the influence of Cecco del Caravaggio, while Pesenti emphasizes the importance of Artemisia's renewed acquaintance with the work of Caravaggio. This last point is an important one, for certainly Artemisia's experience of the Roman art world was substantially different when she returned to Rome in 1620 (as a married woman and an accomplished artist) than it had been in her earlier years in Rome, when she had limited access to collections and churches. The heightened chiaroscuro and harder contours notable in the *Lucretia* can be likened to the Seville *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 68), a painting undoubtedly based on Caravaggio's *Penitent Magdalene* in the Doria Pamphili (fig. 126). The interpretive tone is similar as well to the *Jael and Sisera* (cat. 61), and Cropper has also associated that painting, made in 1620, with the *Lucretia*. The rendering of the impressive thigh and knee comes close to the treatment of the leg in the Burghley House *Susanna* (cat. 65), a controversial picture, but, should it prove to be an autograph work, the 1622 date and signature will undoubtedly help in establishing the dating for such paintings as the *Lucretia*. A reference to a *Lucretia* that Artemisia presumably either brought to Venice in 1627 or painted while she was there indicates that she treated the subject during the 1620s.[4] Bissell (1999) has courageously offered the earliest date (followed by Spear and Christiansen, in the present volume) by placing the painting in 1611–12, noting stylistic similarities to pictures by Orazio dating to the first decade, as well as the strong Caravaggesque quality of its conception and execution.

The *Lucretia* may have been produced in Rome at the same time as a *Lucretia* painted by Simon Vouet in 1624–25 (fig. 127). Like Artemisia's image, Vouet's shows a solitary figure, in her draped bedchamber, holding her dagger aloft and casting her eyes heavenward. The picture was engraved in 1627 by Claude Mellan with an added Latin inscription that expounds

Provenance: Pietro Maria I Gentile, Palazzo Gentile, Genoa (until 1640/41); Gentile collection, Genoa (1640/41–1811/18); Palazzo Durazzo-Adorno (now Cattaneo-Adorno), Genoa (perhaps by 1818 and certainly by 1846–1980s); Piero Pagano (until 2001); Gerolamo Etro, Milan (2001).

References: Ratti 1780, 119–20, 122; Tyndale 1848; Morassi 1947, 102 no. 138; Bissell 1968, 42–43, 56–57; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, vol. 1, 147; Garrard 1989, 55, 216–39; Contini in Florence 1991, 109, 160–62 no. 22; Cropper 1992, 209; Pesenti in Genoa 1992, 192; Volland in Düsseldorf-Darmstadt 1995–96, 300–301; Lapierre 1998, 462, 471–72; Pollock 1999, 158–64; Bissell 1999, 36–37, 189–91 no. 3; Boccardo 2000, 205; Papi 2000, 451–52.





Figure 127. Simon Vouet (1590–1649), *Lucretia*. Oil on canvas. Národni Galeri, Prague

upon the heroine's motivation. In translation, it reads, "Did he violently cling to me with a shameful embrace? Were these breasts touched by a strange hand? For shame, O evil act. You rend with your right hand your side, profaned not with impunity avenging your chastity. So had she spoken, and with chaste sword she pierced her groin, confessing herself guilty, though not having committed a crime. By her proud wound, she thus heals the wounds of love and wipes clean the impure stains with the stream of her own blood."[5] While the Vouet picture represents a radically different Lucretia, a nobly posed beauty exemplifying an ideal, the inscribed lines may reveal a more general contemporary understanding of Lucretia's story and in that way may also apply to Artemisia's dramatic rendering. Given the vehemence with which Lucretia distorts the contour of her left breast by the pressure of her fingers and grasps her body in anger at the violence so recently perpetrated against her, we might also associate this verse with Artemisia's heroine.

Further preventing our understanding of this important picture is its change in format. When it was exhibited in Florence in 1991, there were strips on all four sides, judged to be eighteenth-century additions. These were removed in 1995. Bissell (1999) argues that although the strips were painted over, they may reflect Artemisia's original conception, and he believes that the present configuration does not reflect the original format. But the power of the composition in its reduced form—minus the rather awkward lower portion of the right leg—is considerably strengthened, suggesting that it is, in fact, the smaller format which reveals the artist's true intentions. Cusping along the top and bottom edges confirms the reduced size as the original format.

1. The most popular source was Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 1:57—note also the story occurs in Ovid's *Fasti* and Dio Cassius's *Roman History*. See Garrard (1989, chap. 4), who gives a good introduction to the depiction of Lucretia in the context of the representation of female suicide as well as the historical development in both visual and literary interpretations of the story.
2. Pollock (1999, 163) comes to a different conclusion, however, about the oddity of Lucretia's grasp and suggests that the heroine holds the knife as if to wound another (Sextus/Tassi?) rather than herself.
3. See Archivio di Stato (hereafter ASR), Rome, *30 Notai Capitolini*, Officio 19, vol. 121 (1621), fols. 385r,v, 396r; ASR, *Tribunale Criminale del Governatore*, processo no. 181 (1622), fols. 52–55; ASR, *30 Notai Capitolini*, Officio 19, vol. 136 (1625), fol. 735; ASR, *Tribunale Civile del Governatore, Sentenze*, busta 309 (1621–32); ASR, *30 Notai Capitolini*, Officio 19, vol. 138 (1625), fol. 523; as cited in Lapierre 1998, 462, 471–72.
4. A pamphlet dated 1627 lists three paintings by Artemisia that were in Venice: a "Small Love [Amoretto]," a *Lucretia*, and a *Susanna and the Elders*. See Toesca 1971, 90–91.
5. *Hoc latus indigno cinxit violentia nexu?*
Haec sunt externa pectora tacta manu?
Proh pudor, o facinus. Tu non impune prophanum,
Vlta pudicitium, dextera scinde latus.
Dixerat, et casto traiecit viscera ferro,
Se, non admisso crimine, fassa, ream.
Vlunere magn.mo. Sic vulnera sanat amoris.
Tergit et impuras sanguinis amne notas.
Sim. Voüet paris. Pinx. Cl. Mellan Gall'.
Sculp. Romae
Superiorum pmissu.

68.

Penitent Magdalene

Oil on canvas, 48 × 38¼ in. (122 × 97 cm)

Seville Cathedral

1625–26

While modern scholars have seen Mary Magdalene as a privileged follower of Christ, the first witness to his resurrection and apostle to the apostles, the seventeenth century understood her as the prototype of the reformed sinner, a prostitute who sets aside a life of sin and vanity and embraces one of penitence.[1] In a departure from conventional paintings, which show the Magdalene at the moment of her conversion, Artemisia presents her disheveled, seated in a chair, her head resting on the back of her hand (her eyes, slightly open, suggest a wakeful state). This genrelike approach—so different from the emotionally charged picture Artemisia had painted in Florence (cat. 58)—recalls that of Caravaggio in his early *Penitent Magdalene* (Doria Pamphili, Rome; fig. 126). Artemisia's original conception included a more provocative penitent. The linen chemise revealed her bare shoulder and the swelling flesh of the upper part of her left breast. The sheer scarf that surrounds her neck has been amplified by a later hand; the clumsy brushwork and heavy fabric do not match the quality of the rest of the painting.[2]

Bellori described Caravaggio's picture as showing a woman drying her hair and suggested the artist had transformed it into a depiction of the Magdalene by adding jewelry and an ointment jar on the floor beside her.[3] Similarly, Artemisia's Magdalene caresses her hair and, in the syntax of seventeenth-century imagery, identifies the object of her meditation. The emphasis on hair, coupled with her visible tear, is appropriate to this saint, who washed Christ's feet with her tears and dried them with her hair as her initial act of penance and who later, in the wilderness of Sainte-Baume, where she lived for thirty years, let her hair grow long in order to cover her nudity. Artemisia had already—in the *Danaë* (cat. 54)—used the tactile sensation of long, luxuriant hair to refer to sensuality.

No other artist—not even Caravaggio—had gone so far in envisaging guilt and penitence. There is in this picture a quality of self-projection that takes precedence over pictorial tradition, although the extreme tilt of the head recalls the posture of lamentation associated with mourning figures at the Crucifixion and Entombment, embodying the enormity of the saint's penitential grief. It also suggests a woman completely unresponsive to physical comfort and can be read as the aftermath to the kind of violent soul-searching so vividly expressed in the sermon given by Francesco Panigarola (see cat. 58). By combining such a reference to mourning with the pose of the head resting on a hand that is associated with contemplation (the Magdalenes of Georges de La Tour come to mind), the artist adds another layer of meaning.

In her rich and thoughtful essay, Garrard maintains that the Seville Magdalene represents the saint as a visionary, making reference to Artemisia herself and to Artemisia's own identification with the intellectual and prophetic aspects of creativity. The artist, Garrard argues, has fused the masculine role of melancholic seer with that of the Magdalene as female contemplative and, in doing so, legitimizes the feminine representation of inspiration. While gendered readings of Artemisia's imagery need not necessarily be discounted, there is little evidence to support such intellectual responses to the subjects of her work. The pose and attributes can be readily explained simply within the contemporary understanding of the Magdalene, to which Artemisia has given a compelling realization.

An inventory of the duke of Alcalá's collection, drawn up between 1632 and 1636, includes a description that must refer to the present painting: "A Magdalene seated in a chair sleeping on her arm by artemissa Gentileça pintora romana."[4] The duke went to Rome in July 1625 to serve as ambassador to the Holy See. He stayed there until February 1626, and two seventeenth-century sources indicate that he was one of Artemisia's patrons.[5] When he returned to Seville after serving as viceroy in Naples from 1629 until 1631, he transferred his collection from Naples; each item was marked

PROVENANCE: Fernando Enríquez Afán de Ribera, third duke of Alcalá, Rome and Casa de Pilatos, Seville (by 1626–37; inv. 1632/36, as by Artemisia Gentileschi); Seville Cathedral (by the late 17th century?).

REFERENCES: Valdivieso 1978, 131 no. 511; Brown and Kagan 1987, 239–40; Bissell 1999, 222–25 no. 16; Garrard 2001, 14–75.

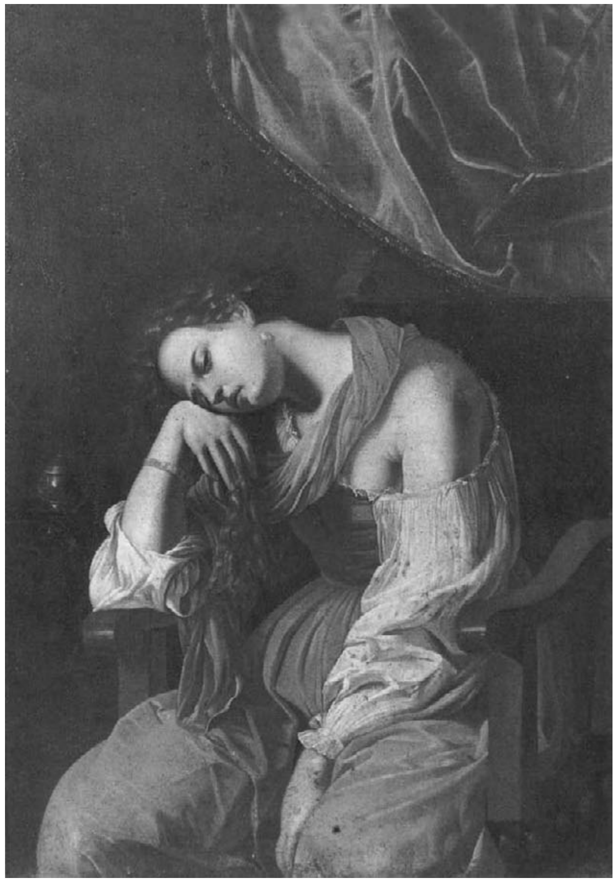


Figure 128. Copy after Artemisia Gentileschi, *Penitent Magdalene*. Oil on canvas. Private collection

with the number of the crate in which it was shipped, and the number was recorded in the inventory. Brown and Kagan have deduced that because the Seville painting bears no crate number, it must not have been shipped from Naples, but was instead purchased during the duke's tenure in Rome.

A second version of the painting was exhibited at the Richard L. Feigen Gallery, New York, in 1998.[6] It is nearly identical save for the absence of the added drapery and the greater height of the copy and what appears in the Seville version to be a pillow behind the Magdalene. The close replication of compositions was not Artemisia's usual practice. Furthermore, the Feigen picture has all the hallmarks of a copy: hard contours, a lack of delicacy in the modeling, and an inept rendering of the Magdalene's left hand and head, which displays neither the subtlety nor the sensitivity of the Seville canvas. Bissell, joined by Garrard, accepts both versions as autograph and links the Seville painting to the one executed for the duke.

The *Penitent Magdalene* is dated by Garrard to the early 1620s and by Bissell to the mid-1620s. On balance, Bissell's date seems more viable and has the advantage of coinciding with the duke's residence in Rome. This later date also fits well in the context of Artemisia's other work of this period, in which she is rediscovering the art of Caravaggio. Her *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* (cat. 66), for example, registers a response to Caravaggesque portraiture, as does her second and more forcefully violent version of the *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 62), which developed out of a reacquaintance with Caravaggio's *Judith* (Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini, Rome; fig. 109). The Seville *Magdalene* must be more or less contemporary with the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 69) and, like that work, shows Artemisia's interest in the example of such Caravaggisti as Gerrit van Honthorst and Simon Vouet.

1. On Mary Magdalene and her depiction in art, see Florence 1986. On the historical development of interest in Mary Magdalene, with a summary of some of the newer feminist scholarship as to the identity of the Magdalene, see Haskins 1993, esp. chaps. 1–3; and Moltmann-Wendel 1982, 61–90.
2. It is possible that the family of the patron (the duke of Alcalá) presented this picture to the cathedral in Seville in the late seventeenth century and that its placement in this religious setting required a more modest presentation.
3. Bellori 1672, as cited in Garrard 2001, 43, 137 n. 49.
4. "Una Mag^{na} sentada en una silla durmiendo sobre el braço de artemissa Gentileça romana." See Brown and Kagan 1987, 239–40.
5. The art historian Francisco Pacheco reiterates in his famous *Arte de la pintura*, published posthumously in 1649, that the duke of Alcalá had purchased paintings from the artist; Pacheco 1956, vol. 1, 148. Lazaro Diaz del Valle, in 1656, described Artemisia as "Pintora de Roma; desta mujer trajo el Duque de Alcalá a España algunas famosas pinturas / Roman painter [From this woman the duke of Alcalá brought to Spain several famous paintings]"; see Sánchez Cantón 1933, 361.
6. Timed to coincide with the New York premiere in 1998 of Agnès Merlet's film *Artemisia*, a brochure was produced for the exhibition at the Feigen gallery in which the twelve works that appeared in the exhibition were listed.



69.
Judith and Her Maidservant

Oil on canvas, 72 × 56 in. (182.8 × 142.2 cm)

The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. Leslie H. Green (inv. 52.253)

ca. 1625–27

New York, Saint Louis

By the light of a single candle, Judith and her maidservant, Abra, prepare to depart the military encampment of Holofernes and his Assyrian army. Artemisia has depicted the moments immediately following the general's murder, when Abra wraps his head to carry it away and before Judith has sheathed her sword. Both women pause momentarily, responding to some unseen disturbance.

The painting is generally recognized as Artemisia's finest work. A number of scholars are in agreement as to its date, placing it in the middle of the 1620s, when the artist was living in Rome (Spear, Papi, Garrard, Harris, and Bissell 1999). Garrard relates the use of dramatic chiaroscuro, most evident in the shadow cast across the heroine's face, to Simon Vouet's *Temptation of Saint Francis* in San Lorenzo in Lucina (fig. 117), painted in the 1620s, and the lighting, more generally, to the work of Gerrit van Honthorst. Dissenting views are those of Contini, who dates the picture to the first years of the decade, and Moir, who places it in the late teens. Bissell argues for a Neapolitan provenance, suggesting that Artemisia must have taken the painting with her when she moved to Naples, in 1629 or 1630. There, she reused Abra's pose in a kneeling figure found in several Neapolitan paintings; it served, for example, as the model for the maid in her late *Judith and Her Maidservant*, now in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, probably painted for the duke of Parma in the 1640s, although some have argued that the Capodimonte picture is a copy of a lost work.

The Detroit canvas represents Artemisia's most complex rendering of the Judith narrative. Garrard analyzes the picture in terms of its multivalent feminist imagery, arguing that this forceful presentation of Judith disguised as a warrior (she appears in heavy, more military shoes rather than, as traditionally, barefoot or wearing sandals) represents an inversion of the antique goddess of beauty, transforming sensuality into power. Many writers have noted its expressive potency and almost textbook illustration of Baroque drama. Certainly, Artemisia has gone beyond the Pitti *Judith* (cat. 60), in which the two women, turning in profile to the right, also pause at the same moment. The composition is certainly more interesting in the present version. The impressively described elements of the scene—Holofernes' head, the sword and scabbard, the candle, the gauntlet—recall Baldinucci's assertion that Artemisia developed a reputation for still life.[1] And indeed, the sword and gauntlet were most certainly painted from life. Artemisia has accurately depicted a falchion in Judith's hand, a dress weapon worn with armor, favored by artists who sought visual means to create an exotic Eastern tone in their representation of biblical events.[2]

The inclusion of the gauntlet, unusual in Judith paintings, warrants special comment. Because Holofernes was a military leader, the representation of armorial elements, however anachronistic, is appropriate. The general's decapitation occurred in his tent,

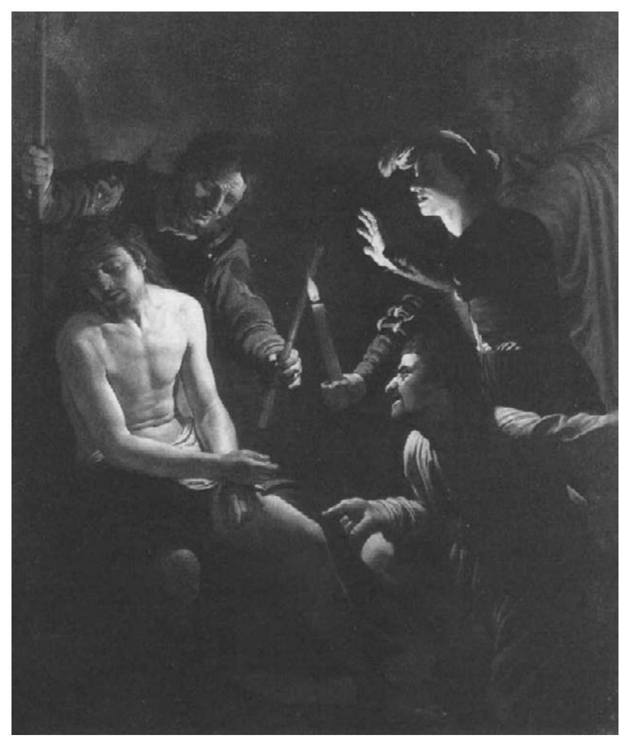


Figure 129. Gerrit van Honthorst (1592–1656), *Mocking of Christ*. Oil on canvas. Brentwood Holdings Assets Ltd., Spier Collection

PROVENANCE: "Prince Brancaccio," Rome; Alessandro Morandotti and Adolph Loewi; Leslie H. Green (until 1952); Detroit Institute of Arts.

RELATED PICTURE: *Judith and Her Maidservant*, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

REFERENCES: Richardson 1952–53, 81–83; Moir in Detroit 1965, 29–30 no. 8; Bissell 1968, 157–58; Spear in Cleveland 1971, 96–97 no. 28; Harris in Los Angeles 1976–77, 122 no. 13; Garrard 1989, 67–72; 328–35; Papi and Contini in Florence 1991, 53–54, 141; Bissell 1999, 219–20 no. 14.



and presumably he would have cast aside his armor and shield as he prepared for his meeting with Judith. Antonio Tempesta, for example, etched the subject in 1613 and included the discarded breastplate, shield, and helmet hanging at the back of the tent.[3] Artemisia, however, has represented only the gauntlet, a choice that must not have been arbitrary. A medieval reference to the challenge of battle, the cast-off glove becomes emblematic of Judith's successful challenge to the Assyrian general. Positioned close to the heroine's raised hand, the gauntlet encourages the viewer to consider the defeat of the seasoned military hero by the hand of the young widow. In an image primarily of female camaraderie, Artemisia introduces a novel reminder of the decapitation itself, by means of a symbolic reference to Judith's challenge to the authority of Holofernes.

Artemisia drew upon several sources for the composition. Garrard and Bissell (1999) have traced the nocturnal setting to Adam Elsheimer's small copper *Judith* (Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London), in which a candle also illuminates a darkened interior. Artemisia may also have emulated the paintings of Gerrit van Honthorst, a Northern painter from the city of Utrecht, who, while in Rome between 1613 and 1620, developed a specialty in the representation of candles and their attendant luminous effects. Artemisia appears to have drawn from his work, as both Bissell (1999) and Garrard have noted.[4] And Spear correctly points out that Artemisia creates a far greater drama than had the Utrecht painter. Van Honthorst's *Mocking of Christ* (fig. 129), which may have been available to Artemisia in Rome during this period, bears a strong formal likeness to the Detroit painting.[5] The two works share a basic compositional structure, an interior illumination, and an obscuring shadow across the face of the protagonist.

The unresolved spatial inconsistency of the interior suggests that Artemisia had not yet completely worked out the formal relationships. The placement of the candle, on top of the table, precludes its being the source of light on Judith's palm. While Garrard argues that the light comes not from the candle but from the opening of the tent, the illumination on the kneeling Abra does not conform to the more generalized glow issuing forth from the left. This would suggest that the candle was added later, after the composition had been designed, perhaps to create a more showy effect—a nod to contemporary currents popular in Rome introduced in hopes of pleasing a patron.

1. "Ebbe costei un altro bel talento, che fu di ritrarne al naturale maravifliosamente ogni sorte di frutti . . ."; Baldinucci 1811–12, vol. 10, 254.
2. Thanks to Stuart Pyhrr, Curator, Department of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Walter J. Karcheski Jr., Senior Curator, Arms and Armor, Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, for providing me with information regarding the history of the arms in this piece.
3. For the Tempesta engraving, see Bissell 1999, fig. 76.
4. Leonard Slatkes, writing in the entry on Van Honthorst's Los Angeles *Mocking of Christ* (London–Rome 2001, 319), has associated Artemisia's painting with Van Honthorst's work.
5. This painting, a recent addition to the Van Honthorst oeuvre, does not have an early provenance, but Richard Judson (in Judson and Ekkart 1999, 32) considers it possible that the picture could have been in Rome at the time.



70.

Sleeping Venus

Oil on canvas, 37 × 56¾ in. (94 × 144 cm)

The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Foundation, Princeton, New Jersey

1625–30

New York, Saint Louis

Artemisia's recognized mastery of the female nude is evident in this fascinating painting, which must have been made during the artist's second Roman stay. Venus, sound asleep and almost completely nude save for a diaphanous scarf around her upper arm and thigh, as a passive participant in the viewer's visual enjoyment enhances the erotic charge of the picture. Cupid stands behind his mother's couch and raises a peacock feather to fan her.[1] Garrard and Matthiesen initially dated the painting to the mid-1630s. Its reference to Titian's Venus paintings, the *Venus with a Lute Player*, in the Prado, for example, led Grabski to suggest in 1985 that it was painted after the artist went to Venice, in 1627–28. However, as Matthiesen and Bissell (1999) have recently pointed out, such imagery would already have been available to Artemisia in

Florence, since one such painting, the *Venus and Cupid with a Partridge* (Uffizi, Florence), was owned by Cosimo de' Medici as early as 1618. Furthermore, Bissell notes that the closest parallels to the picture were not Venetian but Roman, and relates the painting to Annibale Carracci's *Danaë* (formerly Bridgewater collection) and his highly sexual print, *Sleeping Venus with a Satyr and Cupid*, made in 1592.[2]

Garrard, on the other hand, identifies the more likely source for Venus's pose—Caravaggio's *Sleeping Cupid* (Galleria Palatina, Florence), whose early presence in Florence can be demonstrated, since it served as a model for Giovanni da San Giovanni in 1620 for his facade fresco for the Palazzo dell'Antella in Piazza Santa Croce.[3] While the references to the Titian prototypes are generic at best (sharing elements such as the reclining Venus, attendant figure, balustrade, and open window onto a landscape vista), the similarity in pose between Artemisia's goddess and Caravaggio's young Cupid suggests that the model was either close at hand or clear in her memory when she painted her Venus. But the painting does not fit comfortably into her Florentine style, and we do not know of a return visit to Florence after she sold the contents of her studio in 1621.[4] It is reasonable to assume that she began preliminary plans for the picture soon after returning to Rome, raising the possibility that she made drawings to record the distinctive pose of Caravaggio's *Cupid*. This heavy reliance on Caravaggio characterizes other pictures of Artemisia's second Roman period, most notably the Seville *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 68), the *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* (cat. 66), and the *Lucretia* (cat. 67). The gold-fringed velvet curtain at the upper right appears in the Seville *Magdalene* and the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 69), while a similar veil swirls about the standing Aurora (fig. 96).

The rich and generously painted cobalt cover of the couch (it is painted in two layers of lapis lazuli) suggests that the picture was intended for an important patron, as it is unlikely that the artist would otherwise have applied such expensive materials so liberally.[5] We must ask whether it is the one that Artemisia sent (via her brother Francesco) from Naples to Cardinal Antonio Barberini in Rome—mentioned in a letter that she wrote in 1635 to Cassiano dal Pozzo in Rome[6]—which may also be the picture inventoried nine years later in the Barberini collection as "a woman with a cupid."[7]

If so, then the *Sleeping Venus* stayed in Artemisia's workshop for some time before she actually sent it off. Given its highly accomplished handling of the body and its use of expensive materials, it seems just the sort of painting that Artemisia might have presented to a potential patron in hopes of securing a position. Bissell has suggested that the *Venus Embracing Cupid* (cat. 82) should be identified with the Barberini gift, but this would seem an impossible scenario if that picture proves to have been painted in the 1640s.

Matthiesen notes that the recent cleaning reveals that the window and landscape were painted separately and by a different hand, something Bissell has already suggested. Although no extensive outdoor scenes by Artemisia exist, there are partial landscapes in some works of the 1620s that may be autograph, notably the *Aurora* (fig. 96) and the Burghley House *Susanna* (cat. 65). However, if the *Sleeping Venus* was in fact intended as a showpiece, Artemisia may have focused her efforts on the figures and sought assistance for the outdoor vista from an artist with greater experience in painting landscape. Matthiesen posits that it may be the work of a Northern painter.

The subject follows a tradition that goes back to ancient representations of sleeping nymphs and goddesses, the most famous of them undoubtedly the Hellenistic sculpture of the sleeping Ariadne (Museo Vaticano, Rome; fig. 141).[8] Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus*, of 1508–10 (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), represents one of the most arresting of these images, in which the slumbering goddess reclines in a pastoral setting. Artemisia surely knew this tradition through prints as well as paintings. Annibale Carracci portrayed the sleeping Venus, arm raised over her head, lying in a landscape and surrounded by cavorting putti (Musée Condé, Chantilly). His painting was famous in the early seventeenth century and was enthusiastically described first by Agucchi and later by Bellori in his life of Annibale.[9] Obviously derived from the antique *Ariadne*, it may well have been known to Artemisia, although she has given the subject a slightly different interpretation. As Cupid fans his mother on her right

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Rome; private collection, London; The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Foundation, Princeton, New Jersey (1980s?).

REFERENCES: Bellori 1672, 89–92; Marini 1981a, 370; Grabski 1985, 56–63; Bober and Rubinstein 1986, 113–14, fig. 79; Matthiesen in London 1986, 52; Garrard 1989, 105–6, 274–76; Kultermann 1990, 137–40; Contini in Florence 1991, 85 n. 40; Bissell 1999, 225–26 no. 18; Matthiesen 2001, 264–69.

side, the viewer gazes upon her from her left. The circular temple outside the window recalls similar structures dedicated to the pagan goddess Vesta, which Artemisia may have known in Rome, and may be intended to allude to pagan veneration, suggesting that the viewer participates in surreptitious worship of the goddess of beauty.[10]

The representation of a slumbering female raises questions about reading Artemisia's imagery in terms of forceful heroines with whom Artemisia could identify. While she has minimized some of the patently sexual references used by other artists, she has presented a vulnerable female, unaware of the viewer's gaze, who becomes the inadvertent object of male desire, evidence of Artemisia's willingness to respond to the requests of male patrons.

1. Matthiesen has described Cupid as trying to waken his mother. However, while artists often depicted a mischievous Cupid who willingly teased his mother, there is none of that playfulness in the present picture.
2. Both are illustrated in Bissell 1999, figs. 105, 106.
3. Friedlaender 1955, 212.
4. See appendix 3 for the contents of that sale. Rather than assuming that she did not move to Rome until she is recorded there in March 1621, I find it perfectly plausible that Artemisia moved to Rome in 1620, returning to Florence briefly the following year to conclude the sale, and then returning to Rome,
5. I wish to thank David Chesterman, a private restorer in London, who so graciously allowed me to see the picture while it was in his lab and generously shared his information with me.
6. See Garrard 1989, 380–81.
7. Lavin 1975, 165.
8. See Bober and Rubinstein, 113–14, fig. 79.
9. See Posner 1971, vol. 2, 59–60 no. 134. Agucchi's description was recorded by Malvasia (1678, vol. 1, 503). For Bellori's description, see Bellori 1672, 89–92.
10. Matthiesen describes this as a Temple of Venus, but circular temples were generally not dedicated to the goddess of beauty, and the two that Artemisia may have known in Rome were believed in the early seventeenth century to have been dedicated to Vesta. Recent scholarship has identified the one near the Tiber as originally dedicated to Hercules.

71.
Esther Before Ahasuerus

Oil on canvas, 81⅞ × 107½ in. (208 × 273 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Elinor Dorrance Ingersoll, 1969 (inv. 69.281)

ca. 1628–35

Esther's appearance before the throne of her husband, King Ahasuerus, is a central scene in a complicated story of love, death, virtue, palace intrigue, power, and social status. Ahasuerus was a proud and powerful ruler. His queen, Vashti, refused his summons to appear before his guests at a feast, and she was disavowed. The king replaced her with Esther, a renowned beauty, not knowing she was a Jewess. Some time later, hearing that Ahasuerus had signed an edict that all Jews be slaughtered, Esther agreed to intervene, though aware that to appear unbidden before her husband would result in death. Before her audience, Esther ordered that all Jews fast for three days. Weakened from her fast, she appeared before the king and fainted. Ahasuerus, however, did not punish Esther but showed favor toward her, touching her with his scepter to indicate her special status.

The details of Artemisia's imagery derive from Greek additions made to the original Hebrew narrative, popularly used in the seventeenth century, after the Council of Trent gave them canonical status in 1546:[1]

> *On the third day, when she had finished praying, she took off her supplicant's mourning attire and dressed herself in her full splendor. Radiant as she then appeared, she invoked God who watches over all people and saves them. With her, she took her two ladies-in-waiting. With a delicate air she leaned on one, while the other accompanied her carrying her train. Rosy with the full flush of her beauty, her face radiated joy and love: but her heart shrank with fear. Having passed through door after door, she found herself in the presence of the king. He was sitting on his royal throne, dressed in all his robes of state, glittering with gold and precious stones—a*

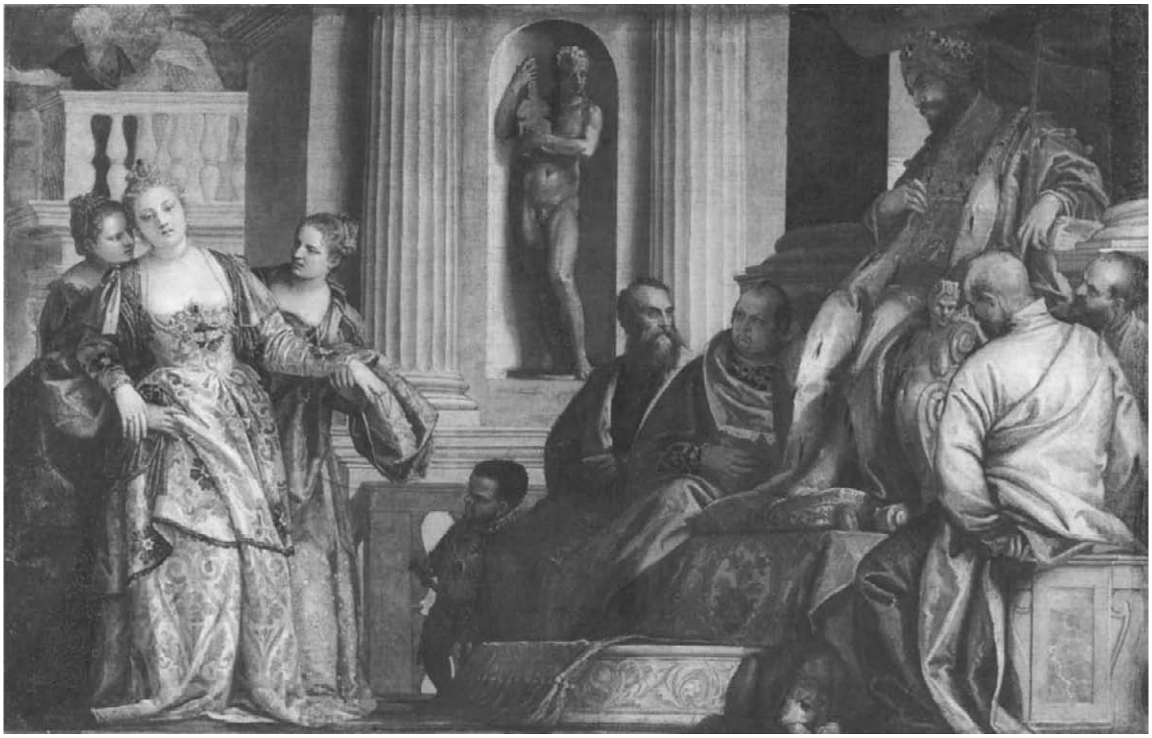


Figure 130. Workshop of Veronese (1528–1588), *Esther and Ahasuerus*. Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris

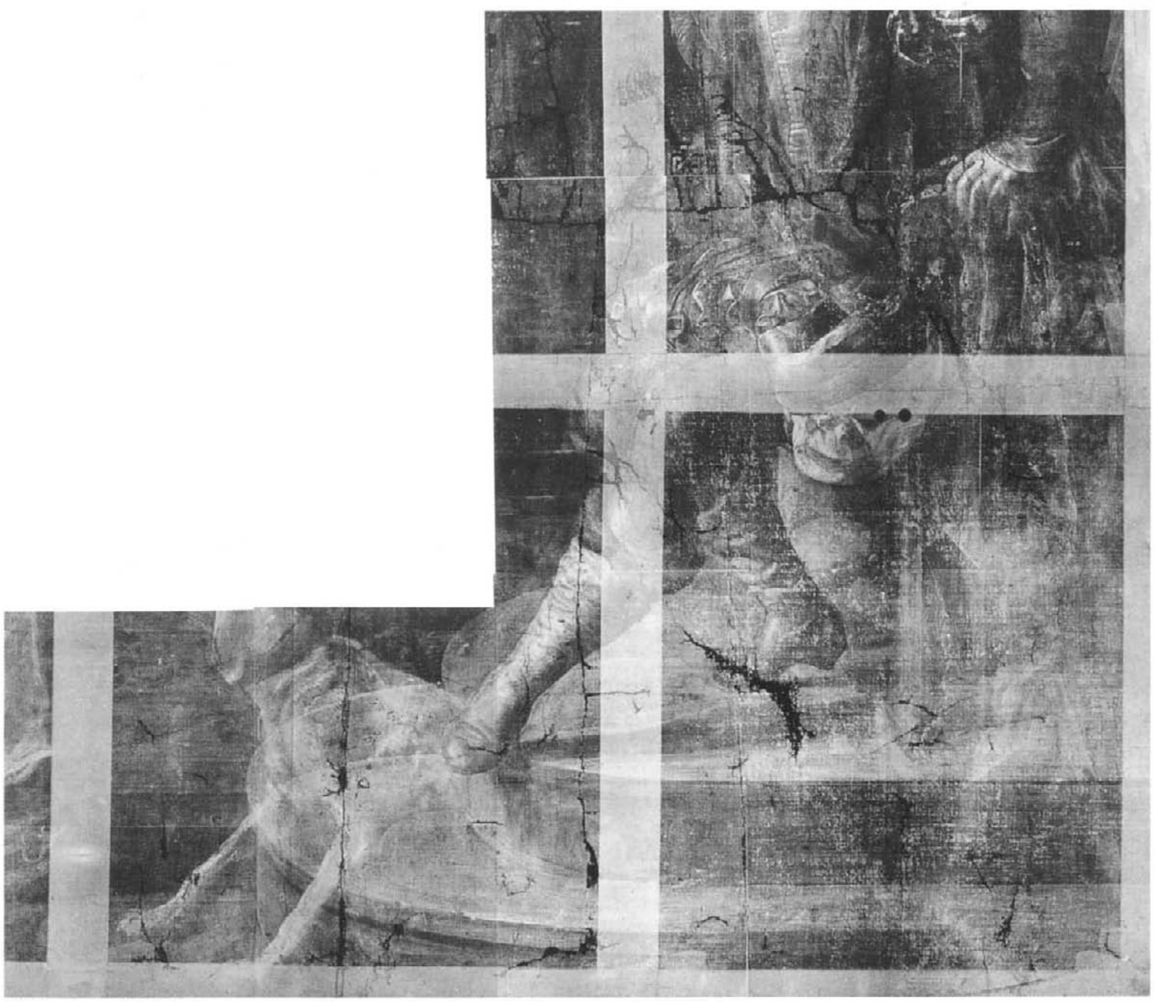


Figure 131. X radiograph of cat. 69



formidable sight. He looked up, afire with majesty and, blazing with anger, saw her. The queen sank to the floor. As she fainted, the color drained from her face and her head fell against the lady-in-waiting beside her. But God changed the king's heart, inducing a milder spirit. He sprang from his throne in alarm and took her in his arms until she recovered, comforting her with soothing words. "What is the matter Esther?" he said. "I am your brother. Take heart, you are not going to die; our order applies only to ordinary people. Come to me." And raising his golden sceptre he laid it on Esther's neck, embraced her and said, "Speak to me."

Artemisia has followed her text closely: the king prepares to "spring" forward from his throne as he sees his queen swoon; Esther's pale skin shows that the color has indeed ebbed from her face; and as she faints, her head falls against her lady-in-waiting. Esther's attire evokes the "full splendor" described in the text, with its extravagantly embroidered bodice and hem, splendid damask sleeves, bejeweled belt, and elaborately ornamented sleeve caps. And Ahasuerus presents a "formidable sight" in his velvet doublet, lace ruff, richly ribboned sleeves and breeches, and white kid boots trimmed in dyed fur and capped with ruby brooches, a costume unique within the repertoire of Ahasuerus depictions.

Many of these details were integral to an earlier version of Esther from the workshop of the Venetian painter Paolo Veronese (fig. 130), as Garrard, followed by Bissell, has noted. Artemisia must have known this image when she made her own painting, as the two share a number of details. Pentimenti (confirmed by X ray; fig. 131) throughout Artemisia's picture indicate that other elements from the Veronese painting were once part of the composition, including a servant at the base of the stairs and a seated dog. The curving steps that support Ahasuerus's throne may also derive from the Veronese painting, although they also occur in a number of other Venetian examples of the story.

Esther was typically portrayed either kneeling or assuming the posture of supplicant. In the Veronese version, she stands, although she is about to faint and is held up only with the support of her maids. This pose evidently appealed to Artemisia. Garrard has argued that the pose and the masculine head, derived from Michelangelo's Haman in the Sistine chapel, present Esther as a stronger heroine, not subservient to the king.[2] But since Esther has clearly fainted and will soon fall, it was surely some other objective that was served by selecting the Veronese model. Furthermore, Artemisia did not base her Ahasuerus on the Venetian prototype but created an absolutely original king, something of a dandy with a youthful swagger. The artist designed a composition in which each protagonist echoes the movement of the other, to create a balletic quality shared by no other representations of this narrative. Given that Artemisia's interpretation relies on a careful reading of the text, she may well have understood the nature of the complete biblical book where status constantly changes; the mighty fall and the weak are elevated. In designing the figures of Esther and Ahasuerus, the artist selected poses that suggest imminent change—Esther will fall and Ahasuerus will rise.

The extraordinary number of changes and corrections throughout the picture suggest that Artemisia had difficulty in satisfactorily resolving the composition, as is evident in the X ray. At one time, a dog sat at the foot of the throne. The steps were changed from their original location and reconfigured. A page or servant stood in the space between Esther and Ahasuerus; the pose of the servant was adjusted at least once. And visible pentimenti reveal that the king's legs were repositioned. While a number of writers (Kaufmann, Greer, Garrard, Contini, Spike, Bionda, and Bissell) have noted its expressive power and the pregnant void in the center, the painting lacks real compositional rigor; the beauty of its parts overwhelms the whole.

Artemisia could have seen the Veronese painting during her Venetian sojourn since, on the authority of Carlo Ridolfi, we know that the picture was in the Bonaldi collection until it was bought in 1662 by the Parisian banker Everard Jabach, who, in the same year, ceded the picture to Louis XIV.[3] Indeed, Artemisia came close to copying portions of the Venetian work. Artemisia's Esther borrows the general design of Veronese's costume, the close proximity of the heads of Esther and one of her maids, and the configuration

PROVENANCE: Grafen Harrach, Vienna (by 1856–after 1926); Alessandro Morandotti, Rome (by 1956); Acquavella Galleries, New York (1959–60); Elinor Dorrance Ingersoll, New York (1960–69); The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of Elinor Dorrance Ingersoll, 1969).

REFERENCES: Voss 1925, 105–8; Salerno in Rome 1956–57, 131; Bissell 1968, 163; Kaufmann 1970, 165–69; Greer 1979, 197–98; Garrard 1989, 72–79; Contini in Florence 1991, 165–69 no. 24; Spike 1991b, 734; Bionda 1992, 28; Bissell 1999, 75–76, 241–44 no. 28.

and position of Esther's left hand. In fact, the left hand so faithfully reproduces the prototype (which has been edited and strengthened by eliminating the drapery) that we cannot doubt the source. Artemisia most certainly began work on the *Esther* in Venice in 1628, when the Veronese picture was available to her or at least the impression of it was still fresh in her mind. It would also seem reasonable to assume that she took the canvas with her when she left Venice, that she still had it (indeed, was still working on it) when she moved to Naples around 1630, and that she continued to rework it there in the ensuing years. The numerous pentimenti and the incompatibility of the various compositional stages support this conclusion.

In nearly every other representation of the story, Ahasuerus is shown sitting on an elevated throne and holding a scepter. Artemisia's rejection of this most common format may indicate that she chose not to allude to the popular understanding of Esther as an Old Testament prefiguration of the Virgin Mary, in that the king's touching Esther with his scepter was identified with Mary's special designation as the immaculate mother of Christ.[4] In fact, Artemisia's interpretation of Ahasuerus, normally represented as either an Oriental potentate or a forbidding warrior king, stands as an entirely original creation and warrants further investigation.

Most scholars have placed the *Esther Before Ahasuerus* in Artemisia's first Neapolitan period. The Harrach provenance has been interpreted as an indication of a Neapolitan origin, first presented by Voss and subsequently accepted by Salerno, Kaufmann, and Contini, all of whom assume that the picture was purchased in Naples by Aloys Thomas von Harrach, who served as viceroy to the city from 1728 until 1733. Bissell (1999) has pointed out that the painting could have come into the Harrach collection via Spain instead. Garrard assigns the painting to Artemisia's Roman period of the early 1620s, based on what she sees as the overtly Caravaggesque garb of King Ahasuerus, on her assumption that Artemisia saw the Veronese-school *Esther* during a Venetian trip in the early 1620s, and on her reading of the strong heroine, whom she argues is more typical of the 1620s than the 1640s. Bissell (1968) originally assigned the picture to the late 1630s but revised the date to the early 1630s in his catalogue raisonné of 1999, asserting that Artemisia's use of the Veronese painting meant that she had to have completed it after 1627–28 (when she is documented as having been in Venice) based on its similarities to other pictures of the early 1630s. Contini also finds stylistic analogies to Artemisia's paintings of the 1630s and posits a renewed acquaintance with Florentine sources, most probably the work of Rutilio Manetti, which may have occurred during a trip to Pisa to raise money for her daughter's wedding, an opinion also endorsed by Bissell. The strong associations between this picture and Artemisia's *Saints Proculus and Nicea* (Capodimonte, Naples; fig. 143), painted for Pozzuoli cathedral in the mid-1630s, as well as the energy and originality of the iconography, suggest that it was reworked during the early part of the 1630s.

1. On the history of the Greek text, see Levenson 1997, 27–34.
2. Lippincott (1990, 447) also has noted the obvious influence of Michelangelo's figure on Artemisia's rendering of Esther.
3. See Pignatti 1976, 200 no. A237.
4. On Esther as typological parallel to the Virgin, see Perlove 1989, 133–47.



Artemisia and Naples, Naples and Artemisia

RICCARDO LATTUADA

Naples in Artemisia Gentileschi's day was one of the great as well as most turbulent cities of the world and, with Paris, one of the two largest metropolitan centers in Europe. It was also a place of political ferment and natural disasters. In 1631, Mount Vesuvius erupted, and the lava flow devastated the towns on its slopes. Naples was only just spared, and an outpouring of popular devotion followed in its wake. In 1647, a popular insurrection, directed first at the powerful Neapolitan nobility and then at the authority of Spain itself (Naples had been under Spanish rule since 1504), engulfed Naples and then all of southern Italy.[1] The insurrection took its name from a fishmonger, Masaniello, who was chosen to lead the protest, and it would be commemorated by a medal with his profile on one side and on the reverse that of Oliver Cromwell (ca. 1599–1658), the notorious English rebel and regicide. Eight years later, an outbreak of the plague carried off approximately two-thirds of the city's nearly half-million inhabitants.

Despite the image that these and other disasters have created of Naples in the seventeenth century as a kind of urban inferno, the city was complex and richly faceted. Naples retained its vitality during each of these dramatic events and throughout the seicento.[2] It is interesting that they are barely mentioned in Artemisia's correspondence, even though she was in Naples both when Vesuvius erupted in 1631 and during the insurrection of 1647.

To imagine the artist in the midst of a turbulent, anarchical, and tragic world would not be historically accurate.[3] Artemisia's patrons, Neapolitans among them, had the means to enjoy a life of pleasure and to indulge in complicated social rituals, and they were, for the most part, sheltered from any turmoil by the considerable class differences typical of Italian society at that time.[4] The cultural life of Naples, the political and administrative capital of all southern Italy, with the exception of Sicily, was rich, and the city filled with sophisticated people whose outlook was not only Neapolitan but European. The poet Giambattista Marino (1569–1625) and the natural philosophers Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) and Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639) lived and studied in Naples at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. From the middle of the fifteenth century, the city had been controlled by the principal families of the Kingdom of Naples (known simply as il Regno); the Carafa, Sanseverino, Caracciolo, d'Avalos, Pignatelli, and Orsini families held thirty percent of the kingdom's territory by feudal right. If we include such families as the Di Capua, Gonzaga, Spinelli, De Lannoy, Sforza, Acquaviva, Piccolomini, Colonna, Fernández de Córdoba, and Farnese in this group, we find that sixty percent of southern Italy was subject to feudal governance.[5]

The wealth amassed in the provinces of southern Italy flowed into Naples, and the great families became ever more entrenched in the construction and perpetual renovation of their palaces, in an effort to make them ever larger and more lavish as their households expanded.[6] As the capital city, Naples also offered enormous possibilities for doing business with the Spanish administrative machine. Indeed, at the time of the Masaniello revolt, Naples accounted for a full third of the revenue deposited in the treasury of the Spanish crown, a situation that changed little in the second half of the seventeenth century.

In addition to the great feudal families, the important religious orders—the older ones like the Carthusians, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans, as well as the newer ones, such as the Jesuits, Theatines, and Oratorians—established impressive houses and monasteries that were firmly rooted in the urban fabric of the ancient Greco-Roman city. As late as 1872, Gennaro Aspreno Galante listed 343 sacred buildings in the historical center of Naples, nearly all of which were constructed between the thirteenth and

Opposite: Detail of the *Birth of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 77)



Figure 132. Attributed to Artemisia Gentileschi, *Christ Blessing the Children*. Oil on canvas. Formerly The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

the eighteenth century.[7] The most active period in the history of ecclesiastical construction was from the end of the fifteenth through the seventeenth century. Naples thus had one of the richest art markets in Italy. The enormous number of projects, both secular and religious, carried out by Cosimo Fanzago (1591–1678), the most important architect in the city, involved the employment of hundreds of architects, contractors, and marble workers.[8] Bartolomeo and Francesco Antonio Picchiatti, Dionisio Lazzari, Giuliano Finelli, and the young Ercole Ferrata all produced the best of their work during these years.

In the area of painting, too, the number of commissions grew continuously, natural disasters, rebellions, and epidemics notwithstanding. In the first half of the seicento, Annibale Carracci, Caravaggio, Guido Reni, Simon Vouet, Diego Velázquez, Pietro da Cortona, Domenichino, Giovanni Lanfranco, Charles Mellin, Nicolas Poussin, and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione either passed through, sent paintings to, or, in the majority of cases, worked in Naples. The city also enjoyed the advantage of being the Italian metropolis closest to Rome,[9] which was the natural destination for the training of a young Neapolitan artist and often offered him the opportunity of work. Massimo Stanzione (1585?–?1656), for example, presumably matured as an artist in Rome and then traveled continuously between the papal city and Naples from 1617 to about 1630. Indeed, it was from Rome, in 1630, that a Carthusian priest, Carlo Filippo de Ferrariis, recommended Stanzione to one of his Neapolitan brothers as the artist best qualified for the commission to paint the first frescoes at the Certosa di San Martino.[10]

The Spanish presence in Naples was essential to the development of the local school of painting. The first round of commissions for paintings to decorate Philip IV's (r. 1621–65) Buen Retiro palace in Madrid, for example, was awarded to artists working in Rome by agents of Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, count-duke of Olivares. The second and much larger group of commissions was entrusted to Olivares's brother-in-law, the Spanish viceroy Manuel de Zúñiga y Fonseca, count of Monterrey, and assigned in Naples between 1631 and 1637. In addition to Jusepe de Ribera, Stanzione, Aniello Falcone, Domenico Gargiulo, Andrea di Lione, Cesare Fracanzano, Viviano Codazzi, and Scipione Compagni all worked at the Buen Retiro, as did Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647) and Domenichino (1581–1641), each of whom was in the process of transferring his professional activity to Naples.[11] As never before, Naples and Rome served as the two culturally interdependent poles of the artistic world, guided by such men as the viceroys Fernando Enríquez, Afán de Ribera, third duke of Alcalá, and the count of Monterrey. Artemisia, who was evidently aware of this great project, knew that moving to Naples could provide important opportunities for her career. It is likely that Artemisia's fame reached Naples on the basis of work, now lost, made for Neapolitan or Spanish patrons and perhaps traded for Neapolitan products. This was the case, for example, with a painting that showed Christ blessing the children—"un lienço de un Salvador con la mano derecha sobre unos muchachos"—which was acquired by the duke of Alcalá when he was the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See in Rome (1625–26).[12] The painting was perhaps taken from Rome to Naples when the duke was viceroy (1629–32),[13] and there copies were made.[14] It seems to me that this work can be identified with

a painting in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1927 until 1979 (fig. 132). In a letter of 1936 in the Museum's files, Hermann Voss attributed it to Pacecco de Rosa (1607–1656), and this is the attribution recorded on the photograph of the painting in the Fondazione Roberto Longhi in Florence, which is where I first saw it. More recently, Bologna attributed it to Carlo Rosa (1613–1678).[15] But in an unpublished catalogue entry Federico Zeri notes that "[t]he strong reminiscences of Massimo Stanzione's types are modified by a closer approach to Guido Reni's [1575–1642] classical forms; the group of two children seems somewhat related to Artemisia Gentileschi."[16] It is my hope that this work, with its obvious connection to Artemisia, will sooner or later be available again for close study.

The admiration Artemisia may have garnered in Rome, before she went to Naples, has been much discussed; it is likely that she was given privileged access to the court of the duke of Alcalá through Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657).[17] Artemisia's ability to find support throughout her career perhaps explains the confidence with which she worked from the moment of her arrival in Naples.

Artemisia's first work in Naples, the *Annunciation* (cat. 72), signed and dated 1630, reflects the painter's awareness of an artistic center similar to but at the same time profoundly different from Rome. The picture, recently restored and in less than perfect state, is an example of the changeable nature of Artemisia's style. It indicates an interest in the work of Simon Vouet (1590–1649)—the *Scenes from the Life of Saint Francis* at San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome (fig. 117), for example, or the *Circumcision* in Sant'Angelo a Segno, Naples—and the contrasts of light and shadow are more dramatic here than they were in her earlier Roman works.[18] The composition, however, is a reworking of Scipione Pulzone's (1544–1598) *Annunciation,* originally in San Domenico at Gaeta and then transferred, in 1821, to Capodimonte. It would not have been at all unlikely that a traveler from Rome to Naples, such as Artemisia, would have made a stop in Gaeta. The *Annunciation* is one of the most famous of those works whose artless style, in accordance with the tenets of the Council of Trent (1545–63), Zeri memorably characterized as "senza tempo." [19] It is not the only example of Pulzone's work to have influenced Artemisia. The composition of the *Madonna and Child* (cat. 52) is another instance, since in many ways it depends on Pulzone's *Holy Family* in the Galleria Borghese, Rome.[20] Artemisia does away with much of the background in her 1630 *Annunciation*, contracting the space around the figures, so that they project a greater sense of immediacy; it is a clear demonstration that she wanted her work to be in harmony with the formal aspects of the late-Caravaggesque style prevalent in the city. It would seem that Artemisia, who found herself in a cultural milieu similar to that of Rome but with its own idiosyncracies, used her personal archive of sources of what Vasari referred to as the "maniera moderna" to make her mark on the Neapolitan scene. With the *Annunciation*, she adapted to local taste a work that, to judge from its size and formal elements, was intended for a public space. It is curious that Giovanni Battista Caracciolo (1578–1635) would have used a similar source for his 1631 fresco of the *Annunciation* in the chapel of the Annunciation in San Martino, Naples.[21] Caracciolo's frescoes in this chapel have been described as exhibiting an impulse toward simplicity.

In 1630, the entire art world in Naples was undergoing profound changes. Diego Velázquez (1599–1660), painter to Philip IV of Spain, had arrived in the city that year in the retinue of the Spanish infanta, and he most likely visited Jusepe de Ribera's (1591–1652) studio.[22] In turn, Ribera revised the violent, Caravaggesque style of his youthful works, adopting ever lighter and more brilliant colors. This transformation is evident in his *Democritus*, signed and dated 1630, as well as in the pendant canvases of *Saint Roch* and *Saint James Major*, both signed and dated 1631 (all three are in the Prado, Madrid).[23] In Ribera's *Jacob and His Flocks*, signed and dated 1632 (El Escorial), the animals, the rocks, and Jacob's robes are all illuminated by a diffuse, transparent light, although the forms and shadows remain sharply defined.[24] The same can be said of his *Trinitas Terrestris* (Capodimonte, Naples), in which the Venetian-based coloration—now highly developed—poses a difficult problem related to the influence of the work produced by Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) during his stay in Italy.[25] In this case, Pietro Novelli (called Il Monrealese; 1603–1647), may have played a significant role. Novelli was in Naples shortly after 1630, having come from Palermo, where he saw the great works Van Dyck had made there. At the same time, Novelli also absorbed the styles of Ribera and Stanzione in Naples.[26]

Stanzione raises the same issues, as his style is often—and incorrectly—contrasted with that of Ribera. In the Raleigh *Assumption of the Virgin* (North Carolina Museum of Art), dated to the late 1620s or early 1630s,[27] Stanzione turns to the altarpieces of Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) for his composition, but the brilliant colors he uses are closer to Vouet's last Italian works. There

are, furthermore, motifs that can still be traced to the French Caravaggisti, such as the so-called Master of the Judgment of Solomon. The detail of the pair of figures in the right background is drawn from Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (fig. 4). But in 1630, Stanzione updated his Caravaggesque style, in keeping with the current of the Roman Baroque.[28] Stanzione had many of the same objectives as Artemisia, a commonality that led to productive exchanges and even the sharing of important commissions. Yet in this relationship, Artemisia certainly took more from Stanzione than she was able to offer him.

The first important commission that they carried out together is the five canvases with scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist intended for the hermitage of San Juan, and built by the count-duke of Olivares in 1634 in the park of the Buen Retiro in Madrid.[29] The paintings were executed in about 1633–34.[30] The five scenes include Artemisia's *Birth of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 77) and Stanzione's *Annunciation to Zaccharias*, *Saint John the Baptist Taking Leave of His Parents* (fig. 133), *Saint John the Baptist Preaching*, and the *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*. A sixth scene in the series—Paolo Finoglia's *Saint John the Baptist in Prison*—is now lost.[31] Artemisia's work seems to be the first real fruit of Cassiano dal Pozzo's connections at the court of the Spanish viceroy in Naples; the count of Monterrey oversaw the commissions for these works. The proportional division of the commission (four paintings to Stanzione and only one each to Artemisia and Finoglia) gives an indication of the respective status each artist had in the eyes of the patron.

Stanzione's canvases for the series are among his finest;[32] the variety of the compositions is enhanced by a striking diversification of stylistic choices. In the *Annunciation to Zaccharias*, for example, the monumental figures are grouped in a classical composition, and the figure seen from the back reveals a study of ancient sculpture, as does the altar. It is not surprising, then, that Francesco Guarino (1611–1654) recycled this composition with little alteration in his work of the same subject for the transept ceiling in the Collegiata at Solofra (1637).[33] The *Saint John the Baptist Taking Leave of His Parents* is perhaps the most original work in the cycle. Here, Stanzione transfers the formal world of the Roman Caravaggisti to a plein-air setting. Again, the composition is marked by a strong sense of harmony among the figures, yet the rustic character of the clothing has none of the harshness seen in the manner of the early Ribera or the Master of the Annunciation to the Shepherds (fl. ca. 1620–40?). The emotional tenor is one of rural simplicity.

In the *Saint John the Baptist Preaching*, Stanzione grafts the figures and colors of French Caravaggism onto his recollections of both Annibale Carracci and, especially, Domenichino. For example, the seated woman holding a child in the lower right corner is a reworking of a similar figure in Domenichino's Polet chapel frescoes in San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (1612–15), as is a figure in the *Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple*, in the Santuario della Madonna della Misericordia, Savona (ca. 1623–27).[34] The seated woman also recalls—in this case, with only minor variations on the part of Stanzione—the figure in the lower right corner of Vouet's *Saint Francis Taking the Habit*, in San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome (1624).[35] A Caravaggesque topos, it also reminds us of the figure in the lower right in Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew*, in San Luigi dei Francesi. The rustic setting of the *Saint John* appears to follow the biblical sources, and it is likely that the picture was intended to share in the veneration for the pastoral that led Philip IV to build hermitages throughout the park of the Buen Retiro palace.[36]

The *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* also reflects Stanzione's acquaintance with the work of the French and Northern Caravaggisti in Rome, in particular, that of Dutch painter Gerrit van Honthorst (1592–1656). Stanzione's studied eclecticism, which takes him well beyond the source of his traditional sobriquet, the "Neapolitan Guido" (Reni), seems frankly more advanced than what Artemisia achieves in her *Birth of Saint John*. In Stanzione's canvas, the wealth of stylistic references is not an end in itself but also a means of expressing emotion; indeed, his style presents an alternative in Neapolitan painting to that represented in the work of Ribera. Artemisia's composition is more stilted, and the sense that the artist was uncomfortable representing a religious subject was evident even to a supporter of her work as enthusiastic as Roberto Longhi.[37] The horizontal format of the painting also seems to have given Artemisia problems: the figures, seen in a large space, are detached from one another, both compositionally and emotionally. It is certainly possible that the speed with which the commission was executed—"at a breakneck pace," as R. Ward Bissell has noted[38]—had an impact on the end result, as perhaps did the fact that Artemisia had to adapt not only to the general scheme of the cycle but to the instructions given to her by Stanzione.

The other major commission was for a cycle of paintings to decorate the choir of the cathedral at Pozzuoli (see cat. 79). A



Figure 133. Massimo Stanzione (1585?–?1656), *Saint John the Baptist Taking Leave of His Parents*. Oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

veritable army of Neapolitan and Roman artists worked on the cathedral from 1635 to about 1638.[39] The genesis of the cycle is usually explained by the renewed devotion to Saint Januarius (San Gennaro; ca. 272–ca. 305) engendered by the eruption of Vesuvius in 1631. The patronage might be more fully explained by a careful look at the relationship between the bishop of Pozzuoli, Martino de Leòn y Cárdenas, and the count of Monterrey, who, as a key player in the Neapolitan art scene, may have had substantial input into the directives given by the church administration.[40]

Pozzuoli, which had been an important city in the Phlegraean Fields since Roman times, was situated in front of the Castello di Baia, a defensive outpost in Campania. The fact that the city was significant in the strategic defense of the Kingdom of Naples meant that it had a strong Spanish presence beyond that of its bishop. The seventeenth-century revival of the cult of Saint Januarius, which culminated in the completion of the spectacular chapel housing the saint's relics in the Neapolitan cathedral, also led to a renewed interest in the various places the saint spent the last days before his martyrdom.

The paintings for the choir of the cathedral of Pozzuoli, painted by Stanzione, Lanfranco, Agostino Beltrano (1607–1656), Finoglia, and Cesare (ca. 1605–1651) and perhaps Francesco (1612–?1656) Fracanzano, as well as Artemisia, represent an essential anthology for the understanding of the artistic trends in Naples at the end of the 1630s. The deplorable state of these pictures (among the devastations to which they have been subject over the years, the last was a fire in 1964) is evident also in Artemisia's *Saint Januarius in the Amphitheater* (cat. 79), the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 142),[41] and the *Saints Proculus and Nicea* (fig. 143). (As is often the case with works from the disaster-prone area around Naples, the three canvases are today housed in the Capodimonte.) The paintings exemplify Artemisia's integration into the Neapolitan scene and, as has been noted, exhibit no connection with her Florentine and Roman works.[42] They are characterized by a certain conventionality and, for precisely this reason, their style is difficult to define. "Dignified, even solemn, and approached with a seriousness of purpose, they are nonetheless without much expressive passion."[43]

At Pozzuoli, Artemisia again appears to have turned to Stanzione for more than just advice. Her Saints Proculus and Nicea, as they stand in a Tuscan portico, are both splendid figures. A Corinthian loggia in the background suggests a vaguely antique

setting that alludes to the historical period in which the two saints were martyred. The monumental figures are as solemn as two polychromed statues, and they attest to Artemisia's confidence in handling the human figure. Many scholars have suggested that another artist was responsible for the architecture—Giovanni Bottari, Mina Gregori, David Ryley Marshall proposing Viviano Codazzi (ca. 1604–1670) and Bissell suggesting Domenico Gargiulo (1609–? 1675).[44]

It has also been consistently suggested in the literature that the *Adoration of the Magi* is a collaboration between Artemisia and Stanzione. When the work is seen in the brightly lit galleries of the Capodimonte, this argument seems somewhat implausible. In composition, the painting recalls Caracciolo's *Adoration of the Magi* in the chapter house of the Certosa di San Martino, Naples, while the figures of the Madonna and child and the kneeling magus bring to mind Vouet's painting the *Virgin Appearing to Saint Bruno*, executed at about the same time and for the same place.[45] Artemisia's picture is also close to Stanzione's *Adoration of the Magi*, painted in the second half of the 1620s (private collection, Philadelphia),[46] but it exhibits the same insecurity on the part of the painter that we have encountered in the *Birth of the Virgin*. Stanzione's unmistakable style is difficult to discern in Artemisia's treatment of the figures; here, she seems instead to be looking to those Neapolitan painters who were building on the decorative aspects of Stanzione's poetic style—Agostino Beltrano, for example, who was also active at the cathedral in Pozzuoli and whose *Lot and His Daughters* (fig. 134) reveals his inclination toward the ornamental.

The *Saint Januarius in the Amphitheater* (cat. 79), in Pozzuoli, is a work of linguistic richness.[47] It is almost universally agreed that Gargiulo executed the background, which shows the amphitheater of Pozzuoli, with its emphatic diagonal perspective. There is as well a strong link to the work of Paolo Finoglia (ca. 1590–1645). Associated with Artemisia for the Buen Retiro commission, Finoglia also worked at the cathedral at Pozzuoli, where he executed the *Saint Peter Consecrating Sant'Aspreno*.[48] Finoglia and Artemisia had much in common, sharing a love for fabrics rendered in a brilliant, changeable light and for figures with a monumental presence. In the mid-1630s, Finoglia's style was less developed than that of such Neapolitan masters as Ribera, Stanzione, and Cavallino, but his skill in describing textiles in minute detail has led to some confusion of his work with Artemisia's, as in the case of the *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (fig. 135).[49] The composition of this sumptuous painting is still tied to late-sixteenth-century formulas, not entirely absent from the work of Ribera of about 1630–35; it provided ideas that proved to be important for Artemisia as well.

The commissions for the Buen Retiro and the cathedral at Pozzuoli thrust Artemisia into the very center of professional life in Naples—a world well known for its hostility to foreigners (the case of Domenichino is notorious). Neither Artemisia nor Lanfranco, however, seems to have had any problems in this regard. This would indicate that entry into the art scene also depended on social skills, which both Artemisia and Lanfranco possessed, and that the art market in Naples between 1630 and 1650 was expanding as never before. Thus the prospects for finding work were excellent— despite Artemisia's continual complaints to the contrary.

The collaboration between Artemisia and Neapolitan masters such as Stanzione, Gargiulo, and Cavallino, as well as the Bergamasque-Roman-Neapolitan Viviano Codazzi, creates considerable confusion having to do with the division of labor, attribution, and shared interests. Each of these local painters had a well-established professional and business identity long before Artemisia arrived in Naples. Bernardo Cavallino (1616–ca. 1656), for instance, whose early works date to about 1635, was already an important figure in Stanzione's circle when Artemisia received her first Neapolitan commissions. One example of Cavallino's independence can be found in his *Meeting at the Golden Gate* (Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest).[50] This work, the subject of which is taken from Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, combines Ribera's manner with that of Stanzione in the sensitive evocation of feeling. Thus, in my opinion, we succumb to the myth of Artemisia if we consider that the artists with whom she worked in Naples were her followers. In fact, as our knowledge of Neapolitan painting in the first half of the seventeenth century expands, it becomes increasingly difficult to ascribe to Artemisia a central role in the collaborative efforts in which she participated.[51]

The dynamic of these collaborations is exemplified in the powerful *Susanna and the Elders* that was sold at Sotheby's in London in 1995 (fig. 144).[52] A collaboration between Artemisia, Cavallino, Gargiulo, and Codazzi, this work is perhaps one of the finest accomplishments of Neapolitan painting in the first half of the seventeenth century. It is also almost certainly the picture Bernardo de Dominici saw in 1742 in the Neapolitan collection



Figure 134. Agostino Beltrano (1607–1656), *Lot and His Daughters*. Oil on canvas. Molinari Pradelli collection, Marano di Castenaso

of Luigi Romeo, baron of San Luigi, where it was hanging with a *David and Bathsheba* attributed to Artemisia alone, now in Columbus, Ohio (cat. 80).[53] The number of artists to whom various parts of these two paintings have been attributed is indicative of the exceptional degree of interaction between Artemisia and her Neapolitan colleagues. Current opinion holds that in the ex-Sotheby's picture, Gargiulo executed the landscape and architectural passages (after a design by Codazzi),[54] while Artemisia painted the figure of Susanna—but not the elders (who are, in fact, not very aged), which were painted by Cavallino.[55] In the Columbus *Bathsheba*, the architecture is attributed to Codazzi, and the young woman who offers the necklace of pearls to Cavallino. Bissell has asserted that in both paintings, Artemisia had "full responsibility for the compositions and overall expressive thrusts."[56] It is understandable that Roberto Contini should have remained uncertain about the attribution of the *Susanna*, which he termed a "noterole, ma difficile."[57] The figural composition, the color scheme, the drapery, and the beautiful transparency of the shadows seem, on balance, the work of Cavallino. Given what we know about Artemisia, it is difficult to see her hand in the subtle passages of light and shadow on Susanna's face and torso, the golden reflections of her hair, the tapering hands, the soft drapery—more flowing than anything we see in her Neapolitan work—or in the emotional tenor of the figures. Indeed, the two male figures can easily be compared with those in the Cavallino *Apostles* (Spafford Establishment, London) and, in particular, a *Saint Paul* and a *Praying Saint* (present location unknown).[58] The manner of painting in these works is not the same as what we find in the Columbus *Bathsheba*. There, the maidservant holding the pearls is not executed with the same fluency, and the drapery of the other figures has the more solid, stiff quality that is typical of Artemisia. In my opinion, the best stylistic comparison with the *Bathsheba* is the *Lot and His Daughters* in Toledo (cat. 78).[59] In sum, we have three works that, in their composition and homogeneity of color, are typical of the Neapolitan art scene at this time.

Discussion of the Columbus *Bathsheba* and the ex-Sotheby's *Susanna* could be extended to include the magnificent *Galatea*, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.[60] Yet for the



Figure 135. Paolo Domenico Finoglia (ca. 1590–1645), *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife.* Oil on canvas. The Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass., Kress Collection

sake of brevity, I will speak more generally on the nature of these collaborations. Do they derive from Artemisia's inability to handle specific parts of the paintings, such as architectural backdrops or landscapes? Or did collaborations simply offer the possibility of a faster execution? It is hard to say. Artemisia was certainly capable of painting all the figures in the *Susanna* herself, and she had and would again paint ambitious backgrounds. Such collaborations were already far from unusual in Rome—Andrea Sacchi and Jan Miel, Codazzi and Michelangelo Cerquozzi, as well as the many collaborations between figure painters and specialists in still life, landscapes, and architecture come to mind—and they took root quickly in Naples. A sort of pictorial *certamen*, in which each artist offered elements, figures, and motifs typical of his or her own style, animates these splendid collaborations, which are not just instances of commercial partnerships but truly interactive productions. The source of this practice was in Rome, but the results in Naples were long-lasting, culminating in 1684 in the collaboration of Luca Giordano, Paolo de Matteis, Giuseppe Recco, Giovanni Battista Ruoppolo, and Francesco della Quosta on fourteen canvases for the feast of Corpus Domini, organized at the royal palace in Naples by Gaspar de Haro y Guzman, seventh marquis of Carpio.[61]

The *Corisca and the Satyr* (cat. 74), a work of the mid-1630s, presents yet another example of Artemisia's full participation in the Neapolitan art world.[62] It is not surprising that in 1990 the picture was sold at Christie's in Rome with an attribution to Stanzione and that only the discovery of Artemisia's signature, uncovered during the cleaning of the canvas, allows us to restore it definitively to her oeuvre. Here, too, we see an intelligent reading of the dominant style in Neapolitan painting around 1630–35. The mise-en-scène, with a glimpse of landscape in the background, recalls Stanzione's *Orpheus Beaten by the Bacchantes* (Banca Manusardi & C., Milan) and reminds us again of the close ties between these two artists.[63] The playfulness and irony of the scene, which depicts one of the most comic moments in Giovanni Battista Guarini's pastoral drama *Il pastor fido* (act 2, scene 6),[64] is narrated in muted tones. Artemisia seems to have fully understood Guarini's text, which is permeated with a classicism quite distinct from the moralism of the Counter-Reformation. Corisca is an embodiment of the elusive, seductive power of women, the source of frustration for her suitors. But she too knows the suffering of love, the love she bears for Mirtillo. The stunned satyr falls back, Corisca's hairpiece in his hand, his dejected pose contrasting with the buoyant flight of the girl who tricked him.

The painting was guided by an informed patron, one who was well aware of the implications of the subject. It is one of Artemisia's finest Neapolitan works, and there is much appeal in the fact that she was asked to represent one of the key moments in the drama. As described by Fassò:

> *The male characters are certainly rather pallid, especially Mirtillo and Silvio. But not the female characters, Amarilli, Dorinda, and Corisca. The first two are delineated [by Guarini] with a delicacy and sureness of touch born of an understanding of the nature of women. The third [Corisca] is incised as if with a burin. An experienced and cunning seductress, Corisca openly proclaims her sensuality, which is fueled by true passion. If, however, she is [betrayed and] disillusioned, she takes revenge with calumny and deceit. Yet she can redeem herself when faced with the happiness of her loved one. I would say that Corisca is the most felicitous character in this tragicomedy*

and that, in her psychological complexity, she foreshadows modern drama. The scene in which she mocks the brutal satyr has rightly been defined as the most perfect in the play. But one might add that every time Corisca is onstage, the dramatic poet does his best work.[65]

During the same years that Artemisia executed her commissions for the Buen Retiro and the cathedral in Pozzuoli, she also became known for the kind of paintings that were more characteristic of her work. Her heroines are dramatis personae, and they convey the ambiguous and fascinating interplay between Artemisia's work and her complicated private life;[66] here, too, the history of Neapolitan painting offers precedents and parallels.

While Ribera's work centered on the representation of saints and hermits—examples of what Raffaello Causa in his survey of Neapolitan seicento painting of 1972 called "heroic old age" ("senescenza eroica")—Stanzione was the first Neapolitan painter to make a series of images of female martyrs. These were especially influenced by the work of Vouet, who was an important model both for Stanzione and for Stanzione's pupils Francesco Guarino and Bernardo Cavallino, who also excelled in paintings of this subject. In his mature works, Stanzione developed his own personal style, combining Vouet's manner with that of Reni, sometimes Sassoferrato (1609–1685), and, occasionally, even Artemisia. The women Artemisia painted presented new problems for Neapolitan painters. The sweet and seductive figures painted by Stanzione, the young Guarino, and Cavallino were replaced in about 1640 by figures that are more courtly and solemn in their bearing and express as well a certain imperiousness.

Stanzione approaches Artemisia's manner in his splendid *Death of Cleopatra* (Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow), a painting datable to about 1640.[67] As Sebastian Schütze and Thomas Willette have noted, "the hardness of the modeling and the frigid emotions expressed by the figures recall the style of Domenichino more than that of Reni."[68] The magisterial figure of the queen, however, is closer still to the protagonist in Artemisia's *Bathsheba* in Columbus or the later version of the same subject in the Neue Palais, Potsdam.[69] Indeed, the isolated nude figure, surrounded by rich materials of red, yellow, white, and a touch of ultramarine, seems an obvious homage to Artemisia. It is also symptomatic of Stanzione's acquaintance with Artemisia's style that this painting seems to be unique in his oeuvre. The tone set by Cleopatra's expression of exhaustion and despair in Stanzione's painting is very different from that in Artemisia's, but the general composition of the two works is similar.

This kind of mutual borrowing can be found in two additional images of female figures, inspired by the stoic models that enjoyed such success in seventeenth-century Naples. These are Guarino's *Saint Cecilia*, dated about 1643,[70] and his *Saint Christina* (versions in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens, and in Pesaro; fig. 136), both dated about 1645.[71] In the *Saint Cecilia*, Guarino makes an elaborate study of the saint's white, blue, and yellow drapery—a veritable homage to Artemisia's masterly rendering of color. Elsewhere, I have argued that the *Saint Christina* reveals a close link to Finoglia in the frontality of the figure and in the protagonist's arrogant expression, as well as in the execution of the rich and satiny material, with its artfully arranged folds. The relationship of these paintings—Guarino's *Saint Christina* (especially the Pesaro version) and *Saint Cecilia*, and Stanzione's *Cleopatra*—to



Figure 136. Francesco Guarino (1611–1654), *Saint Christina*. Oil on canvas. Collezioni Comunali d'Arte, Museo Civico, Pesaro



Figure 137. Pacecco de Rosa (1607–1656), *Susanna and the Elders*. Oil on canvas. Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples

the work of Artemisia derives from a general recollection of her work rather than from an imitation of her style. Yet neither Stanzione nor Guarino was unaffected by her manner, as reflected in the fact that the impact of Vouet, which is visible in such paintings as Guarino's *Saint Agatha* (Museo di San Martino, Naples)[72] and Stanzione's *Cleopatra* (Palazzo Durazzo Pallavicini, Genoa), diminishes in about 1640–45.[73]

The mature works of Pacecco de Rosa (1607–1656), a painter of very different abilities, show a perhaps not coincidental similarity with Artemisia's most successful works.[74] His *Susanna and the Elders* (fig. 137), one of his most accomplished paintings, illustrates aspects typical of his style—vivid colors, a subtle rendering of shadows, and careful attention to decorative detail (note the damask material worn by the elder on the left). A nude figure was required by the subject matter, but Pacecco also uses it to convey the protagonist's heroic behavior. Pacecco is always successful at concealing the eclecticism of his manner behind a recognizable style, but here the strong influence of Artemisia—who produced so many pictures on this theme—is easily discernible. It is also perhaps not by chance that the series of mythological paintings Pacecco made for the d'Avalos family beginning in the 1640s prominently features the female nude: *Mars and Venus*, *Venus Discovered by a Satyr*, *Diana at her Bath*, the *Judgment of Paris*, and even *Dido Abandoned* create a gallery of goddesses and heroines that makes Artemisia's specialty in this kind of image less atypical.[75] It would be worth exploring the fact that Pacecco, Stanzione, Cavallino, and even Andrea Vaccaro (1604–1670) all painted similar subjects during the years Artemisia was in Naples and that their work constitutes a counterpart to hers.

The work of Onofrio Palumbo (fl. mid-17th century), the only Neapolitan artist whom Bernardo de Dominici identified as a pupil of Artemisia's, poses a more complicated problem.[76] The contours of Palumbo's career have taken shape only over the last fifty years. Ferdinando Bologna, in an exhibition held in

Salerno in 1955, was the first to identify the *Annunciation* and the *Nativity* at Santa Maria delle Salute, Naples, as Palumbo's work, and documents later established that payments were made in 1641.[77] Raffaello Causa has made important contributions to our knowledge of the artist's oeuvre in his discussion of the lovely *Saint Januarius Interceding on Behalf of Naples during the Plague of 1656* (Trinità dei Pellegrini, Naples), which has a view of the city attributed to Didier Barra (ca. 1590–after ca. 1652).[78] Bologna returned to his study of Palumbo in 1991, having made occasional contributions (unpublished) about the artist.[79] Here, he gives some paintings traditionally attributed to Artemisia to Onofrio, and assigns new works to him as well. And Bissell, in his 1999 monograph, comments on Bologna's thesis. A fair number of the works that Bologna noted or discussed were then published again by Stefano Causa, who was the first to attempt to make a systematic study of the artist.[80]

A nonspecialist reading this material on Palumbo will be confused, at the very least, by the complexity and fluidity of the attributions. Stefano Causa, for example, attributes the *Galatea* in Washington to Cavallino and Palumbo (it is generally attributed to Cavallino and by Bissell to Cavallino and Artemisia), and he gives the *Lot and His Daughters* in Toledo (cat. 78) and the *Cleopatra* in a private collection (cat. 76) to Palumbo alone. Bologna and Stefano Causa give a *Samson and Delilah* in the collection of the Banco di Napoli to Palumbo, while Bissell, who does not discuss Causa's attribution, calls it a copy after a work by Artemisia. These differences in perception, which are far too complicated to explore fully in this essay, do not derive simply from different schools of thought or subjective opinions (which are often a factor in the history of art). The history of Neapolitan painting in the first half of the seventeenth century is still in a fluid state, a situation that pertains especially to the relationship between the work of individual painters—the subject of important ongoing research—and the available documentation. We can therefore look forward to this type of discussion for some time to come.

An apt candidate for the subject of such discussion is the *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (fig. 138), which Stefano Causa attributes to Palumbo.[81] This is a notable painting that demonstrates the artist's debt to Artemisia. The saint's proud posture, her inspired expression, the rich treatment of the drapery—which resembles Finoglia's—are an intelligent rereading of Artemisia's images, although within the context of the Neapolitan art scene.

At this time, too, it is not possible to go beyond merely suggesting that there is an analogy between the biography of Artemisia and that of Annella de Rosa (b. 1602), Pacecco de Rosa's niece. Considered one of Stanzione's most brilliant pupils, Annella was murdered by her husband, Agostino Beltrano, who was also a painter.[82] Her story is noteworthy in that it gives voice, in a Neapolitan context, to the predicament of the female artist who is as talented as her male counterparts but whose career as a painter is stifled by their envy.[83] It is also notable that, according to De Dominici (our principal seventeenth-century source for Neapolitan painting), there were in Naples other women who followed Annella's example and, "motivated by a virtuous envy, took up painting."[84] Interestingly, there have been no studies of the similarities between Annella's and Artemisia's situations, which is all



Figure 138. Onofrio Palumbo (fl. Naples, mid-17th century), *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown

the more curious in that the two painters lived and worked in the same city and at the same time. Clearly this subject, which would also have to include painters such as Elisabetta Sirani (1638–1665), requires a broad reevaluation. Heretofore, primarily the province of feminist literature, it is now open to approaches that are more specifically art-historical.[85]

The intensity with which Artemisia Gentileschi measured herself against her male colleagues in Naples is a most pertinent subject. And the relationship she established with the world of Neapolitan painting is so important because it challenges the notion that she worked in a kind of enforced seclusion, spending all her time serving only foreign patrons and ignoring the work of the other painters in the city. To the contrary. She was, in fact, highly sensitive to the dynamics of exchange, influence, and style. This would suggest that she had a major role in the development of Neapolitan art, and it makes her an important player in the genius loci. As so many scholars have said, to ask the most important questions, we must turn to the work, for it is only through the paintings, taken one by one, that we can find the answers to her legendary life and career.

1. Villari 1976.
2. Galasso 1982.
3. See Prohaska 1995, 13–19, for some interesting observations that also raise objections it is not possible to discuss here.
4. Sella 2000, 200–210, and passim.
5. "Dislocazione territoriale e dimensione del possesso feudale nel Regno di Napoli a metà Cinquecento," in Visceglia 1992, 64–65.
6. Labrot 1979 and Labrot 1993.
7. Spinosa in Galante (1872) 1985, xi.
8. Cantone 1984.
9. Lattuada 1988, 17–43.
10. Novelli 1974a; Schütze and Willette 1992, 41–57.
11. Brown and Elliott 1980, 123–40, and passim; the first list of Neapolitan works destined for the Buen Retiro was compiled by Pérez Sánchez 1965.
12. See Brown and Kagan 1987, 239–40 item 7: "que es copia del original de artemisia que esta entre los que su Ex.a trujo de Ytalia para la cartuxa." Brown and Kagan note that the original, acquired by the duke during his stay in Rome, was given to the Cartuja de Santa María de las Cuevas.
13. Coniglio 1967, 219–32.
14. Bissell 1999, 359 no. L-14.
15. Bologna 1958, 33 n. 12.
16. I am grateful to Keith Christiansen for the information he so graciously provided about this painting, and for having shared with me his idea of its probable connection with the picture already in the collection of the duke of Alcalá. The painting was sold at auction at Sotheby's, New York, on May 30, 1979, lot 143.
17. Contini in Florence 1991, 65–66; Bissell 1999, 56–61.
18. Contini in Florence 1991, 66.
19. Zeri 1957, 73; Cassanova in Gaeta 1976, 96–97 no. 39; Leone de Castris 1991, 300 colorpl. 52.
20. Bissell 1999, 184–87, figs. 1–6.
21. Causa 2000, 203–4 no. A112f, 314, fig. 320.
22. See Lattuada 2000, 62 n. 11, for a critical history of the problem of Velázquez's visit to Naples.
23. Pérez Sánchez in Naples 1991–92, 170–71 no. 1.32, 177–79 nos. 1.37, 1.38.
24. Ibid., 189–90 no. 1.45.
25. Prohaska 1994–95.
26. Paolini in Palermo 1990, 60–64.
27. Schütze and Willette 1992, 195–96 no. A23.
28. Leone de Castris 1992, 545–68; for a more complete discussion, see Schütze and Willette 1992, 69–78.
29. Brown and Elliott 1980, 76–77, fig. 42.
30. Bissell 1999, 249–53.
31. For the history of this cycle, see ibid., 249–56.
32. Schütze and Willette 1992, 200–202 no. A30.
33. Lattuada 2000, 52, 125–27 no. A8.
34. Spear in Rome 1996–97, 460–61 n. 44; Lavalle and Di Matteo in ibid., 237–52.
35. Thuillier in Rome 1991, 94, 143–48 nn. 12, 13, colorpls. 12, 13.
36. Brown and Elliott 1980, 77.
37. Longhi 1916, 263.
38. Bissell 1999, 253.
39. Ibid., 256–57.
40. D'Ambrosio 1973.
41. Bissell 1999, 257.
42. Contini in Florence 1991, 68.
43. Bissell 1999, 81.
44. For the critical history of this problem, see ibid., 258.
45. Ibid., 81, 259 no. 33a.
46. Schütze and Willette 1992, 21, colorpl. 3, 193 no. A13.
47. Bissell 1999, 258–59; Barbone Pugliese in Conversano 2000, 141, colorpl. 52, 173.
48. Bissell 1999, 256–57; Barbone Pugliese in Conversano 2000, 114, colorpl. 34, 162. These two authors disagree on the dating of this work; Bissell puts it at about 1635 and Barbone Pugliese to the second half of the 1630s.
49. See Simonetti in Conversano 2000, 104, colorpl. 21, 153–54, for the critical history of this work.
50. Tzeutschler Lurie in Cleveland–Fort Worth–Naples 1984–85, 50–53 no. 1 (American ed.), 85–87 no. A.1 (Italian ed.).
51. Bissell 1999, 82–87.
52. Sotheby's, London, December 6, 1995, lot 53; see Bissell 1999, 266–67 no. 38, for the critical history of this painting.
53. Bissell 1999, 263–66 no. 37. The date of 1742 is deduced by Bissell from De Dominici 1742–44, vol. 3, 199, in his life of Domenico Gargiulo.
54. Bissell 1999, 267 no. 38.
55. Ibid., 85; Ryley Marshall 1993, 153–55 nos. VC-55, VC-56; Sestieri (in Sestieri and Daprà 1994, 91–92 nos. 21, 22) attributes these two works to a collaboration among Gargiulo, Codazzi, and Artemisia.
56. Bissell 1999, 84.

57. Contini in Florence 1991, 113.
58. Percy in Cleveland–Forth Worth–Naples 1984–85, 110–13 nos. 30, 31 (American ed.), 120–22 nos. A.21, A.22a–d (Italian ed.).
59. See Bissell 1999, 267–69 no. 39, for a critical history of the painting, which he attributes to Artemisia with the likely collaboration of Cavallino.
60. See ibid., 287–92 no. 49, for a critical history of the painting, which Bissell attributes to a collaboration between Artemisia and Cavallino.
61. Lattuada in Naples 1997–98, 150–69.
62. Bissell 1999, 245–47 no. 30.
63. Schütze and Willette 1992, 38, colorpl. X, 199 no. A28, 295, fig. 141.
64. Fassò 1956, 169–75, verses 840–1005.
65. "Pallidi sono certamente i personaggi maschili, in ispecie Mirtillo e Silvio, ma non le figure femminili, Amarilli, Dorinda, Corisca: delineate, le due prime, con la finezza e la sicurezza di tocco che nasce dalla conoscenza dell'animo muliebre, incisa, la terza, con uno scaltro bulino che ne ha fatto una vera creazione. Corisca, la lusingatrice cinica ed esperta, che proclama senza veli il suo sensuale ardore, e pur sa elevarlo al grado di passione, e che poi, delusa, riesce sì a vendicarsi con la calunnia e con l'inganno, ma anche sa redimersi da ultimo davanti alla felicità che l'amato raggiunge. Corisca, dico, è la figura più felice della tragicommedia, e prelude, con la sua complessità psicologica, al dramma moderno. La scena in cui beffa il Satiro brutale è stata definita, a ragione, la più perfetta del dramma; ma si può aggiungere che tutte le volte che Corsica è in scena il poeta drammatico fa le sue prove migliori." Ibid., xiv.
66. Garrard 1989.
67. Vsevolozhskaia and Linnik 1975, colorpl. 72; Vsevolozhskaia and Kostenevich 1984, 250 n. 143; Schütze and Willette 1992, 213 no. A55, 323, fig. 194.
68. Schütze and Willette 1992, 213.
69. Bissell 1999, 284–85 no. 48a.
70. Lattuada 2000, 202–3 no. E26, colorpl. E26.
71. Ibid., 232–33 nos. E52, E53, colorpl. E53.
72. Ibid., 179–81, colorpl. E9.
73. Schütze and Willette 1992, 213 no. A56.1, 322, fig.192; Lattuada 2000, 281–83 no. G69.
74. See Lattuada 1991, for a preliminary catalogue of Pacecco de Rosa's work.
75. Leone de Castris in Naples 1994–95, 96–101 nn. 47–49, 104–7 nn. 51–52.
76. De Dominici 1742–44, vol. 2, 241.
77. Bologna in Salerno 1954–55, 64 n. 2; see Lattuada 2000, 272–73, for a summary of the bibliography for these two works.
78. Causa 1972, 956 n. 81.
79. Bologna in Naples 1991, 162–64 no. 142, fig. 147, 145–48, figs. 150–57.
80. Causa 1993.
81. Lattuada 2000, 271–72 no. G42, with earlier bibliography.
82. De Dominici 1742–44, vol. 3, 96–100. The doubts about the circumstances of the artist's death are conspicuous.
83. Novelli 1989.
84. De Dominici 1742–44, vol. 3, 97.
85. Salvatori 1999, an essay which is also useful for its numerous references to Artemisia Gentileschi.

72.

Annunciation

Oil on canvas, 101⅛ × 70½ in. (257 × 179 cm)

Signed (at lower right): Aertemitia Gentilischa F:1630

Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. Q375)

1630

Signed and dated 1630, this picture must serve as the standard for understanding Artemisia's early Neapolitan career. We don't know when the artist first arrived in Naples. On August 24, 1630, she posted a letter from Naples to Cassiano dal Pozzo in Rome. She may have been invited to Naples by Fernando Enríquez Afán de Ribera, third duke of Alcalá, as Garrard has posited, or gone there with expectations of further patronage from the duke, as Bissell (1999) has suggested. Given Alcalá's earlier interest in her work (he purchased three pictures from her in Rome, a *Penitent Magdalene* [cat. 68], *Christ Blessing the Children* [private collection, Rome; fig. 132]), and a *David with a Harp* [untraced]), it is highly plausible that he played a role in her decision to relocate to Naples.[1] In a second letter to Dal Pozzo dated a week later, Artemisia notes that she hopes to come to Rome soon to serve him but that she is currently working on some pictures for "the Empress."[2] Bissell (1999) conjectures that the artist must have arrived in Naples considerably earlier than August 1630 if she was already contemplating her departure. Indeed, her studio must have been set up, and we know that by August she was producing paintings for patrons. Her arrival can therefore be placed sometime in 1629 or early 1630, and the *Annunciation* may be among her earliest productions.

In a darkened interior, the angel Gabriel arrives amid a flourish of sumptuous gold and rose drapery and announces to the Virgin Mary that she will bear the son of God. Gabriel's words (as recounted in Luke 1:35), "[T]he power of the Highest shall overshadow thee," are made manifest in the image that Artemisia has created, as the splendor of the heavenly apparition overwhelms the humble clothing, paler tonality, and downcast gaze of the Virgin. Gabriel's left arm, dramatically thrust toward the descending dove, reinforces the angelic message, and a lily, symbol of the Virgin's purity, is emblematic of her celibacy and the exceptional nature of her pregnancy. Mary greets Gabriel with her left hand extended while she holds her right hand to her breast, in an expression of submission and maternity; Artemisia had used the same gesture in the Pitti *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. 58), and a somewhat more emphatic version adds dramatic tension to the Milan *Lucretia* (cat. 67).

The composition may have been inspired by an altarpiece completed in 1584 by Federico Barocci for the Della Rovere chapel in the basilica of Loreto. A kneeling Gabriel who looks up toward the kneeling Virgin is not a format typical of representations of the Annunciation, and this one may have been based on Barocci's design, which he repeated in an etching (fig. 139). The similar color scheme suggests that Artemisia may have known the altarpiece itself; it is



Figure 139. Federico Barocci (ca. 1535–1612), *Annunciation*. Etching. Saint Louis Art Museum

PROVENANCE: Francesco Saverio di Rovette, Naples (until 1815); Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

REFERENCES: Bissell 1968, 158–59 n. 50; Greer 1979, 199, 200; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, 147–50; Stoughton 1985, 193–94; Garrard 1989, 91, 92, fig. 92; Contini in Florence 1991, 65; Düsseldorf–Darmstadt 1995–96, 162–63; Bissell 1999, 56–57, 233–34 no. 24.



possible that she visited Loreto (a popular pilgrimage site) during her Venetian trip in 1627–28.

The painting's traditional iconography, and its sensitive and quiet tone, has made it less popular than her other work among art historians, but as it may have been commissioned for a Neapolitan church, these aspects would have been appropriate to the setting. Bissell (1968) first posited that it was a church altarpiece, although his suggestion that it was the unidentified painting by Artemisia mentioned in an order for removal from San Giorgio de' Genovesi in 1811 is not tenable, as he himself has acknowledged, since the altarpiece for that church, by Domenico Fiasella, is in situ, as it has been since it was installed.

Its newly cleaned state may help to revise our understanding of Artemisia's Neapolitan career. She uses, to some degree, a more Caravaggesque presentation, evident in the intense light and shadow and the convincing representation of the Virgin's gesturing left hand. A number of scholars have noted (Whitfield, Gregori, Bissell 1999) that it may have been a climate more receptive to Caravaggism that led Artemisia to relocate to Naples, although her art of the 1620s is not necessarily marked by a total embrace of Caravaggio's style. Contini describes the painting as exemplifying a new style, and in many ways it does augur some characteristics of the artist's manner of the next decade; its looser, sometimes cursory handling of paint reappears in other works of the 1630s, most notably the *Clio* (cat. 75). Artemisia is already demonstrating the interest in lavish coloration and decorative drapery treatment that has been associated with the second period of her Neapolitan career. Bissell (1999) posits that this decorative richness may derive from a renewed acquaintance with Florentine art during the late 1620s, although some elements of the florid drapery style may have been influenced by her Roman experience; Gabriel's rich costume calls to mind some of the last works created by Simon Vouet before he departed Rome to return to Paris, as Gregori has noted. The handling of the angel's drapery also recalls a painting that Artemisia may have known while she still lived in Rome; in 1627, prior to leaving for Venice, Vouet painted *Time Vanquished by Hope, Love, and Beauty* (Prado, Madrid), in which animated garments cling to the bodies of the female protagonists and the figure of Venus is encircled by a band of drapery painted in the same color scheme as Gabriel's sash. And Gabriel's open left hand may have been inspired by the airborne angel in Caravaggio's *Seven Acts of Mercy* (Pio Monte della Misericordia, Naples), an altarpiece that had profound impact on Neapolitan artists of the early seventeenth century. During the decade of the 1630s, Artemisia seems to combine this interest in rich color and bold decorative effects with an often intense naturalism and the use of dramatically selective lighting to meet the demands, in at least this case, of imagery especially suitable for religious devotion.

1. The *Christ Blessing the Children* was in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art until 1979, when it was sold at Sotheby's, New York, to a collector in Italy; see Lattuada, pp. 380–81.
2. The letter, translated into English, is reprinted in Garrard 1989, 377–78.

73.

Penitent Magdalene

Oil on canvas, 25¾ × 19¾ in. (65.7 × 50.8 cm)

Private collection

ca. 1630–32

One of the newest additions to the oeuvre of Artemisia Gentileschi, this picture was first identified by Burton Fredericksen in the 1980s. It was published by Bissell in his recent catalogue raisonné, but has not as yet had the scholarly vetting that many other attributions have received. Papi has also expressed support for the picture. Several stylistic features argue persuasively for attribution to Artemisia, including the physiognomy (particularly the mouth and nose), hand gesture, and somewhat muted palette of ochre and pale rose. Especially when viewed together with the Naples *Annunciation* (cat. 72), this picture must be accepted as having been produced by the same hand.

Like the scenes from the life of Mary Magdalene—at the Crucifixion, at Christ's tomb after the Resurrection, the drying of Christ's feet with her hair—single images of the saint were also widely produced in seventeenth-century Italy. Guido Reni, or his studio, may have executed as many as fifteen such pictures, while there are over twenty attributed to Guercino. Most of these pictures show a half-length figure of the Magdalene, with her hand held against her chest and either gazing heavenward or with her eyes downcast, and surrounded by objects of meditation—a book, a human skull, a crucifix (the *Golden Legend* tells us that her meditational focus was Christ's Passion). These images were, for the devout, simple aids to contemplation, a function reflected in a popular devotional treatise published in 1611 by the Capuchin preacher Michelangelo da Venezia: "Who will ever be able to express fully the happiness of that soul who, imitating the glorious Magdalene, gives himself to the meditative life and with a burning spirit, through the practice of elevated contemplation, desires and procures for himself union with the sweet and beloved Jesus?"[1]

Whereas Artemisia's first representation of the Magdalene focuses on the saint's vigorous renunciation of sin and turn to contemplation (cat. 58), this later image focuses on the final, meditational period of her life, when she lived as a hermit in a grotto near Sainte-Baume, in France. Alone in a dark setting, she places her right hand on her breast and her left on the skull lying before her, gestures that refer to the dual stages of her life, her early devotion to sensual pleasures and her later renunciation of worldly vanity.

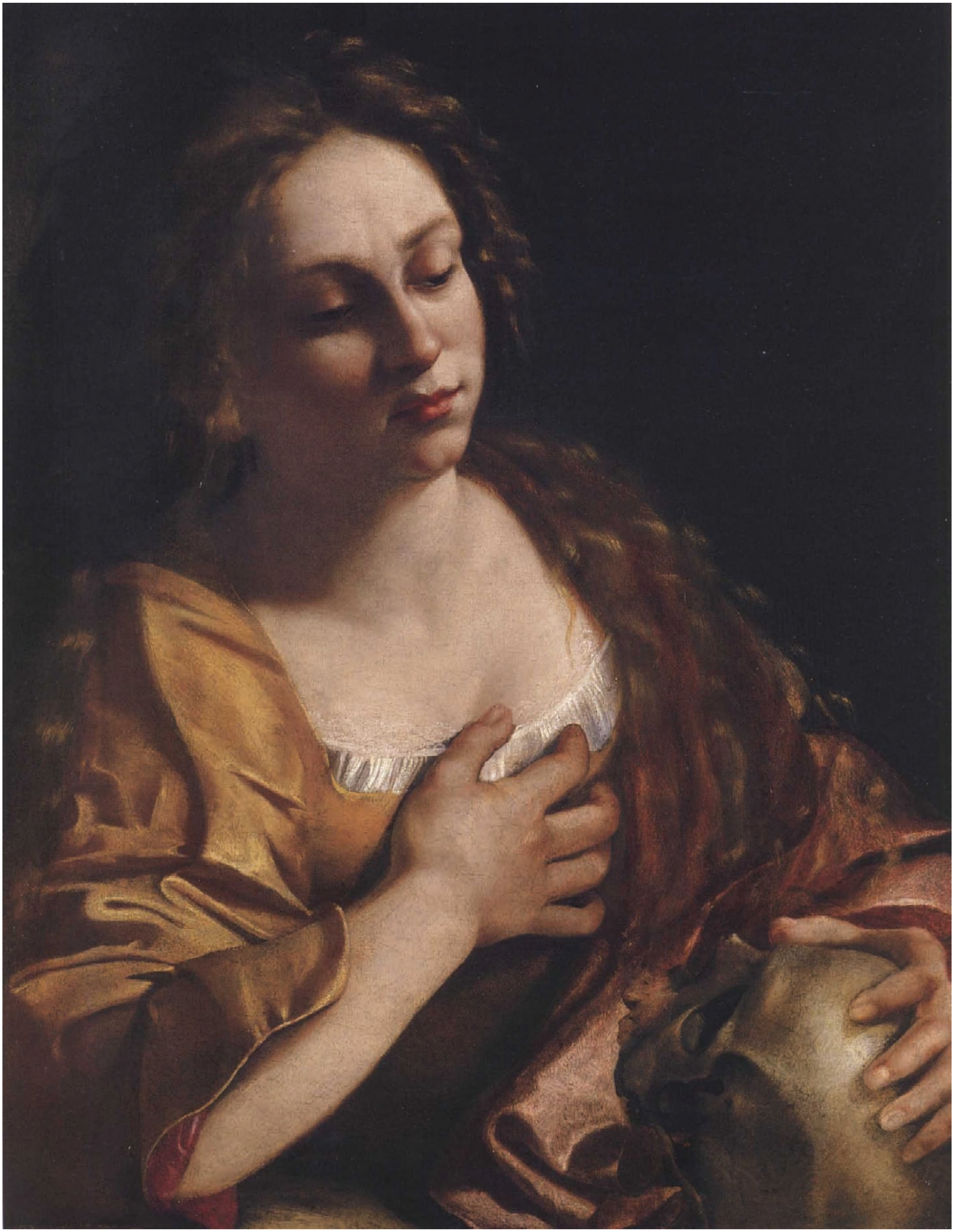
The similarity in the gesture of her right hand and that of the Virgin in the Naples *Annunciation* may not be simply stylistic but may indicate an intended association of the Magdalene with her namesake, the Virgin Mary, based on a perception of her as the "other" Mary, whose sin, though forgiven, made her a more appropriate model for those in search of redemption.[2]

Bissell has suggested placing the *Penitent Magdalene* in Artemisia's Florentine period, comparing the head of the Magdalene with Judith in the Naples *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. 55) and the "rosy complexion, small bow mouth, and dimpled chin" with those of figures in other paintings, including the *Self-Portrait as a Female Martyr* (cat. 56), the Pitti *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. 58), and the *Allegory of Inclination* (fig. 110). However, the Naples Judith has more highly defined cheekbones, smaller eyes, and a sharper nose, while the general configuration and physiogomy, pose, and expressive nature of the Magdalene are more in accordance with Artemisia's Neapolitan paintings. The similarity of Mary Magdalene to the Virgin Annunciate in the Naples painting, dated 1630, offers strong support for a dating of about 1630–32, and, when examined in the context of Artemisia's other images of the Penitent Magdalene (cat. nos. 58, 68), demonstrates the more pious, conservative turn that can be observed in her work after she relocated to Naples around 1630. Papi has also endorsed placing the picture among the Neapolitan works.

Artemisia may have been familiar with a version of a nearly identical composition by the Florentine painter Lodovico Cardi (Il Cigoli), who completed a painting of the Penitent Magdalene in Rome about 1610 (fig. 140). The two pictures share not only composition

PROVENANCE: Sale, Los Angeles (mid-1970s); private collection.

REFERENCES: Bissell 1999, 208–9 no. 9; Mormando 1999, 119–20; Papi 2000, 450–52.



but also the Magdalene's hair treatment, her focus on a skull in the lower right, and her contemplative demeanor. Cigoli's painting, however, displays a more sumptuous detailing of the dress and chemise, and Mary appears made up—both features one expects from a Florentine painter in the early years of the seicento. Cigoli's painting, though similar in external form, demonstrates how far removed Artemisia's *Magdalene* is from the sensibility of early-seventeenth-century Florentine painting.

1. Mormando 1999.
2. The contemporary theologian Francis of Sales notes this association between the Magdalene and the Virgin Mary when he says that they were both vehicles for prayer in his sermon for the Feast of Saint Mary Magdalene, delivered on July 22, 1621. He discusses the two Marys in these terms, writing, "It is these two grand queens, your mistresses and protectresses, which you should know [,] the sacred Virgin Mary your Mother, and Mary Magdalene, who are both named Mary"; in Sales 1892, 96.

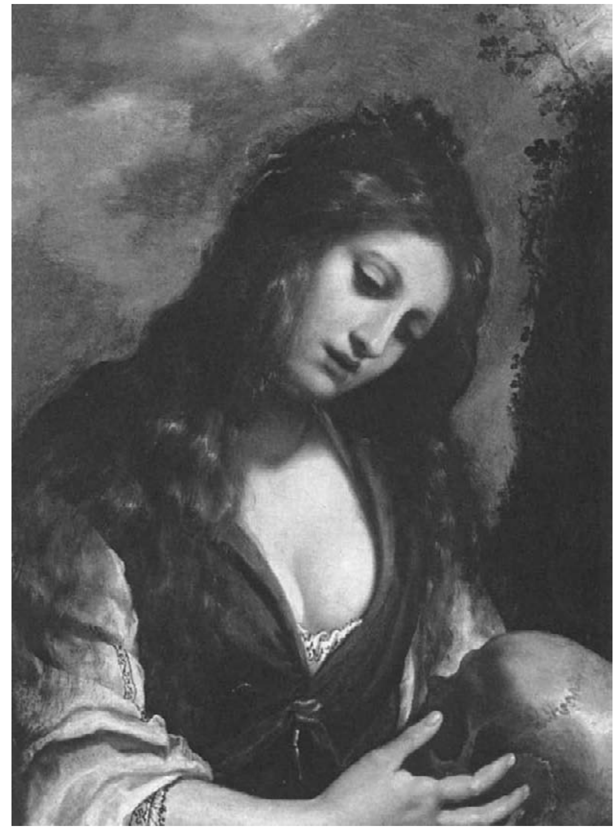


Figure 140. Lodovico Cigoli (1599–1613), *Penitent Magdalene*. Oil on canvas. Cassa di Risparmio di San Miniato

74.
Corisca and the Satyr

Oil on canvas, 61 × 82⅝ in. (155 × 210 cm)

Signed (on a tree at right): ARTIMISIA / GENTILES / CHI.

Private collection

1630–35

A recent addition to Artemisia's oeuvre, this painting was unknown until 1989, when Novelli published it as an Annella de Rosa of the 1630s. The painting appeared at auction the following year and entered a private collection, where it remains today. Identified by Garrard as "the kind of narrative that seems to have appealed to Artemisia," this picture does indeed portray a heroine who outwits her male tormentor. The subject is based on a popular play originally published in the late sixteenth century, Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido*, a work that, as Garrard notes, was usually read rather than performed. The particular scene that Artemisia has depicted is from act 2, scene 6, in which a lustful satyr pursues the nymph Corisca and finally catches her, holding fast to her hair. A struggle ensues, and Corisca emerges the victor, as she is wearing a hairpiece that eventually ends up in the hand of the satyr, allowing her to escape.

Using standard visual language to represent triumph, Artemisia portrays a running Corisca, a majestic figure whose richly colored golden gown and rose-colored

Provenance: Private collection, Naples (1989; sale, Christie's, Rome, March 8, 1990, lot 129, as by Massimo Stanzione); private collection.

References: Longhi 1916, 308; Novelli 1989, 149, 151–52; Rocco in Naples 1991–92, 326 no. 2.97; Garrard 1993, 34–38; Bissell 1999, 245–47 no. 30.

cape offer some of the most beautiful passages of drapery that the artist ever painted. She towers above the kneeling and defeated satyr, rubbing her head where the hairpiece has been dislodged. The composition is a masterly achievement, aligned along an extended diagonal arc from the satyr's left arm, through his torso, head, and right arm, and beyond Corisca's billowing cape (see also Lattuada pp. 386–87).

Garrard argues that the subject represents Artemisia's gendered interpretation of the story, seeing in Corisca not the more prevalent example of a wily and deceiving female (in the play she is lustful and immoral) but rather the "bold woman who wrought havoc in Arcadia and got away with it." She suggests that Artemisia perceives Corisca's situation as parallel to her own sexual history. Bissell questions this identification by the artist with the nymph, noting that the viewer would undoubtedly have been aware of the negative connotations of the heroine and not found in her a positive model of resistance to male oppression. Indeed, it remains difficult to judge Artemisia's intent in the *Corisca* until the circumstances of patronage are known. Bissell is certainly correct in his assertion that it must have been made on commission, especially given how seldom the story seems to have inspired visual representation; extant paintings are overwhelmingly Northern; few Italian examples exist. Artemisia seems to have stayed very close to the details of the story, dressing Corisca in the gown and open-toed buskins that the satyr had earlier stolen for her. Scholars are still not certain of Artemisia's education and the extent of her knowledge of contemporary literature. It would thus seem far more likely that a patron requested the subject rather than Artemisia's having selected it on her own.

The painting has been generally dated to the 1630s, with Rocco placing it in the first two years of the decade, while Bissell dates it to about 1633–35. Garrard assigns it to the second Neapolitan period, during the early 1640s. A date in the early 1630s seems warranted. Both Bissell and Rocco note the similarities between Corisca's gown and the sumptuous drapery and palette of the angel Gabriel in the 1630 *Annunciation* (cat. 72). A similar association can also be made to the clothing in the *Esther Before Ahasuerus* (cat. 71). Bissell points to the Riberesque character of the satyr, likening it to the satyr in the Prado *Ixion*, and reiterates the relationship of Stanzione in the figure of Corisca. Rocco was the first to note an echo of Simon Vouet in the naturalistic yet simplified rendering of Corisca's head. Certainly Artemisia maintained a close relationship with Vouet during the 1620s in Rome, and similarities can be detected in a number of their works. Vouet's 1633 etching the *Holy Family with a Bird*, made in Paris, features a woman with a profile not unlike that of Corisca.[1] Corisca's pose can also be compared with that of Guido Reni's Dejanira in his *Nessus and Dejanira* (Louvre, Paris), painted around 1621 in Bologna for the duke of Mantua. It seems hard to believe that Artemisia was not familiar with this figure in some form—although we do not know that she saw it in either Mantua or Bologna, and the painting was not engraved until the 1660s—but the advancing pose of the nymph, with her left foot forward as she turns back to look over her shoulder, echoes the pose of Dejanira in Reni's work.[2] Other scholars have also noted Reni's apparent influence on Artemisia, beginning with Roberto Longhi's pioneering article of 1916.[3]

1. For the etching, see Crelly 1962, 231 no. 161, fig. 50.
2. Artemisia's *Aurora* (fig. 96), dating probably to the 1620s (Bissell 1999, no. 15), demonstrates the same free and expressive approach, where a female figure is posed so that it charges the surrounding space—another instance in which Artemisia took Reni's work as her model.
3. Longhi 1916, 308.



75.
Clio, Muse of History

Oil on canvas, 50 × 38⅜ in. (127 × 97.5 cm)

Signed (in book): [1]632 / ARTEMISIA / [F]aciebat / All [?] illstr mo isg [nre] tr [in monogram] osier [s?]

Private collection

1632

PROVENANCE: Oswald T. Falk, Oxford; C. R. Churchill, Colemore, Alton, Hampshire; London and New York art markets (since 1943); Arcade Gallery, London (1955); Sotheby's, London, February 26, 1958, lot 55; Wildenstein (1958); private collection (1997).

REFERENCES: Fröhlich-Bume 1940, 169; Harris in Los Angeles 1976–77, 122; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, 147; Garrard 1989, 92–96, 384, 514 n. 191, figs. 84, 85; Florence 1991, 66, 84 nn. 14, 15, 165 n. 24, 67, fig. 50; Rowlands in New York 1995–96, no. 2; Bissell 1999, 239–41 no. 27, 367 under no. L-30.

Signed and prominently dated, this painting was unquestionably made during the early years of the artist's first stay in Naples. A statuesque woman dressed in a bluish green mantle with richly textured rust-colored sleeves worn over a lace-edged linen chemise stands with her left hand on her hip and her right hand resting on a trumpet. She wears a crown of laurel leaves, and to her right lies an open book with a legible inscription. Garrard, Bissell, and Rowlands have reconstructed the inscription as "1632 Artemisia faciebat all'Illustre M., smemorato Rosiers / 1632" (1632 Artemisia made this for the Illustrious M., in memory of Rosiers / 1632). These scholars have related it to the fourth duke of Guise, Charles of Lorraine (1571–1640), who ruled Lorraine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and employed as maître d'hôtel a nobleman named Antoine de Rosières, who died in 1631. We know that Artemisia worked for the duke of Guise, since she wrote in a letter on October 9, 1635, to the astronomer Galileo Galilei that the duke had paid her 200 *piastre* for a painting.[1] The Rosières of the inscription, however, is more likely to have been François de Rosières (1534–1607), who had been under the protection of the cardinal of Guise and had written a history of the duchy that traced its origins to the time of Charlemagne. Based on spurious sources, the work so offended Henry III that he imprisoned Rosières in the Bastille; he was released—in 1583—only on the intervention of the duke of Guise. It is likely, as Bissell suggests, that in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Rosières's death in 1607, the duke commissioned a work in his honor.

How the duke came to commission the painting from Artemisia is unknown, although the fact that she mentions payment for the work in her letter to Galileo may be a clue. We do know that the duke requested and received permission to leave France in 1631. Guise had supported Marie de' Medici in her dispute with her son Louis XIII, and in so doing had roused the ire of the powerful Cardinal Richelieu. By applying for permission and undertaking a pilgrimage to Loreto, an important religious site, the duke in essence escaped to Italy. He later moved to Tuscany to take up permanent residence. In Tuscany, he may have met Galileo, who, in turn, referred him to the services of his friend Artemisia Gentileschi.

Previously known under the title *Fame*, this painting may have been altered by the artist to represent Clio. Cesare Ripa's 1625 edition of the *Iconologia* describes Clio, the Muse of History, as carrying a book and a trumpet and wearing a laurel crown, all elements of this portrayal. The attributes of Fame also include a trumpet, but the figure usually has wings, holds an olive branch, and wears a gold chain with a heart pendant. Recent cleaning has revealed the presence of wings in an earlier version (visible in the darkened areas at the shoulders), and it appears that the figure's left hand may once have held an olive branch.

The prominent signature may be Artemisia's own gloss on the notion of celebrity. The chief attribute of Fame is the book into which the names of noted individuals are recorded. Clio is usually depicted carrying a closed book, but Artemisia may have included an open book in her original rendition, one that she later retained when she changed the iconography. Artemisia has not only inscribed the name of Rosières, to whom the painting is dedicated and the patron's honoree; she has also signed the picture herself, thereby entering her own name into the book of Fame. The placement of the book, open for both Clio and the viewer to read, establishes a more interactive relationship between the viewer and the subject, whose statuesque pose and distant gaze do not otherwise invite the viewer's approach. In a similar reading, Garrard notes that the three-way relationship between Clio, Rosières, and the artist is, in effect, a commentary on the Renaissance notion of the pivotal role of the artist in the establishment of fame, while Hersey maintains that the picture serves as evidence that Artemisia was concerned about her own fame.



The relationship of this picture to a citation in a seventeenth-century inventory of the English royal collection has yet to be sorted out. Abraham van der Doort, the keeper of pictures and antiquities to Charles I, recorded a similar painting by Artemisia, "Done by Artemesio Gentellesco Item a woemans picture in some bluish draperie . . . with a trumpett in her left hand Signifying ffame with her other hand having a penn to write being uppon a Straining frame painted uppon Cloath. Hight 3 f 3–Breadth 2 f 5." Inventory descriptions are notoriously inaccurate, but the absence of a pen in the present painting and the discrepancy in size between the two pictures have led scholars to discount the inventoried painting as being the same as the *Clio*. Garrard and Fröhlich-Bume have suggested that the inventory entry describes a reduced copy.

The dark tonality of the picture, in which velvety rust complements a cooler dark green, lends a somber air to the statuesque figure. Harris comments on the "bravura" handling of paint, most clearly evident in the freedom and surety with which the edges of the green drapery and folds along the shoulder have been defined. The tighter, more meticulous technique of many of Artemisia's paintings executed in the 1620s (the *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* [cat. 66] or the Seville *Penitent Magdalene* [cat. 68], for example) has yielded to a looser, and perhaps more showy, application of paint.

The picture sustained some damage when it was first transferred to an oak panel in the eighteenth century. It was returned to a canvas support prior to the 1976 "Women Artists" exhibition and now displays surface cracking. It is trimmed along the left side.

1. The original letter can be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Mss. Gal., P.I.T. XIII, car. 269–70. It is published in English translation in Garrard 1989, 383–84.

76.
Cleopatra

Oil on canvas, 46⅛ × 69⅛ in. (117 × 175.5 cm)

Private collection, Rome

ca. 1633–35

PROVENANCE: Matthiesen Fine Art Ltd., London (1982–1988?); private collection, Rome.

REFERENCES: Gregori in Naples 1984–85, 306; Grabski 1985, 56–63; Matthiesen in London 1986, 49–52; Garrard 1989, 105–6, 274–76; Contini in Florence 1991, 70, 73; Bissell 1999, 50, 53, 230–31 no. 22.

In this, perhaps Artemisia's second representation of Cleopatra, the artist is unusually faithful to Plutarch's story. Plutarch recounts the arrival of Octavian's soldiers to find Cleopatra's body. Artemisia has selected the moment just preceding, when the maidservants Charmion and Iras have discovered the deceased queen and have not yet replaced the crown on her head. No evidence of the asp's bite is found on her body. The reclining figure of Cleopatra is tilted forward toward the picture plane and presented invitingly to the viewer. In the background, Iras and Charmion enter the closed chamber. The first maidservant registers no response; the second wipes tears from her eyes. But otherwise, neither shows any visible shock or horror. The jeweled crown and tasseled



Figure 141. Roman, third century A.D., *Sleeping Ariadne*. Marble. Museo Vaticano



velvet pillow suggest regal adornment, and the fig basket of Plutarch's story has been changed to one of flowers.

Rarely, however, did artists follow the details of the story so closely, and the discovery of Cleopatra (either by Octavian's soldiers or by her own attendants) is seldom isolated for representation. The French artist Jacques Blanchard, whose 1630 painting (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rheims) portrays Cleopatra discovered by the soldiers, is among the very few. Most painters present Cleopatra as a tormented sexual temptress, placing the serpent (sometimes two) on her bared breast; she is not usually attired in royal garb, and few artists follow Plutarch's description of the snake as biting her arm.

There is general consensus that the original idea for the composition derived either from Orazio's *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 35), made in Genoa in the early 1620s, or from Claude Mellan's 1629 engraving (which may in turn have been based on Orazio's painting), with which it has a closer formal affinity.[1] Particularly noteworthy is Artemisia's use of the stiffened, slightly unnatural pose to convey the early stages of rigor mortis that have set in, suggesting that Cleopatra's death was indeed a solitary event and that only later was she discovered by her faithful maids. The fallen crown reminds us that Charmion, when discovered later by the Roman soldiers, was in the act of replacing it upon Cleopatra's head. It is very likely that Artemisia intended to refer to the most famous antique

image of Cleopatra then in Rome, a sculpted reclining figure now known as the *Sleeping Ariadne* (fig. 141) but believed, in the seventeenth century, to represent the Egyptian queen.

Having been initially attributed to Massimo Stanzione, the *Cleopatra* was first published as by Artemisia by Gregori, and accepted at that time by Schleier, Spinosa, Matthiesen, and Bologna; this attribution has since gained wide acceptance. The painting has been dated by many scholars to Artemisia's first Neapolitan period, the most notable exception being Bissell, who dates it to the 1620s, having found its eroticism more acceptable in the ambience of Rome and Venice than Naples and noting the Titianesque brushwork in the bedclothes. Grabski notes the picture's general Neapolitan character, citing its affinities with Ribera's *Drunken Silenus* (Capodimonte, Naples), as well as its logical placement within the Neapolitan naturalistic tradition, first established by Caravaggio and then carried on in the work of Caracciolo. Furthermore, correspondences exist between this picture and other works that date to Artemisia's first Neapolitan period. Cleopatra's pose, for example, has been compared with that of the foreshortened head in Artemisia's *Esther Before Ahasuerus* (Contini, Gregori, Garrard; cat. 71), as well as to the physiognomy of Saint Nicea in one of the paintings for Pozzuoli cathedral (fig. 143). The conception and execution of Iras and Charmion have been likened to those of the kneeling maid in the Columbus *David and Bathsheba* (cat. 80) and the servant with rolled-up sleeves in the Prado *Birth of Saint John the Baptist* (Garrard; cat. 77). The similarity in expressive tone between the *Cleopatra* and Ribera's 1637 *Pietà* (Certosa di San Martino, Naples) reinforces the argument that it was made in Naples rather than Rome.

Artemisia places the two maids directly at the center of the composition, and contrasts the rich blue of Cleopatra's drapery against the muted ochre coloration of Charmion's dress. This combination of colors also marks the Columbus *David and Bathsheba* and the Toledo *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 78), and the carefully balanced composition fits in well with other paintings of the middle years of the 1630s. While many works from the 1620s are now lost, surviving examples testify to an artist who is still drawn to Baroque drama and compositional majesty (both absent here), evident in the Seville *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 68) as well as in the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. 69).

Garrard suggests that by replacing the basket of figs with a basket of flowers, Artemisia introduces the idea of rebirth, recalling Cleopatra's association with the Egyptian earth goddess, Isis. While Artemisia seems to have been well aware of a broad range of visual traditions that she continually introduces into her works—she may even have read some of the literary texts herself—we have little evidence to suggest that she was acquainted with the broader associations and metaphoric allusions of her protagonists.

The canvas is in generally good condition. The blue in the heroine's drapery has had some chemical interaction, and darkening in the shadows has eliminated the original sense of background space. There has been some loss in the glazing of Cleopatra's skin.

1. Bissell (1999, 230) argues that the pose is based primarily on Mellan's print, which is in turn based on a lost Roman work by Orazio. Matthiesen mentions only Artemisia's use of her father's image. Scholars who maintain that Artemisia used both the print and her father's painting include Contini and Gregori.



77.
Birth of Saint John the Baptist

Oil on canvas, 72½ × 101⅝ in. (184 × 258 cm)

Signed (on piece of paper at lower left): ARTEMITIA / GINTILES

Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (inv. P149)

ca. 1633–35

Rome, New York

The story of John the Baptist is told in Luke 1:5–80. The priest Zacharias and his wife, Elizabeth, are old and childless. While Zacharias is performing his service in the temple, the angel Gabriel appears and tells him that his wife will bear him a son. Incredulous, Zacharias asks Gabriel how he could know such a thing and the angel, angered that Zacharias does not believe him, strikes him dumb. When the child is born, the neighbors and midwives announce that he will be called Zacharias, after his father. But Elizabeth protests, and names him John. Because no one in the family bore that name, the midwives appeal to the mute Zacharias, who motions for a writing tablet to be brought to him; upon the tablet, he inscribes the words "His name is John."

Artemisia has followed a formula in use at least since the eleventh century for the representation of this scene from the life of Saint John.[1] On the left, the elderly

Elizabeth reclines on her bed, attended by a servant, while in front of her Zacharias writes the words of the naming. The central focus, however, is the group of midwives who tend to the bathing and swaddling of the infant. This emphasis on the bath and its implication of ritual is not unlike that found in most images of the birth of the Virgin Mary, a subject with a similar representational tradition. It is appropriate for an event with a popular feast day and undoubtedly alludes to the role of Saint John in the baptizing of Christ.

The painting is one of a series of six pictures. The Neapolitan painter Massimo Stanzione made four of them, the *Annunciation to Zacharias*, *Saint John Taking Leave of His Parents* (fig. 133), *Saint John Preaching*, and the *Beheading of Saint John* (all Prado, Madrid), while another Neapolitan artist, Paolo Finoglia, painted the sixth scene, now missing, *Saint John in Prison*. It remains uncertain if the event of primary importance in John's life, the Baptism, was included in the cycle. If so, as Bissell (1999) and Vannugli argue, it was probably an earlier painting integrated into the group.

Ever since Roberto Longhi wrote of the painting's effective re-creation of a domestic interior, in his pivotal article of 1916, it has generally been acknowledged to be an important example of Artemisia's Caravaggesque, tenebrist leanings. The figures appear to emerge out of darkened shadows, although the poor state of preservation perhaps intensifies this sense of chiaroscuro. Details of the floor tiles, the simple furniture, and the fabric textures add to the sense of observed individuals performing everyday tasks. Andrea Sacchi, who depicted the same scene in the early 1640s for the baptistry of the church of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, represented Zacharias with a heavenward gaze, confronted by gesturing onlookers who respond to the divine intervention. No such acknowledgment of the miraculous appearance of Gabriel can be found in Artemisia's picture.

Garrard notes evidence of her reliance on the prototypes of Simon Vouet, whose *Circumcision of Christ* (Capodimonte, Naples) arrived in Naples in the 1620s, and Artemisia undoubtedly knew Vouet's heavily Caravaggesque *Birth of the Virgin* in the Roman church of San Francesco a Ripa. Vouet's realism and dramatic illumination combined with a carefully balanced composition and classical figural style come close to Artemisia's *Saint John*, since her naturalist conception has been tempered by a beautifully composed and balanced figural grouping and some of her most accomplished figures, such as the kneeling maid at the right. The beautifully realized tactility of the midwife's shawl combines a naturalist tendency in the rendition of texture and surface with a growing interest in the representation of opulent fabrics and richly appointed interiors.

Pérez Sánchez notes that Artemisia's naturalism is tempered with the influence of classicism, a phenomenon that emerges in much Neapolitan painting of the 1630s, while Vannugli describes the picture as a transitional work, between the Caravaggism and drama of Artemisia's paintings of the 1620s and her more elegant later works, which responded to Bolognese classicism. It has been noted, by Garrard and Bissell (1999), that Artemisia attempted to conform stylistically to the work of Stanzione, and indeed the physiognomies of the pensive maid and the attendant holding the baby are comparable. The biographer Bernardo de Dominici, writing in the eighteenth century, describes a close relationship between the two painters, and mentions that Artemisia was mentor to the older Stanzione. While De Dominici's assertion may not be altogether accurate (see Lattuada, p. 384), Garrard's observation that the two artists "appear to have met each other halfway in the interest of creating a harmonious ensemble" must certainly be correct.[2]

Artemisia's *Saint John* is first mentioned as in the palace of the Buen Retiro in Madrid in the 1650s together with Stanzione's pictures, and is believed to have been commissioned by the king of Spain, Philip IV, for a chapel dedicated to Saint John, though nothing certain is known of such a commission.[3] Artemisia, in a letter written in Naples in July 1635 to Grand Duke Ferdinand II de' Medici, tells her patron that she had to finish "some works" for "His Catholic Majesty" (meaning Philip IV).[4] No other pictures currently known by Artemisia could have been done for him, and most writers concur that the Madrid *Saint John* must be among the pictures to which she refers. We know that the paintings were commissioned in Naples, for in the same letter she says that the

PROVENANCE: Buen Retiro, Ermita de San Juan, Madrid; Palacio del Buen Retiro, Madrid (by the 17th century); Palacio Real Nuevo; Capilla de la Calle del Tesoro, Madrid (by 1772); Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (by 1820).

REFERENCES: Longhi 1916, 301; Pérez Sánchez 1965, 394, 452–54, 499; Bissell 1968, 161; Pérez Sánchez in Madrid 1970, 272–73 no. 83, 530–37 nos. 175–78; Brown and Elliott 1980, 67–68, 73 fig. 39, 79, fig. 42, 77, 78, fig. 46, 80–82, 89, 92, 123, 125, 217, 244, 251, 254, 263 n. 52, 264 n. 87, 266 n. 27; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, 304 no. 2.113; von Barghahn 1986, 29, 34, 152, 302, 306–8, 391–99, 447 n. 234, 533 n. 423; Garrard 1989, 97–99, 511 n. 163; Contini in Florence 1991, 67–70, 178; Vannugli 1991, 25–33; Vannugli 1994, 59–73; Bissell 1999, 249–56 no. 32.

viceroy had ordered the pictures on the king's behalf. Several scholars (Brown and Elliott, Gregori, Garrard) have identified this agent as Manuel de Guzmán, count of Monterrey and viceroy to Naples between May 14, 1631, and November 12, 1637.

The date of the commission is still not confirmed, although it has been placed between 1633 and 1635. Bissell (1999) posits that the paintings must have been under way before the artist made her claim of patronage in 1635. And a copy after Stanzione's *Annunciation to Zacharias*, by Francesco Guarino for the church of San Michele at Solofra, was painted in 1637. Paolo Finoglia must have already received his commission, which he presumably completed by 1635, when he departed Naples for Puglia, where he is documented in January 1635 and where he apparently stayed, precluding his having made his painting any later than that date. Garrard, followed by Contini, argues that the paintings must have been finished by 1633 and that they were part of a shipment sent by Monterrey from Naples to Spain in that year. (Monterrey also brought a second shipment with him when he returned in 1638, too late a date for the paintings to have arrived, given that Guarino had access to them in 1637.) Several writers have suggested that the Neapolitan architectural painter Viviano Codazzi must have inspired the open archway in the background of Artemisia's painting. Because he did not arrive in Naples until at least 1633 and is first documented as in the city in January 1634, if Artemisia did respond to Codazzi's work, she could not have completed the painting before 1634.

Bissell (1999) has suggested that the painting may have been completed by the middle of 1634. He has identified the space in which the cycle was installed as the chapel of the Hermitage of San Juan at the Buen Retiro, begun in the spring of 1633. He submits that the pictures were ordered then and shipped in November, although he acknowledges that it would have been difficult for them all to have been painted so quickly. Evidence that they were completed by 1634 is provided by a couple of factors. Artemisia's letter of July 1635 uses the imperfect tense in mentioning works she had done for the king, suggesting that a period of time had elapsed since she had painted them. Second, other pictures commissioned from Artemisia were finished by January 1635, and Bissell has assumed that the *Saint John* must have been finished well before these paintings were begun. This would mean that it was completed sometime in the earlier part of 1634.

1. For these early traditions, see Réau 1955–58, vol. 1, 443–47.
2. "Vita del Cavalier Massimo Stanzione," in De Dominici (1742–44) 1979, 45, describes how Stanzione went each day to watch Artemisia paint and how he attempted to imitate the "freshness of her beautiful color."
3. For hypothetical reconstructions of how the paintings were originally installed, see Vannugli 1994, 65–69; and Bissell 1999, 251–54. The present discussion of this commission is based largely on these works.
4. For the letter, see Fuda 1989, 170–71.

78.
Lot and His Daughters

Oil on canvas, 90¾ × 72 in. (230.5 × 183 cm)

The Toledo Museum of Art, Clarence Brown Fund (inv. 1983.107)

1635–38

New York, Saint Louis

The story of Lot and his daughters is told in Genesis (19:31–36). Following God's destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Lot and his two daughters flee, seeking refuge first in the town of Zoar and then in a cave. The daughters, realizing they will have no opportunity to marry and thus to ensure that their father will have male descendants, decide that their only hope is to ply their father with wine and seduce him. The first night, the older daughter makes her father drunk and lies with him; the younger daughter does the same on the second night. Both daughters become impregnated and give birth to sons.

Visual representations of this story proliferated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The subject offered an opportunity to portray erotic scenes of sensuous carousing, and Lot and his daughters were often shown in various stages of undress. The Dutch painter Hendrick Goltzius depicted all three figures completely nude, and his conception of the scene was hardly unusual. Seductive poses, strategic caresses, and suggestive gestures all served to carry the narrative message of the impending incestuous acts.

Artemisia's painting, by contrast, is an exemplar of restraint and illustrates how compositional grouping can convey narrative meaning. While Spinosa identifies the moment depicted as that when the daughters convince their father to drink wine, it is in fact after the act has been committed, as suggested by his embracing of his daughter, his less than upright stance, and the glass in his hand. Garrard has noted in the figure of Lot "a lack of full expressive definition," which may actually, with his drowsy gaze, be intended to represent a besotted state. The relationship between Lot and the daughter in yellow is subtly implied through the formal rhyming of their left legs. The second daughter, who approaches from the left with a wine jug and places her hand lightly on her father's shoulder, indicates that she, too, will soon begin a similar liaison. The artist, presumably Artemisia Gentileschi, has developed a repertoire of visual devices for suggesting the similarities of the situation while indicating that there remain differences in the specific stages of the incestuous relationships.

The authorship of this picture has been the subject of much animated debate, triggered in part by the appearance of the painting in an exhibition devoted to the work of Bernardo Cavallino, held in 1984–85 and organized by Ann T. Lurie and Ann Percy, where it was ascribed to Cavallino. In the catalogue, Spinosa notes that, interestingly, neither Lurie nor Percy endorses the Cavallino attribution. The work has been variously given to Antonio de Bellis or Francesco Guarino (Causa), Agostino Beltrano (Grabski), Annella de Rosa (Novelli), and Artemisia Gentileschi (Stoughton, Garrard). Spinosa raises the possibility of joint authorship, while Bissell assigns the major portion to Artemisia and identifies Cavallino's hand in the upper part of the figure of Lot. Bissell further suggests that Domenico Gargiulo painted the landscape. The Toledo Museum of Art has recently changed the attribution from Cavallino to Artemisia. (On the issue of collaboration, see Lattuada, pp. 384–86.)

Close affinities between this picture and the Columbus *David and Bathsheba* (cat. 80) support this attribution. The two paintings share color harmonies, and the diaphanous drapery of Lot's daughter on the right is echoed in the garment worn by one of Bathsheba's maids. Additionally, the physiognomy of the kneeling servant in the Columbus painting closely resembles that of the left-hand daughter in the present work. Beyond the similarities to the *Bathsheba,* the painting can be related to other works by Artemisia from her first Neapolitan period, 1630 to 1638. The model for the right-hand daughter may also have been the model for the kneeling servant on the right in the Madrid *Birth of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 77). And the accomplished handling of the texture of the soft fabric of Lot's mauve shirt is analogous to the same effect in the dalmatic of Saint Proculus in the *Saint Januarius in the Amphitheater* (cat. 79).

PROVENANCE: Luigi Romeo, baron of San Luigi, Naples?; private collection, Switzerland; New York art market (1983); The Toledo Museum of Art.

REFERENCES: De Dominici (1742–44) 1979, 414–15; Percy in Cleveland–Fort Worth–Naples 1984–85, 16–17; Spinosa and Kopelman in Cleveland–Fort Worth–Naples 1984–85, 107–9 no. 29; Grabski 1985, 23–40; Stoughton 1985, 194; Garrard 1989, 123, 214–17; Novelli 1989, 152–53; Bologna in Naples 1991–92, 162; Contini in Florence 1991, 76, 79, 87 n. 86; Stolzenwald 1991, 94, fig. 58; Sestieri in Sestieri and Daprà 1994, 88; Bissell 1999, 267–69 no. 39.



These visual associations have some textual support in an eighteenth-century biography of Neapolitan painters written after 1740. Bernardo de Dominici mentions in his biography of Gargiulo a *Lot and His Daughters* by Artemisia Gentileschi that is discussed together with the *Bathsheba*. While it is not possible to relate this reference definitively to the present picture, the combination of strong affinities to Artemisia's work with this contemporary reference to the painting constitutes persuasive evidence in support of her authorship. To this should be added the anomalous situation that the painting poses within the oeuvre of Cavallino. Grand compositions of relatively large-scale figures are not common in Cavallino's work. While Cavallino may have been influenced by Artemisia's figures, these still find little echo in Cavallino's accepted paintings. Furthermore, and most to the point, the depiction of Lot and the two daughters lacks the dramatic liveliness normally so characteristic of Cavallino, what Stoughton describes as "nervous dynamism."[1] There are two additional versions of the Lot story that Cavallino painted, which represent radically divergent interpretations. While the Toledo painting exhibits elegant economy in its masterly rendering of a reserved composition, demonstrating the balance and return to classical ideals that is evidenced in Neapolitan painting from the 1630s, the *Lots* that we know Cavallino to have painted (for example, Louvre, Paris) are marked by bawdy carousing and playful eroticism; they are, as Bissell has noted, "ribald and low-life."

The painting is in good condition. The thinly applied pigment, in conjunction with a large proportion of medium to pigment, has resulted in the pink robe on Lot's knee and the lining of the left-hand daughter's skirt having become transparent glazes.

1. Grabski (1985, 25–26) develops this point thoroughly and demonstrates through diagrams that the kind of static composition found in the Toledo *Lot* is not characteristic of Cavallino. Percy also contends that the expressive sense of this *Lot*, its "unenergetic poses and composition," is quite different from the "dynamic, tightly knit organization" found in Cavallino's *Lot* in the Louvre.

79.
Saint Januarius in the Amphitheater

Oil on canvas, 118⅛ × 78¾ in. (300 × 200 cm)

Signed (lower right): Artemi . . . Gentilesc. / F

Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (on deposit from the cathedral at Pozzuoli)

1636–37

Saint Januarius in the Amphitheater is one of three paintings that Artemisia executed for the cathedral at Pozzuoli, a coastal town approximately seven miles west of Naples, along the bay. By 1631, when Martín de Leòn y Cárdenas was elected bishop of Pozzuoli, the cathedral had fallen into disrepair. Leòn y Cárdenas set out to refurbish the church, signing a contract in 1632. He also undertook the construction of a high altar, which was completed by 1636. Commissions were probably under way before the completion of the building, since one of the artists who contributed to the project, Paolo Finoglia, is documented as having left for Puglia in 1635, and scholars believe he remained there until his death in 1645. As noted in the bishop's report, the *Relatio ad limina* of 1640, eleven of the paintings that formed the decorative program for the choir, including the three canvases by Artemisia, were completed and installed by that date. These paintings, not mentioned in the *Relatio ad limina* of 1635, present scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary as well as from the lives of saints who had some particular connection to



Figure 142. Artemisia Gentileschi, *Adoration of the Magi*. Oil on canvas. Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples



Figure 143. Artemisia Gentileschi. *Saints Proculus and Nicea*. Oil on canvas. Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples

PROVENANCE: Cathedral at Pozzuoli (until 1964); Certosa di San Martino, Naples; Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (on deposit from the cathedral at Pozzuoli).

REFERENCES: Longhi (1916) 1961, 264, 277 n. 66; Brunetti 1956, 60, 63 n. 28; Bologna 1958, 127; Scavizzi 1963, 37 n. 26; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 100 n. 105, vol. 2, 74; Bissell 1968, 159–60; Whitfield in London 1982, 148, 166; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, 148, 150; Garrard 1989, 99–104, fig. 100; Stolzenwald 1991, 37, 40, pl. 29; Sestieri and Daprà 1994, 91–92; Bissell 1999, 256–59 no. 33b.



the history of Pozzuoli. In addition to this image of Saint Januarius, Artemisia made a *Saints Proculus and Nicea* (fig. 143) and an *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 142).

Januarius, the patron saint of Naples, was bishop of Benevento. In the year 305, he returned to his hometown, where with other Christians he was the victim of persecution imposed by the emperor Diocletian. He was accompanied by his deacon, Festus, and five other followers, Proculus, Socius, Desiderius, Eutyches, and Acutius. Timotheus, the ruler of Campania, where Pozzuoli is located, condemned the seven men to death, first by casting them into a fiery furnace and then by throwing them to the lions and bears in the amphitheater. Januarius tamed the animals, which, rather than attacking the Christians, licked their feet and left them unharmed. Timotheus, in a rage, had the men beheaded. Januarius's body was taken to Naples in the fifth century, and although the relics were moved elsewhere in the course of the following centuries, they were ultimately returned to Naples and interred in the cathedral. A vial of the saint's blood, also kept in the cathedral, has since 1389 miraculously liquified on the saint's feast day.

Artemisia has represented Januarius in the Roman amphitheater for which the city of Pozzuoli had become famous. The saint raises his right arm in benediction, making the sign of the cross over the two lions and bear in the lower right, while Proculus, the deacon of Pozzuoli, raises his hands to pray for divine intervention. Most scholars have noted the traditional and conservative composition that Artemisia has chosen. No evidence of the drama of the Detroit *Judith* (cat. 69) or the flair of her assured treatment of Gabriel in the 1630 *Annunciation* (cat. 72) appears here. Rather, she has placed Januarius at the center of the painting and dressed him in a simple cope over a beautifully rendered white linen alb. The iconography for images of Januarius was well established by this time; he is almost always shown wearing the golden bishop's miter seen here, and usually his cope is elaborately embroidered or fashioned from rich damask. Artemisia has opened the cope to focus on the simpler white linen, and selected a pose reminiscent of fifteenth-century images of the Madonna della Misericordia, in which the Virgin, invoked as protectress, raises her arms and spreads her cape to safeguard her followers. This analogy is reinforced by the manner in which the saint's followers surround him as they look to him to perform the miracle.

While Whitfield has suggested that this more balanced and conservative composition may have been Artemisia's response to Bolognese classicism (Domenichino and Guido Reni had worked in the cathedral of Naples, and Lanfranco was involved in the Pozzuoli commission), Garrard argues that Artemisia proves herself a steadfast adherent of Caravaggesque naturalism through her attention to an accurately rendered setting and the individualized treatment of the animals. Bissell (1999) has rightly pointed out that although we can no longer reconstruct the placement of the pictures in the cathedral, Artemisia was obviously responding to the requirements of the location in which her painting would be seen. We do know that the *Saint Januarius* was the middle painting along the left-hand wall of the choir, and the orientation of Januarius, who faces east, was designed to accommodate the picture to its site.

The painting has been carefully realized and, rather than a sense of Baroque drama, offers a comforting image of blessing by the local patron saint. The figures on the left look up in prayer, while Saint Januarius looks down to the animals at his feet. The austere format of Artemisia's other choir picture, the *Saints Proculus and Nicea* (fig. 143), suggests that Artemisia has chosen to provide devotional pictures for liturgical use. She does not, therefore, attempt to capture the horror of Januarius's confrontation with ferocious beasts. Artemisia's paintings of the 1630s demonstrate an impulse to use balanced, static compositions rather than the more explosive, active images of her earlier career.

Evidence provided by the bishop's report of 1640 gives a terminus ad quem for the completion of the picture. The commission probably was given to Artemisia in either 1634 or 1636, and most scholars have assigned to the three paintings a date of 1635–37, since she may have left Naples as early as 1638 to relocate in London. Gregori finds evidence in this painting of Artemisia's adaptation to the artistic environment of early seicento Naples, and has

noted similarities to the paintings of Aniello Falcone, Agostino Beltrano, and Artemisia's collaborator on the John the Baptist cycle, Massimo Stanzione.

The *Saint Januarius* appears to include the work of a second hand, detected in the handling of the amphitheater wall; opinions differ as to the painter's identity. Bologna and Garrard see the hand of Viviano Codazzi in the architecture, while Brunetti, Sestieri and Daprà, and Bissell have identified the collaborator as Domenico Gargiulo. We know through a contemporary biography that both painters worked with Artemisia in her later *David and Bathsheba* in Columbus (cat. 80).[1] The stylistic disparity in the background is not as obvious as in the Columbus picture, however, and Garrard's idea that Artemisia "gave the composition its final painterly unity" seems correct.

Pozzuoli cathedral was engulfed by fire in May of 1964, and many of its appointments were lost. The choir and high altar survived the blaze, as did the chapel of the Holy Sacrament. After the fire, the surviving paintings, the *Saint Januarius* among them, were moved to Naples and stored in the Certosa di San Martino before being transferred to the Capodimonte over the last several years. The painting was cleaned after the fire, at which time the signature was revealed, having been covered by a later, spurious signature. The picture has suffered through the centuries, with particular damage in the saint's left cheek and chin and some damage and repair in the cope and at the upper left.

1. Bernardo de Dominici ([1742–44], 1979, 414) described the *David and Bathsheba* in Columbus as including architecture painted by Viviano Codazzi and trees and background elements by Domenico Gargiulo.

80.

David and Bathsheba

Oil on canvas, 104½ × 82½ in. (265.4 × 209.5 cm)

Columbus Museum of Art (inv. 1967.006)

ca. 1636–38

While Artemisia is known for having made at least five versions of the story of Judith, she painted the biblical story of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam. 11, 12) perhaps as many as seven times. King David, unable to sleep, is strolling on the roof of his palace when he observes Bathsheba, the wife of the Hittite soldier Uriah (who is away at war), bathing in her garden. Attracted by her beauty, David dispatches messengers to summon her to his palace. When Bathsheba meets with him, he seduces her, after which she conceives. Hoping that the child would appear to be her husband's, David makes repeated but unsuccessful attempts to send Uriah home to his wife. Finally, the king orders him into battle, specifying to his commander that he be "set . . . in the forefront of the hottest battle . . . that he may be smitten, and die." Uriah is slain, and after Bathsheba's period of mourning, David takes her for his wife.

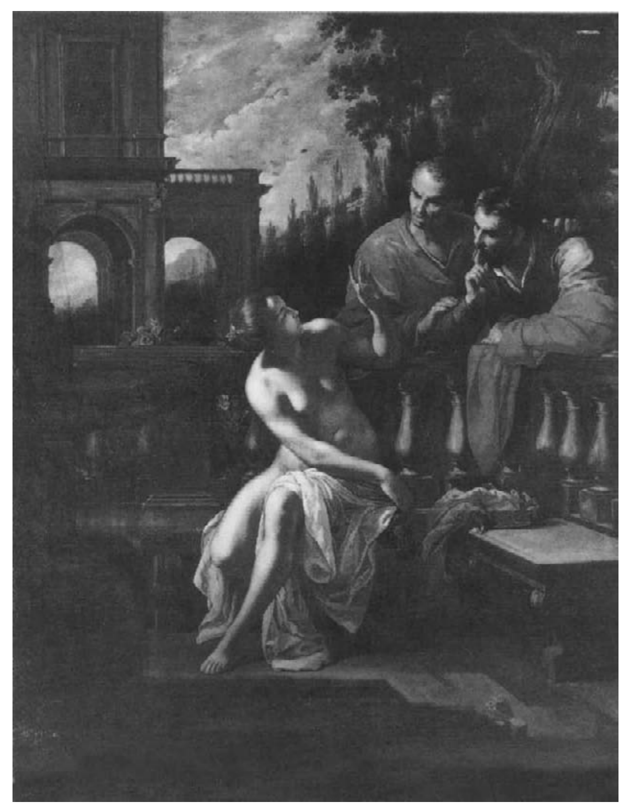


Figure 144. Follower of Bernardo Cavallino (bapt. 1616–?1656), *Susanna and the Elders*. Oil on canvas. Private collection



Gentileschi follows the popular preference, traditional since as early as the thirteenth century, for depicting David's first sight of Bathsheba at her bath. At the extreme upper left, David, resting his arm on the railing of his balcony, gestures toward his future wife. She, in turn, appears oblivious of his gaze as she turns toward her maidservant, who offers to her mistress a tray of jewelry. Bathsheba's expression, one of thoughtful reverie, imbues the painting with a sense of wistful contemplation.

The picture demonstrates the sophisticated construction of one of Artemisia's most accomplished works. The entire composition is defined by a strong central vertical formed by the side of David's palace and a comparable horizontal division provided by the balustrade. The figures introduce two sweeping diagonals. One, beginning with King David's gesture at the upper left, continues through the maid who combs Bathsheba's hair, through the angle of the chair, and is reinforced by the turn of Bathsheba's head. A second diagonal leads from the kneeling maidservant on the left, through Bathsheba's torso, and toward the attendant at the right. The composition, marked by elegant color harmonies of blue and gold and the sumptuous surfaces of the washbasin and water jug, becomes a carefully studied masterpiece of grace and rigor. Although Artemisia has certainly not avoided the theme of the bath and the pampered elegance of a wealthy woman, she has played down the sensual qualities of the heroine while still offering the viewer a commanding figure of the female nude. But she has not included a standard feature of Bathsheba iconography, a mirror, which is present in the five versions of the story, painted during the 1640s, one of which may not be autograph. The absence of the mirror allows the picture to focus more on Bathsheba's expression of thoughtfulness and less on her vanity or her role as an object displayed for the viewer's delectation.

The picture is first mentioned in 1742, by Bernardo de Dominici in his biography of Domenico Gargiulo, as being in the Neapolitan house of Luigi Romeo, baron of San Luigi. De Dominici describes it as primarily the work of Artemisia Gentileschi, with architecture painted by Viviano Codazzi and with trees and background by Gargiulo. Most writers have assumed that David's palace was painted by Codazzi, whose designs often include the multilayered application of architectural detail. Marshall has suggested that the foreground pavement and large balustrade may also have been painted by Codazzi. However, these elements appear in as many as six other paintings by Artemisia, and these offer no evidence of collaboration. The group attribution to Gentileschi, Codazzi, and Gargiulo of the Columbus *Bathsheba* has been accepted by most scholars, and it fits comfortably in a period when Artemisia was engaged in collaborative projects, including the three canvases for Pozzuoli cathedral (cat. 79) and the joint commission with Massimo Stanzione for Philip IV (cat. 77).

While De Dominici's reference confirms the work as a Neapolitan picture, opinions have been divided as to whether it was made shortly before Artemisia went to London, in 1638–39 (Bissell, Contini, Sestieri), or whether she completed the work immediately upon her return to Naples, in the early 1640s (Schleier, Garrard, Stolzenwald). Complicating the matter is a record of a final payment to Artemisia on May 5, 1636, of 250 ducats of a contracted 600 for three paintings, a *Bathsheba*, a *Susanna,* and a *Lucretia*, for Prince Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein.[1] Although the measurements given for the height of the Liechtenstein *Bathsheba* are larger than the Columbus picture, there remains the possibility that the latter was indeed a commission for the prince. However, as Bissell has noted, it seems unlikely that Artemisia would not have delivered a paid commission for such an important patron. Given the wide disparity between Artemisia's known oeuvre and the many documents and references to now lost or unknown paintings, it is more than likely that the Liechtenstein pictures were part of a different group, which are now lost. The date of the Liechtenstein payment indicates that in the 1630s Artemisia was working on groups of pictures for individual patrons, as Bissell has also suggested.

Dating the painting to the mid-1630s places it within a context of works with similar formal concerns and establishes this period as a high point in Artemisia's compositional refinement, echoed in the subtle balance of the *Cleopatra* (cat. 76) and the *Birth of Saint*

PROVENANCE: Luigi Romeo, baron of San Luigi, Naples (by 1742); Antiquario Tarchini, Rome; Carlo Sestieri, Rome (1960?); P. and D. Colnaghi, London (1962); Columbus Museum of Art (from 1967).

RELATED PICTURES: Neues Palais, Potsdam (autograph); formerly Ramunni collection, currently in private collection, Naples; ex-Leipzig (appears to be autograph); Palazzo Pitti, Florence (autograph); Gosford House, Scotland (destroyed); Haas collection, Vienna, horizontal format (very damaged condition; appears to be autograph; fig. 101).

REFERENCES: De Dominici (1742–44) 1979, 414; Richardson in Phillips 1976, 173–75; Schleier in London 1982, 47; Garrard 1989, 121–22; Contini in Florence 1991, 178–79; Stolzenwald 1991, 95; Marshall 1993, vol. 2, 153–55 no. vc55; Sestieri in Sestieri and Daprà 1994, 90–91 no. 22; Sotheby's, London, sale cat., December 6, 1995, lot 53; Bissell 1999, 82–86, 263–66 no. 37.

John the Baptist (cat. 77). Bissell compares the kneeling maidservant in the *Bathsheba* with the maid in the *Saint John*, and the maid holding the jewelry bears a strong resemblance to the seated Virgin in the Naples *Adoration* (fig. 142). As Bissell also notes, the *Bathsheba* does not share the more opulent appointments and overt emphasis on material richness that characterize the few paintings dating to the last decade of the painter's life, after she returned from London.

Bissell suggests that the picture may reflect the work of the young Bernardo Cavallino. Partly on the stylistic evidence of a *Susanna and the Elders* (fig. 144) that appeared on the London art market in 1995 (argued to be the painting pendant to the present canvas; see Lattuada, pp. 384–85), he posits the participation of Cavallino in both pictures. However, on the basis of photographs (I have not examined the *Susanna* first-hand), the attribution to Gentileschi seems problematic, although the figures of the elders appear to fit easily into the oeuvre of Cavallino (London 1995). Without a secure attribution of the *Susanna* to Artemisia, it is difficult to conjecture that Cavallino's participation in that painting suggests he worked with her on the *Bathsheba*. That need not rule out the possibility that the London picture records a now lost pendant to the Columbus canvas.

The painting has suffered a great deal and has undergone two substantial courses of restoration, the first in 1979 at the Intermuseum Conservation Association Laboratory at Oberlin, and the second in 1996 by Mark Tucker, of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The painting has three major tears that have been repaired, and the background landscape has suffered abrasion. Some of the colors have been absorbed, and areas of reworking in Bathsheba's chest, right knee, and left wrist have rendered those areas much flatter than they must originally have appeared.

1. "A Lorenzo Cambi e Simone Verzone D. 250. E per loro ad Artemisia Gentileschi, dite se li paghino a compimento di D. 300 che li altri D. 50 l'ha recevuti contanti, dite in conto di D. 600 che l'ho dato d'ordine dall'eccellentissimo principe Carlo de Lochtenten si li pagano per valore di tre quadri consistenti in una Betsabea, una Susanna et una Lucretia, ognuno del quale d'altezza d'undici palmi e mezzo da dare e consignare di tutto punto. E per lei all'Alfiere Costantino del Cunto per altritanti"; Nappi 1983, 76.

81.

Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting (La Pittura)

Oil on canvas, 38⅞ × 29⅝ in. (98.6 × 75.2 cm)

Signed (on right corner of tabletop): A.G.F.

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

1638–39

Saint Louis

An inventory of the "Pictures Statues Plate and Effects of King Charles I," drawn up between the king's execution in 1649 and the sale of his effects in October 1651, lists four pictures by Artemisia, including "A Pintura A painteinge" (An allegory of Painting in the act of painting) and "Arthemesia gentelisco. done by her selfe." Beginning with Michael Levey, whose 1964 catalogue of the later Italian paintings in the royal collections includes the picture, scholars have understood these citations as referring to a single work. However, as Bissell has now clarified, the two are given different valuations in the 1649 inventory and therefore the references must identify two separate items.

Certainly, this splendid picture must be associated with the inventoried "Pintura A painteinge," as it conforms convincingly to key elements of Cesare Ripa's description of *Painting* (*La Pittura*): "A beautiful woman, with full black hair, disheveled, and twisted in various ways, with arched eyebrows that show imaginative thought, the mouth covered with a cloth tied behind her ears, with a chain of gold at her throat from which hangs a mask, and has written in front 'imitation.' She holds in her hand a brush, and in the other the palette,

with clothes of evanescently colored drapery. . . ."[1] This painting is generally believed to be the work of Artemisia Gentileschi, and her initials, A.G.F. (the *F* most likely refers to some variation of the Latin verb *fecere*, meaning "to make"), appear at the corner of the foreground tabletop.

Because the picture has gained wide acceptance as a self-portrait (if not the self-portrait in the inventory), we must consider the possibility that the artist intended it to be self-referential. When compared with other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century self-portraits, it poses interesting problems. Artists' self-portraits as independent works developed in the fifteenth century and, as Woods-Marsden has argued, became vehicles for the affirmation of the artist's elevated status in society.[2] These portraits usually include the artist standing at an easel or seated at a desk, brandishing brushes or a palette, and sometimes holding a drawing (*disegno*), a reference to artistic inspiration, thereby emphasizing the intellectual rigor of the profession. A portrait in the Palazzo Barberini demonstrates the artist self-portrait at its most straightforward: a female artist stands at her easel, her palette in the left hand and a paintbrush in the right. She gazes toward the viewer as she applies finishing touches to the portrait of a man. Interestingly, a number of writers have attributed this picture to Artemisia, though it has most recently been given to the workshop of Simon Vouet.[3]

Not all subjects of self-portraits address the viewer directly, in spite of the required use of a mirror in their production. Titian employed this pose with particularly fine results in his impressive *Self-Portrait* from the 1550s in Berlin (fig. 145), which shows him staring off to the viewer's right, effectively denying his use of a mirror in the painting's execution. The early Baroque saw the creation of one of the most eloquent and novel self-portraits by any artist, a painting by Annibale Carracci (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg), in which his own painted self-portrait stands alone on an easel in a simple interior space.

There were noteworthy precedents for self-fashioning by female artists. Sofonisba Anguissola (ca. 1532–1625) and Lavinia Fontana (1552–1614) made impressive self-portraits: Anguissola's *Self-Portrait at the Easel* (Muzeum Zamek, Lancut), for example, and Fontana's *Self-Portrait in the Studiolo* (Uffizi, Florence). In both cases, they emphasize their noble status through refined costume and references to appropriate talents. Both women include within their repertoire self-portraits before a keyboard, in demonstration of their musical abilities, and both also portray books, attesting to their intellectual achievements. Fontana, who held a doctorate from the University of Bologna, depicts herself at a desk in her study, pen poised over paper, surrounded by sculpture.

The London *Allegory of Painting* does not fit easily into any of the established self-portrait types. The sitter does not address the viewer directly, and while such a pose is not mandatory, it is understandable why the compiler of the 1649 inventory may not have recognized the image as a portrait. Bissell, Haskell, and Gregori have questioned its representation of a self-image of the artist on the basis of likeness, not finding the facial features similar to those in the engraving by Jérôme David of Artemisia made around 1628 (fig. 95) or to the anonymous portrait medal of approximately the same date (Staatliche Museen, Berlin). Nevertheless, the wide forehead, full cheeks, ample chin, and bow lips do, in fact, resemble the artist's face. And although her hair was auburn rather than black, it is possible that she adjusted the color in the painting to conform to Ripa's formula, as many scholars have suggested. Garrard argues eloquently and, in my view, correctly that Artemisia painted *La Pittura* as an image of herself to comment on her unique role as a woman painter, conflating two images that male artists would have to make separately. While Garrard goes on to discuss Artemisia's image as an assertion of the artist's role as intellectual and the elevated status of the profession, we can perhaps view the painting—in which virtuoso execution and the cleverness of the concept are paramount—as simply expanding the repertoire of self-imaging in much the same way that Annibale Carracci accomplished in his easel portrait.

It seems hard to imagine that Artemisia, in making an image of Painting, did not reflect on the special significance this allegory held for her as a woman artist. As Garrard has pointed out, there was precedent for the combination of the image of a female artist and the representation of the act of painting.

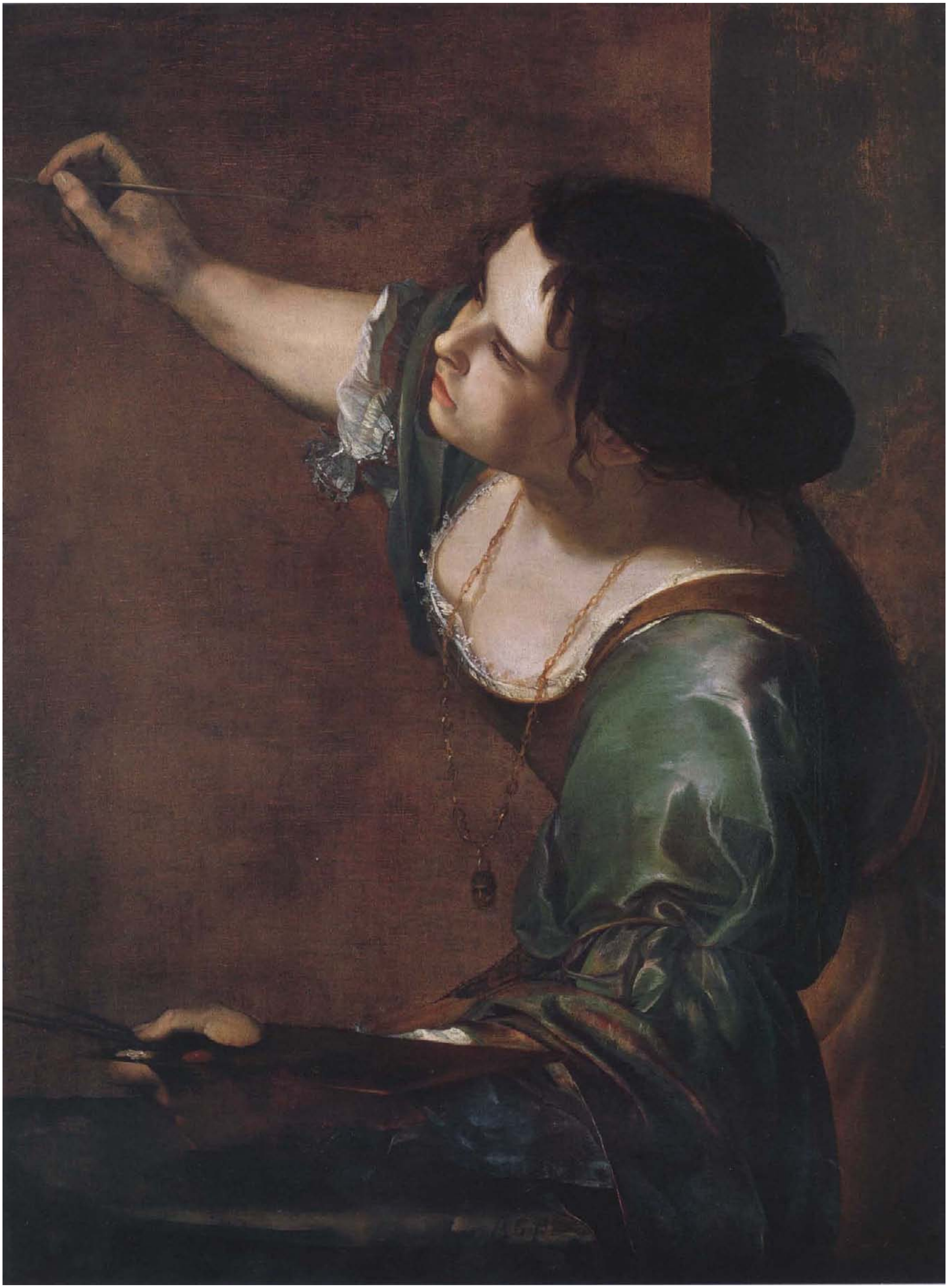




Figure 145. Titian (ca. 1485/90–1576), *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Fontana was honored in a celebratory 1611 medal on which her profile portrait on the front is paired with a representation of Painting on the reverse (fig. 146). In similar fashion, Bissell suggests that the present image of *La Pittura* was intended to be paired with the lost "Arthemesia gentilisco. done by her selfe," although until that picture is identified, the proposal is difficult to verify. Especially at the court of Charles I, where Artemisia undoubtedly observed the elevated position of such flamboyant figures as Anthony van Dyck, she may have pondered her status within her profession and her anomalous role as a woman painter. Surely, she knew Van Dyck's famous *Self-Portrait with a Sunflower* of 1633 (Collection the Duke of Westminster), which shows the sitter wearing a prominent chain and holding a sunflower; these have been interpreted as emblems of the artist's devotion to his patron.[4] Artemisia's portrayal of herself as Painting, with an unusually small mask and more prominent chain, may also have been intended to represent the artist as serving her current (or future?) patron. Especially if one of her first pictures is the small oval *Allegory of Painting* (fig. 97), in which, by necessity, she relied on her own likeness in a far more traditional rendering, it is likely that for this later representation she once again used her own image, but in a highly original fashion.

As Garrard points out, Artemisia addresses these issues in her comments to Don Antonio Ruffo in Sicily. In a letter dated August 7, 1649, she notes, "And I will show Your Most Illustrious Lordship what a woman can do," and on November 13, "You will find the spirit of Caesar in this soul of a woman." The representation, by its sheer difficulty of execution (a self-portrait from the side required a two-mirror setup), made its own eloquent case for her abilities as an artist. This is the same spirit that infused the Pommersfelden *Susanna* (cat. 51); the Pitti *Magdalene* (cat. 58) played a similar role as a demonstration piece for her considerable talents at coloring and compositional dynamism.

Gentileschi made several self-portraits (which we know from references in her letters), and scholars have assumed that they adhere to the model of the Barberini painting. However, because they are mentioned only cryptically in her correspondence, it is difficult to determine whether they were easily recognizable as self-portraits. In letters to the Roman collector Cassiano dal Pozzo, she discusses two of them. In 1630 she notes, "I have painted my portrait with the utmost care," and later, in 1637, she tells him she is sending "my portrait, which you once requested."[5] (Scholars have speculated that the portrait referred to in 1630 can be associated with the Barberini painting, while the second, 1637 reference may indicate the London *Allegory*.) The artist's letters to Don Antonio Ruffo, of January and June 1649, mention "my portrait," and the January letter goes on to refer to a painting "which you may keep in your gallery, as all the other princes do," suggesting that her patron placed stipulations on format, size, and so forth. However, we have no other description to help us determine how that painting must have looked. The *Self-Portrait as a Lute Player* (cat. 57) may well have been executed for a patron who requested a self-portrait, and we know that Artemisia presented herself as an Amazon in another Medici picture.[6] Only David's engraving (inscribed as recording a self-portrait) provides evidence

Provenance: Charles I (1639–49); recovered for the crown at Hampton Court (1651); Kensington Palace (since 1974); Hampton Court.

References: Levey 1964, 91 no. 499; Spear in Cleveland 1971, 98–99 no. 29; Millar in London 1972–73; 65 no. 90; Garrard 1980, 97–112; Whitfield in London 1982, 167–68 no. 59; Gregori in Naples 1984–85, vol. 1, 150; Garrard 1989, 85–88, 337–70; Haskell 1989, 37; Contini in Florence 1991, 74–75, 172–75; Levey 1991, 91 no. 499; Cropper 1992, 215; Bissell 1999, 175, 272–75 no. 42.



Figure 146. Felice Antonio Casoni (1559–1634), *Portrait Medal of Lavinia Fontana*. Bronze. Biblioteca e Musei Comunali, Imola

of how Artemisia may have fashioned her own image. Therefore, while it is clear that she produced several self-likenesses, few of them have been identified, and they seem to cover a variety of types. Indeed, we may not yet know what constitutes a proper Artemisia Gentileschi self-portrait, which suggests that the London *Allegory* could be more representative of her self-imaging than we have previously realized.

Some writers have dated *La Pittura* to 1630, based largely on the assumption that the picture is a self-portrait and that the age of the sitter would correspond with a woman in her mid-thirties, Artemisia's age in 1630.[7] These writers have also argued that it is the picture referred to in the 1630 letter to Cassiano dal Pozzo, and that Artemisia held on to the painting and brought it with her to London. That scenario, however, appears unlikely, since she obviously valued her relationship with Cassiano—particularly in light of her often expressed wish to return to Rome, her city of birth—and her hopes of continued rapport would have mandated providing him the promised picture.

Contini, Bissell, and Cropper have all dated this work to 1638–40, when the artist was in London, a dating that is supported stylistically by the painting itself. The physiognomy, particularly the treatment of the forehead, eyes, and mouth, corresponds more to the pictures of the mid-1630s than to those dated to the early part of the decade. Similarities can also be found with the *Birth of Saint John the Baptist* (cat. 77), of about 1633–35, including the features of the midwives and the sophisticated coloration. Bissell rests his dating on the correspondence of this picture to the references in the queen's inventory and the stylistic relationship to the ceiling paintings done for the royal residence at Whitehall in 1637–38. Finaldi's suggestion that Artemisia may not have been involved in this project, as well as the paintings' state of almost total ruin, makes it difficult to base the dating of *La Pittura* on this evidence.

1. Ripa (1618) 1986, 357: "Donna bella, con capelli negri, & grossi, sparsi, & ritorti in diverse maniere, con le ciglia inarcate, che mostrino pensieri fantastichi, si cuopre la bocca con una fascia legata dietro à gli orecchi, con una catena d'oro al collo, dalla quale penda una maschera, & abbia scritto nella fronte, *imitatio*. Terrà in una mano il pennello, & nell'altra la tavola, con la veste di drappo cangiante, . . ."
2. See Woods-Marsden 1998, esp. 1–9, 71–77.
3. It was most recently included in an exhibition devoted to Cassiano dal Pozzo, in which it was attributed to a follower of Simon Vouet, based on its listing in several inventories, most notably an inventory of 1740 that describes the painting in detail and assigns it to Vouet (Volpe in Rome 2000, 49). The condition of the picture is very poor, making a definitive attribution difficult, although I am inclined to agree with the Vouet atelier attribution.
4. On the significance of symbolism in Van Dyck's picture, see Edgerton (in Antwerp–London 1999, 244), who suggests that Van Dyck's chain may be intended as a reference to *La Pittura*.
5. English translations of the letters are published in Garrard 1989, 378, 387. For Italian transcriptions of the letters (both are now lost), see Bottari and Ticozzi 1822–25, vol. 1, 352–53, nos. 139, 141.
6. There are, in addition to these references to self-portraits, other mentions of portraits of the artist, but which may or may not have been self-portraits. The collection of the duke of Alcalá, for example, included two portraits of Artemisia described merely as "un retrato di Artemissa gentilesca."
7. Levey 1962, 79–80; Spear in Cleveland 1971, 98–99; Millar in London 1972–73, 65; Garrard 1989, 85–86. Levey (1991, 91) changed the date to coincide with Artemisia's visit to England, identifying the painting with the self-portrait mentioned in her correspondence of 1637.

82.

Venus Embracing Cupid

Oil on canvas, 47⅝ × 63 in. (121 × 160 cm)

Private collection

1640s

Provenance: Segesser de Brunegg family (with F. von Segesser, Lucerne, by 1958); private collection (by 1963).

References: Zürich 1958, 12, no. 22; Bordeaux 1959, 36–37 no. 69; Voss 1960–61, 79–82; Bissell 1968, 167; Schleier 1971, 89; Lavin 1975, 165; Marini 1981a, 370; Garrard 1989, 105–6, 274–76; Contini in Florence 1991, 85 n. 40; Bissell 1999, 247–49 no. 31.

Hermann Voss published a short article on this splendid painting in 1961 after it had been shown in exhibitions in Zürich (1958) and Bordeaux (1959) bearing an attribution to Artemisia Gentileschi. Voss supported the attribution and argued that it fit most securely with her paintings from the 1640s. Schleier and Marini also assigned the picture to Artemisia, and Bissell (1999), most recently, has included it among her autograph works. Garrard maintains that the picture was "wrongly ascribed to Artemisia," while Contini finds that it more closely matches the style of Francesco Guerrieri. The painting bears provocative affinities with Artemisia's work, and should it prove to be a product of her brush (I have not examined it firsthand), it most probably belongs to the last decade of her life.

This presentation of a languorously reclining Venus attended by her young son includes many luxurious appointments and comes closest to the sensibility of Artemisia's late paintings, most notably the two she painted for the duke of Parma, the *David and Bathsheba* and the *Rape of Lucretia* (Neues Palais, Potsdam; fig. 99). The three paintings share specific details, such as the triangular lace edging of Lucretia's sheet and Venus's cover and the elaborately adorned coiffures, as well as more general features of rich surface texture and an emphasis on opulence. The *Venus* also corresponds to other late paintings. Its intense color recalls the hues of the *Virgin and Child with a Rosary* (cat. 84), in which deep red and blue dominate. The ribbon that binds Venus's hair as well as the tight curls that frame her face can also be found in the reclining figure in the right foreground of the Vienna *Bathsheba* (private collection; fig. 101).

Other qualities suggest Artemisia's authorship in general, even if they do not argue specifically for a dating to the final decade. Venus's body type certainly belongs among Artemisia's nudes. The conical breasts, swelling stomach, flared hips, and high navel relate closely to the physical forms of the Columbus *David and Bathsheba* (cat. 80), the *Aurora* (private collection, Rome; fig. 96), and the Saint Louis *Danaë* (cat. 54). Bissell finds the physiognomy to be comparable to that in the Columbus painting, and indeed the same woman may have posed as Artemisia's model in both cases.

Bissell has posited that the painting may have been the one owned by the English diplomat and collector Matthew Prior (1664–1721), described as a "Venus and Cupid Kissing. Big as the life," which was attributed to either Orazio or Artemisia. He also identifies it as the painting listed in the Barberini inventories of 1644, where it is cited as a "woman with a cupid."[1] Although it seems unlikely that the picture would have been described in such vague terms, the compiler of the inventory may have intentionally ignored the obvious sexuality of the image, as Bissell also suggests.

Those scholars who have attributed the *Venus* to Artemisia, with the exception of Voss, have placed it in the early 1630s. Bissell links it to a reference in a letter of 1635 that Artemisia wrote to Cassiano dal Pozzo in Rome.[2] In the letter, she mentions a painting that she had sent to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, also in Rome, having given it to her brother Francesco, who took it from Naples.

Troubling to Bissell and perhaps among the reasons that Garrard has eliminated the *Venus* from Artemisia's oeuvre is its overt, if not gratuitous, eroticism. The subject recalls Bronzino's famous *Allegory with Venus and Cupid* (National Gallery, London), to which it may allude in the nearly touching profiles and proximity of lips. Images of Venus as lover, goddess, sex queen, and Olympian ideal were popular among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century patrons. Less subtle references to physical gratification were made in paintings such as Baglione's *Cupid and Venus* (private collection, Rome; fig. 124). The Cavaliere d'Arpino had painted the goddess literally romping in bed with her son, her legs spread provocatively while she fondles Cupid's buttocks (Fabio Failla collection, Rome).

Artemisia's *Venus* certainly demonstrates far greater restraint. Its elegant presentation of female beauty



dominates the canvas. However, by including such details as Cupid's pressing up against his mother, her hand resting gently on his rump, and the subtly evocative elongated leg, the artist has underscored the eroticism inherent in the image; it is unlikely that the picture was conceived as an allegory.[3]

Should this picture prove to be by Artemisia, it presents persuasive evidence of her mastery of the female body. Rejecting the less subtle passion of its prototypes, the artist offers one of the most stunning representations of female nudity of the seventeenth century. The handsome profile, the gracefully curving torso, and glorious outstretched leg present a body both exquisitely beautiful and erotically charged. The leg recalls the provocative display of the vase-bearing angel in Parmigianino's *Madonna of the Long Neck* (Uffizi, Florence), and indeed a Florentine elegance and almost Mannerist sensuality pervade the work. Contini and Bissell posit that Artemisia may have returned to Florence at some time during her career. The most logical placement for such a visit would be during her trip to England in 1637–38. Indeed, it is unthinkable that after her repeated efforts to secure Florentine patronage in the early 1630s, she did not visit the Tuscan capital, most likely before she finally relocated to London. The sensibility of this picture certainly suggests some contact with Florentine artists—Cesare Dandini, perhaps, or Rutillio Manetti—and reminds us yet again how little we really understand of the final decade of Artemisia Gentileschi's life.

1. The inventory lists a "donna con un'amore." Lavin 1975, 165.
2. I find it far more likely that the *Sleeping Venus* (cat. 70) was the picture Artemisia sent to Cardinal Barberini.
3. Venus's seizing of Cupid's weapons was traditionally intended as a reference to the power of beauty to overwhelm, or disarm, love. But the disarming of Cupid usually alludes to the suppression rather than arousal of desire; the decidedly sensual cast of this painting negates such allegorical symbolism.

83.
Susanna and the Elders

Oil on canvas, 80¾ × 66⅛ in. (205 × 168 cm)

Signed (at right, on socle of balustrade): ARTEMITIA / GENTILESCHI. F. / MDCIL

Moravská Galerie, Brno (inv. M246)

1649

Given the meager evidence from Artemisia's last Neapolitan period (after her return from London in the early 1640s until her death in the early 1650s), this signed and dated painting of 1649 must serve as an important guide to understanding the direction of her art in this final phase. Artemisia here repeats some of the formal elements of her earliest representation of the story of Susanna (cat. 51), but has chosen a far more traditional interpretation. While Susanna resists the elders' sexual demands, the heroine now looks heavenward, seeming to implore divine assistance. In fact, her pose refers to a later moment in the story, when, confronted by the elders, Susanna "looked up toward Heaven, for her heart trusted in the Lord," a passage that seems to have inspired many representations. Ludovico Carracci, Guercino, and Peter Paul Rubens, among many others, followed this convention.

The tightly framed composition and stark setting that distinguished the 1610 version have been abandoned for a grander stage, complete with sculpted fountain and lush flowers, visible through the balusters—what Garrard has termed the "Garden of Love"—which emphasizes the associations of Susanna with overt sexuality. The striking compression of space that created the dramatic tension in the earlier work has given way to a more rigid compositional structure, achieved through the spacing of the elders farther to the right offset by the diagonal of Susanna's pose and the presence of the substantial washbasin beside her. Her gesture is more rhetorical than dramatic, and the vocabulary now integrates late-seventeenth-century notions of *bellezza* with the powerful naturalism of the Pommersfelden painting.

The seated heroine is still a commanding presentation of the female nude, although greater attention



has been given to the drapery of the elders (the lovely blue of the right elder's sleeve seen against the railing must once have been a beautiful passage but is now somewhat damaged) and the accomplished rendering of the polished pewter basin with grotesque handles and robust claw feet. Susanna's pose has become a stock type within Artemisia's oeuvre, for we see comparably seated figures in the Columbus *David and Bathsheba* (cat. 80) and the Toledo *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. 78). The washbasin also occurs in at least two other paintings, and may have been inspired by Simon Vouet's *Circumcision of Christ* (Capodimonte, Naples), which was in Naples in the 1620s, as both Garrard (1989) and Bissell (1999) have noted. Contini comments on similarities to such artists as Francesco Guarino in the foreshortened presentation of Susanna's face, and finds the picture comfortably placed within the Neapolitan ambience of Bernardo Cavallino.

In spite of several disastrous events of the 1630s and 1640s—the volcanic eruption and earthquake of the 1630s and the popular revolt led by the fisherman Masaniello in 1647—the demand for pictures in Naples apparently did not wane. Artemisia's repetition of forms, as well as her five versions of Bathsheba from the 1640s, may testify to the high number of commissions the artist received during this late period of her career. In spite of the celebrated claim in her November 13, 1649, letter to Don Antonio Ruffo in Naples that "never has anyone found in my pictures any repetition of invention, not even of one hand," it is quite clear that Artemisia did repeat herself; her assertion may have been made in response to criticism of this practice or to a request for assurance that a forthcoming commission would indeed be a new composition.

Rarely seen by scholars, this painting has generated only limited discussion. Bissell (1999) accepts it within Artemisia's oeuvre, noting that layers of old varnish still covered the signature in the 1950s, precluding alteration prior to its initial restoration. Garrard (1989) originally questioned the attribution, but has recently (2001) accepted it in her oeuvre. Garrard (1989) and Hersey have suggested that this picture may have been the one cited by Alessandro da Morrona as in the collection of Averardo de' Medici late in the eighteenth century. Bissell has noted that the Medici picture, signed and dated 1652, was of horizontal format and described as showing Susanna with covered breasts, and must therefore be understood as a different work.

The landscape, a rarity among Artemisia's autograph paintings, has been attributed by Daniel to the hand of Domenico Gargiulo, a known collaborator with the artist in the Columbus *David and Bathsheba*. Bissell suggests that the landscape appears to be Artemisia imitating the work of Gargiulo, and certainly the touch does not demonstrate the light, feathery quality that distinguishes the latter's style.

The condition of the painting and its probable reduced size make definitive judgments difficult as to Artemisia's late style. The composition seems to have been cut down, at least on the left and top edges, and it is likely that it may have been cut on all sides, as Bissell (1999) has posited. Losses and cracks have occurred throughout the surface, with heaviest damage in Susanna's left arm and right leg, the head of the left elder, and the shadowed areas immediately surrounding Susanna's lower torso.

PROVENANCE: Heinrich Gomperz, Brno (until 1894); the city of Brno (by the Gomperz testament of 1892); Moravská Galerie, Brno.

RELATED PICTURE: Bassano del Grappo, Museo Biblioteca Archivio, variant, studio version of reduced size.

REFERENCES: Böhmová-Hájková 1956, 307–8; Bissell 1968, 164–65; Garrard 1989, 99, 130–31, 134–35, 189, 518 n. 234; Contini in Florence 1991, 76–78; Hersey 1993, 330–31 n. 3; Daniel in Prague 1995, 56–58 no. A11; Bissell 1999, 72, 292–93 no. 50; Garrard 2001, 81, 92–93.

84.

Virgin and Child with a Rosary

Oil on copper, 22⅞ × 19¾ in. (58 × 50 cm), affixed to a panel measuring 28⅜ × 20½ in. (72 × 52 cm)

Signed (across front edge of table): Artemitia Gentileschi

El Escorial, Casita del Principe (inv. 10014628)

1651

Saint Louis

This small gem of a picture is first mentioned in a 1749 inventory of the furnishings in La Granja, the eighteenth-century royal palace built by Philip V of Spain. It is not known exactly when it was transferred to the Escorial—but it is cited there in a catalogue of 1857. In a letter dated August 13, 1650, to the collector Don Antonio Ruffo in Sicily, Artemisia refers to "this little Madonna [Madonina in piccolo]," and later, on January 1, 1651, she writes, "Your little copper is nearly half finished." Bissell has concluded that this "copper" is indeed the painting referred to in Artemisia's letter, while Pérez Sánchez and Nicolson date the picture to much earlier in her career, between 1614 and 1620.

Devotion to the rosary, a string of beads used as an aid to meditative prayer (each bead refers to one of the Mysteries in the life of Christ or the Virgin), experienced renewed vigor in the later sixteenth century. Particularly after the naval victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571, attributed to rosary prayer, the practice became more widespread, prompting Gregory XIII to institute the Feast of the Rosary in 1573. The practice offered a personal means of prayer, and this small painting, with its reference to the rosary, was unquestionably intended for private devotion. The rosary was often represented by a rose crown and sometimes by angels placing a rose garland on the head of the Virgin. Here, the allusion is made by the roses in the infant's right hand and the spray of roses resting on the table.

The painting was largely ignored until Pérez Sánchez included it in his 1973 exhibition, "Caravaggio y el naturalismo español." In spite of the signature, the picture is not universally accepted as autograph, given its unique format and style. The simple, vivid palette of rich green, bright red, and blue appears in no other picture by Gentileschi. Contini understandably describes its style as incongruous, and Borea suggests an attribution to Caroselli, positing that the signature was added to increase the painting's value. Garrard challenges the attribution to Artemisia on the ground that its more delicate and clearly feminine representation of the Virgin is symptomatic of a tendency to associate a feminine style with a female artist. She suggests the possibility that the painting is "a weak replica of a lost original by Artemisia."

There are, however, some similarities between this small copper and paintings from the last decades of the artist's career. The transparent veil of the Madonna recalls a scarf worn by a maidservant in a *Bathsheba* of the 1630s (private collection, Halle, Germany); the same veil also appears on one of the maidservants in the Columbus *David and Bathsheba* (cat. 80) and on Saint Nicea in Artemisia's painting for Pozzuoli cathedral (fig. 143). The daughter on the right in the Toledo *Lot* (cat. 78) wears a similar delicately sheer covering.



Figure 147. Sébastien Vouillement (b. ca. 1610), *Virgin Sewing.* Engraving after Guido Reni (1575–1642). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

PROVENANCE: Collection of Isabella Farnese, La Granja (by 1749); sacristy, El Escorial (by 1857); Casita del Principe, El Escorial.

REFERENCES: Pérez Sánchez 1965, 500; Pérez Sánchez in Seville 1973, no. 22; Borea 1974, 46–47; Nicolson 1974, 611; Garrard 1989, 399–400; Contini in Florence 1991, 84 n. 23, 86 n. 78; Bissell 1999, 99, 293–95 no. 51; Garrard 2001, 9, 127–28, n. 20.

Bissell notes that the identical pose of the Virgin's right hand and arm occurs in several other late paintings, including the *Bathsheba* in the Neues Palais, Potsdam (fig. 100), and a *Bathsheba* of reduced format in Vienna (fig. 101).

The *Virgin and Child with a Rosary* is similar to small devotional pictures of the Virgin sewing; the hand gesture of the Virgin holding the rosary can be traced to representations of the Virgin sewing from the school of Guido Reni. Artemisia herself may even have known the example that Reni painted in 1609 for Paul V in the private papal chapel in the Quirinal palace, or a small, earlier version on copper that Reni painted for the Borghese in 1606.[1] Although the latter is now lost, there still exist painted and printed variants, such as the engraving by Sébastien Vouillement, which eliminates one of the angels and the crown of roses from Reni's original (fig. 147). It seems evident that Artemisia knew the original painting, as she employs not only the same hand gesture but the same palette (Reni's Madonna wears a red dress and sews on a brilliant blue cushion in her lap). The Reni work, which should accurately be titled *Virgin and Child with a Rosary*, would have been a logical source for Artemisia, since the imagery of the Virgin sewing was often combined with allusions to the rosary, usually the presentation of a rose crown.

Artemisia had replicated Bolognese models earlier in her career, most notably in the Burghley House *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. 65). Scholars have also found other stylistic evidence of Reni's influence in additional examples of Artemisia's work.[2] Interestingly, his *Virgin Sewing* was given by Scipione Borghese to Cardinal Ludovisi, a gift recorded on September 8, 1622. If Artemisia's Burghley House *Susanna* was a Ludovisi commission, painted in 1622, then she may have known the Reni picture early in her career and drawn on it as the inspiration for her late copper. Whether this was a specific request from Ruffo or whether the artist thought such a style would appeal to his taste, we cannot determine.

We can only speculate as to why Artemisia turned to such a model late in her career. The exactness with which she reproduces Reni's hand gesture suggests that either she had recently renewed her acquaintance with the picture (or some version of it) or that she had made drawings of it when she had seen it earlier. This latter point is still a very little understood aspect of Artemisia's working procedure. There is evidence, however—including her own letters—that she did employ drawings. On November 13, 1649, she wrote to Don Antonio Ruffo in Sicily: "As for my doing a drawing and sending it, I have made a solemn vow never to send my drawings, because people have cheated me. In particular, just today I found myself [in the situation] that, having done a drawing of souls in purgatory for the bishop of Saint Gata, in order to spend less, he commissioned another painter to do the picture using my work. I can't imagine it would have turned out this way if I were a man, because when the concept has been realized and defined with lights and darks, and established by means of planes, the rest is a trifle."[3] No drawings by Artemisia's hand are known today.

The current size of the painting reflects an augmentation at the top and on both sides. A clumsy addition to the green curtain in the upper part of the painting mars its original beauty (it is reproduced here without the additions). Bissell, noting that an inventory number and the Farnese fleur-de-lis overlap the joint, has suggested that the enlargement occurred in the eighteenth century, a judgment confirmed by Juan Martinez, a conservator at the Palacio Real, Madrid.[4]

1. On the Reni paintings, see Pepper 1984b, 294.
2. For a discussion of Reni's influence on Artemisia, see Longhi 1916, 308; Gregori (in Naples 1984–85) notes that the Morandotti *Cleopatra* (cat. nos. 17, 53) which she attributes to Artemisia, shows evidence of the artist's having followed "Renian" models.
3. For the translation of the letter, see Garrard 1989, 397–98.
4. Letter to the author, June 21, 1995.



85.

ADDENDUM: ORAZIO GENTILESCHI

Conversion of the Magdalene

Oil on canvas, 52⅜ × 61 in. (133 × 155 cm)

Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv. 12726)

ca. 1613–15

New York

This picture, Orazio's most compelling translation of a dialogue between two people into gesture and expression (the *affetti*), made its debut in Longhi's seminal article of 1916 as by either Artemisia or Orazio. Despite this initial hesitation, there is now consensus that the picture is indeed by Orazio. But at what date? Longhi, Gamba, and Contini all date it to after Rome; Bissell suggests about 1620. Like Moir and Brown, I believe that the style points to an earlier moment. The figures possess a plebeian sort of beauty derived directly from the models who posed, and the wonderfully subtle light is used to confer on them a quality of physical density. They seem almost to have descended from Orazio's concert on the vault of the Casino delle Muse (fig. 6), discarding their musical instruments to act out a religious pantomime. Surprisingly, no one has suggested that Artemisia posed for the figure of the Magdalene. The picture seems to me to serve as a middle term between the lyrical poetry of the *Lute Player* (cat. 22) and the frozen drama of the Braunschweig *Crowning with Thorns* (cat. 23).

Longhi, ever ready to emphasize the secular slant of the Gentileschis' work, christened the picture "two women at their toilette" Gamba suggested it might show Leah and Rachel or Modesty and Vanity. Yet, as Voss (1925) was quick to point out, "the pronounced dramatic character of the representation leaves no doubt that a fixed incident was intended": the story of Martha reproving her sister Mary (usually identified as Mary Magdalene) for her vanity.

The story is based very loosely on an incident told in Luke 10:41–42, in which Christ rebukes Martha for complaining that her sister did nothing to help her with the chores. This episode has been elaborated into the moment of the Magdalene's conversion from her life of sin.

The subject achieved popularity only in the seventeenth century. However, as Cummings has shown, it had a literary tradition going back at least to the fourteenth century and was treated by Bernardino Luini in a painting that, in the early seventeenth century, was ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci and belonged to Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (Fine Arts Museum, San Diego). The moment Orazio illustrates—when, to appropriate the words from a hymn composed by Cardinal Robert Bellarmine around 1597–99, the light of God's glance "Fills the Magdalene with holy love / And melts the ice within her soul"—is typically Counter-Reformation in its emphasis on spiritual conversion. Seventeenth-century writers focused on key episodes in the spiritual life of the Magdalene for meditation and, hence, pictorial (and musical) treatment: the Magdalene at the tomb of Christ; her conversion while meditating in her chamber; or, as here, her dialogue with her sister. There is Riccardo Riccardi's *Conversione di Santa Maria Maddalena*, of 1609, the *Pentimento di Santa Maria Maddalena* by Francucci, of 1615, and the *Maddalena lasciva e penitente* by Gian Battista Andreini, of 1617, set to music by Monteverdi. Garrard points out that in July 1622, a dialogue between Mary Magdalene and Martha was performed at the Medicean court contrasting the contemplative versus the active life, and it is just such a dialogue that Orazio has portrayed in his painting.

Orazio's model was unquestionably the influential painting by Caravaggio that belonged to the Genoese banker Ottavio Costa (Detroit Institute of Art; see both Cummings and Gregori). In Orazio's picture, the story has been rendered at its most basic. The hardworking Martha, on the left, dark-haired and modestly garbed, her hands arranged in discourse, leans forward in intimate conversation with her idle sister, who is seated in a somewhat wanton pose, her auburn hair falling luxuriously over her shoulder, the ivory skin of her bosom displayed to view, her arms resting listlessly on the black frame of a rectangular mirror. The last

PROVENANCE: Possibly Conte Francesco Maria Carpegna, Rome (until 1749); Freiherrn von Wendlant, Berlin (by 1911, when lent to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin); his heirs (until ca. 1930); private collection, Germany; Julius Böhler, Munich (1954); Georg and Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt (1954–57); Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

REFERENCES: Longhi (1916) 1961, 264–65; Voss 1920b, 409; Gamba 1922–23, 256; Voss 1925, 462; Redig de Campos 1939, 322; Longhi 1943, 47 n. 38; Moir 1967, vol. 1, 75 n. 22, vol. 2, 77; Cummings 1974, 578; Nicolson 1979, 53; Bissell 1981, 172–73 no. 44; Pepper 1984a, 316; Gregori in New York–Naples 1985, 251; Brown in Washington–Cincinnati 1988–89, 57–59 no. 7; Garrard 1989, 46, 499 n. 69; Nicolson 1990, 115; Contini in Florence 1991, 103–5 no. 5; Spike 1991b, 732; Heiden 1998, 398–400.



is a tour de force of artistic invention that suggests a simile of Caravaggesque painting as the mirror of nature. As had Caravaggio, Orazio uses light to suggest the enlightened path of Martha and Mary's conversion from her sinful life to one of pentitence, as she turns her head from the mirror to her sister.

Bissell has noted that in 1716 a picture of two women by Orazio was owned by Count Carpegna. The dimensions he quotes, seven by nine *braccia*, included the frame. The picture measured seven by five *braccia* (156 × 112 cm) and could be the Munich painting (see De Marchi 1987, 330).

Appendix 1. Documents Relating to the Trial of Agostino Tassi

PATRIZIA CAVAZZINI

The never-ending fascination of historians and art historians with the trial of Agostino Tassi for the defloration of Artemisia Gentileschi has yet to produce a complete transcription of the documentary material. Approximately half of the depositions in the Archivo di Stato di Roma (hereafter, ASR), Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Processi del secolo XVII, vol. 104 (hereafter, Processi 104), were accurately transcribed by Eva Menzio (1981) in what is now an extremely rare publication. Mary Garrard, in her book on Artemisia (1989), includes an English translation, not always reliable, of this evidence, and adds a few more pages from ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Miscellanea Artistica, b. 108 (hereafter, Miscellanea 108). For the sake of convenience, I am providing the briefest of summaries of what has already been transcribed, while inviting the reader to consult the two publications mentioned above. Also fundamental to an understanding of the trial are Elizabeth Cohen's writings (1991, 1992a, 1992b, 2000), for her unerring sense of the judicial proceedings and social customs of the time, and Alexandra Lapierre's novel (1998), based on an astonishing amount of new archival research on the Gentileschi and their circle of friends.

With the help of the notary Giovanni Battista Stiattesi, Orazio Gentileschi in early 1612 presented a petition to Paul V against his close friend and fellow painter Agostino Tassi. Gentileschi accused Tassi of having deflowered his daughter, Artemisia, and having then carried on a sexual liaison with her for many months. Tassi had had two accomplices. One was Tuzia, a neighbor who had moved into Orazio's house to serve as a chaperon for Artemisia and to protect her virginity but who had instead betrayed her. The other was Cosimo Quorli, a cousin of Stiattesi's, a close friend of Orazio's, and a papal official, who had extracted from Artemisia a few paintings belonging to her father, including a *Judith* of "rather large size" (probably fig. 46).

In all likelihood instructed by the same Stiattesi who had helped Orazio with his brief, Artemisia was well prepared for her deposition. With reserve and dignity, she told the judge how Agostino had taken her by force, at the beginning of May 1611, in her house on via della Croce. Confronted by her desperation, Tassi had promised to marry her, and she had then acquiesced to a relationship, always trusting that a marriage would follow. Artemisia was strengthened in this belief when Tassi took care to thwart any other marriage arrangements for her. She had heard that his wife, Maria Cannodoli, was alive, though he had always denied this. She believed it was Cosimo Quorli's fault that Agostino had not married her; the painter had apparently been disgusted by Quorli's failed attempt to rape her. Later during the trial Artemisia learned—or was lead to believe—that Tassi's wife was indeed still alive, and thus there was no hope of a marriage.

Stiattesi, once a friend to both Agostino and Quorli, testified that Tassi had confessed the defloration to him. Apparently, Quorli had encouraged the painter by leading him to believe that Artemisia had already lost her virginity. Moreover, Quorli's disapproval prevented the marriage, because Agostino, who owed him his life, did not want to act against his wishes. (As will become clear from these transcriptions, Quorli, who died shortly after the beginning of the trial, had arranged for Agostino's release from prison when, in 1611, the latter had been tried for incest with his sister-in-law.) According to Stiattesi, Quorli's spiteful behavior toward Artemisia was dictated by his failure to rape her himself. He had, in fact, repeatedly assaulted her, although he also claimed to be her father.

Everybody in the Gentileschi's small circle of friends—with the exception, for a while, of Orazio himself—knew about Artemisia's relationship with Tassi, and various people testified to this end. Agostino resolutely denied any wrongdoing, at the same time taking care to tarnish Artemisia's reputation. The judge mistrusted his version of events, but in a dramatic confrontation with Artemisia, the painter stood by his story. So did Artemisia—even under torture. Having lost her virginity and thus her honor, she was not necessarily regarded as a reliable witness. But her withstanding of torture—the tightening of strings around her fingers, which was considered to be a relatively minor form—confirmed the veracity of her accusations (Cohen 2000).

At this point Agostino produced a new witness, Nicolò di Bernardino de Felice, an apprentice known as Nicolò Bedino. Nicolò testified on June 8, 1612, accusing Artemisia of all sorts of improper behavior. Not only had she exchanged love letters with various men, but she had also had a number of lovers. According to his depositions, Nicolò knew this because he had worked for Orazio and had lived in his house on via Margutta since Lent of 1611, before the rape and at the time of Tassi and Gentileschi's collaboration on the Sala Regia in the Palazzo del Quirinale (their frescoes have been destroyed). Nicolò denied ever having been in Tassi's service, thus giving the impression that he had no reason to lie in his favor.

For unknown reasons, both Menzio and Garrard stop their transcriptions of the trial at this point. Garrard provides a brief summary of the remaining depositions. Agostino produced five more witnesses, in addition to Nicolò, to further damage Artemisia's reputation and to cast doubt on the motives of those who had accused him. It was suggested in the depositions that Orazio had fabricated the entire story to avoid repayment of a debt, that Stiattesi was acting to avenge an insult, and that Tuzia was angry at Agostino because they had had a violent quarrel.

Then, presumably in July 1612, Orazio brought new charges of slander and perjury against Tassi and four of the witnesses who had testified in his favor—Nicolò Bedino, Giuliano Formicino, Luca Penti, and Marcantonio Coppino. Only Tassi and Bedino were actually prosecuted. The rest of the trial focused on trying to establish Bedino's credibility, which largely depended on the question of who had employed him during Lent of 1611. If Bedino was in fact a reliable witness, then Agostino had commited no crime, for the rape of a dishonorable woman would not be prosecuted.

From the new round of questioning, it becomes clear that until the fall of 1611, Nicolò was in Agostino's service and only at this date did he move in with Orazio in the house near the city gate of Santo Spirito. During this time, Orazio must have been in particular need of an assistant since he was making frescoes in Cardinal Borghese's Casino delle Muse (fig. 6), where his role was larger than it had been in the Sala Regia. Nicolò had worked for Orazio before and had been in his house on via della Croce, though only on an occasional basis, when Agostino felt he could spare him. Nicolò also went back to work for Agostino a few days after the latter's incarceration. His loyalty lay with Agostino, and he was indeed a false witness, as Orazio had claimed. But as Nicolò was willing to confirm his version of the story even under torture and had in any case helped Orazio now and then from Lent of 1611, it must have been difficult for the judge to see through his tangle of prevarications. To complicate matters, some of the witnesses in Orazio's favor lied or were confused about dates, weakening his argument that Nicolò was living with Agostino at

the crucial time. Tassi was eventually sentenced to five years' exile from Rome, though he did not bother to leave the city until a new sentence of exile, for a different crime, was pronounced against him.

The material in this appendix is divided into three sections:

A. Taken from the main volume of the trial, ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Processi 104. From the 170 pages of depositions following Bedino's, I have extracted fragments relating to artistic education in general, to Orazio's workshop practice, to his circle of friends and patrons, and to his house. While I have not transcribed all or even most of what is there, I have tried to convey the gist of what happened during the trial. Among my omissions are all the questions posed by the judge (they are stated in Latin and can be easily deduced from the answers). The page numbers given are those of the bound volume, not the modern pagination in pencil. The same material has been summarized by Garrard, but her focus is very different from mine. Some depositions can be found verbatim in Lapierre—I have indicated when this is the case—and short fragments are also in Bissell's notes.

B. Consisting of two more depositions in Nicolò Bedino's favor, from a different volume, Testimoni 201. To my knowledge, no one has seen or cited these before. They should be inserted toward the end of the interrogations, in Processi 104, according to their date—that is, just before Nicolò final questioning. I have abbreviated these as well, but less substantially than the depositions from section A, which tend to be more repetitious.

C. Involving legal steps taken by the court, by Orazio Gentileschi, and by Tassi, which can be found in Registrazioni d'atti, vols. 166, 167. (The series should be called "Manuali d'atti," but this citation often causes confusion in the retrieval of the proper volume and so is best avoided.) Lapierre has used this material in the past, without a transcription.

I am much indebted to Simona Feci, to Augusto Pompeo, and, in particular, to Michele Di Sivo for having helped me with the transcriptions—especially, but not only, of the material in section C, which I could not have approached without them. Even with their assistance, many words in the Registrazioni d'atti remained indecipherable. I trust, however, that the sense is correct. A few pages of the main volume, Processi 104, have been substantially damaged by the acid ink used at the time of the trial and thus are impossible to transcribe in their entirety.

Parentheses indicate my interpolations; brackets indicate that I have doubts regarding the transcription; ellipses within brackets indicate a word that I was not able to transcribe. I have added a minimum of punctuation and avoided the abbreviations in the Italian text.

It is conceivable that further evidence from the trial will turn up. The file discovered by Garrard in Miscellanea 108 suggests that at least seven depositions, including that of the painter Orazio Borgianni, have been lost. These testimonies must all have been in Tassi's defense, since they were presented by one of his lawyers.

The following is a list, in order of their appearance before the court, of witnesses in the sections of the trial that are transcribed below:

Witnesses for the defense of Agostino Tassi in the rape trial:
Giuliano Formicino, a youth of independent means who had met Tassi in prison at Corte Savella, where his brother was also a prisoner
Luca Penti, a tailor
Fausta Ciacconi, a washerwoman employed by Agostino
Mario Trotta, an apprentice painter
Marcantonio Coppino, a mixer of ultramarine.

Witness for the prosecution in the rape trial:
Fra Pietro di Giordano, a prisoner in Corte Savella.

Witnesses for the prosecution in the perjury trial:
Giovanni Pietro Molli, a pilgrim used as a model by Orazio Gentileschi and other painters
Margherita from Milan, a washerwoman who had worked for Orazio for twenty years
Bernardino Franchi, Orazio's barber of twenty years
Pietro Hernandez, Orazio's neighbor at Santo Spirito
Caterina Zuccarini, Orazio's maid at Santo Spirito
Carlo Saraceni, a painter from Venice
Olimpia de Bargellis, Agostino's half sister
Marta de Rubertis, Agostino's neighbor at Sant'Onofrio
Antinoro Bertucci, the owner of a pigment store on via del Corso
Valerio Ursino, a painter from Florence.

Witnesses for the defense in the perjury trial:
Luca Finocchi, an innkeeper and Tassi's friend since 1610
Michelangelo Vestri, a painter (section B)
Costanza Ceuli, Orazio's neighbor on via della Croce. Her husband had been Orazio's tailor for many years (section B)
Nicolò Bedino, who was also repeatedly questioned in this section of the trial.

SECTION A

ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Processi, secolo XVII, busta 104

Giuliano Formicino romano 18 anni
(363v) July 9, 1612 Giuliano Formicino claims he heard Stiattesi declare that he had instigated Agostino's imprisonment as revenge for the latter's maligning him as a cuckold and sodomite. He had also heard that if Agostino lent Stiattesi fifteen scudi, the latter would make Artemisia confess that she had lost her virginity not to Tassi but to Pasquino from Florence—now conveniently dead. In order to help Tassi, Formicino wants to prove that Stiattesi's deposition against the painter was dictated by spite. See Menzio 66–74, 128 for Stiattesi's accusations.

(364)—Io habito in Piazza Mattei e non ho nessun essercitio che vivo del mio.
—Io mi son venuto ad esaminare perché me l'ha detto il sollecitatore di Agostino Tassi pittore che non so il suo cognome che stava a [. . .] dirmelo hier sera in Corte Savella dove io stavo a servir il signor Fabio mio fratello carcerato . . .
(365v)—Io ho inteso raggionare con detto Agostino una volta doppo pranzo un'huomo alto che pranzò con esso e con mio fratello, chiamato per quanto dicevano lo Stiattese, quale ragionava e diceva che se Agostino gli voleva imprestare 15 scudi che gli avrebbe restituiti in qualche suo bisogno perché si haveva gran necessità, e ch'avria fatto disdire quella zitella che si pretendeva che lui havesse sverginata e fattoli dire colui che l'haveva sverginata, cioè un tale Pasquino fiorentino, che diceva che gli l'haveva detto detta zitella da quattro anni fa l'haveva sverginata detto Pasquino, e disse anco ch'haveva fatto mettere priggione detto Agostino perché gli haveva detto quelle parole, cioé becco fottuto e che li voleva dare e che lui non bastava l'animo di vendicarsi altrimenti.
(366v) Io Giuliano formicino romano ho deposto come di sopra

Luca fu Aloisio Penti romano anni 25 circa
(367) June 15, 1612 The tailor Luca Penti, who knows both Tassi and Gentileschi, states that—as was common in every painter's house—people of all sorts frequented Orazio's residence. He has seen Artemisia at a window but has never talked to her. She had had sexual relationships with both Quorli and Pasquino. Stiattesi had declared that Artemisia was a whore, and Cosimo had told him that Tassi was in love with her. More of Penti's deposition can be found in Lapierre, app. 4.

—Io habito in Campo Martio e l'arte mia è di sartore.
—Io conosco Agostino Tassi . . . [da] circa tre anni con occasione che era amico

di Cosimo furiere et l'ho servito di vestiti et Horatio lo conosco da due anni con occasione che praticavo di là su dal Babuino dove habitava lui et anco per via di detto Cosmo . . .
(368)—Io ho visto conversare detto signor Horatio da che l'ho conosciuto con diverse persone quando con gentilhuomini e gente di prezzo e quando con gente bassa, ch'io non so chi siano.
—Io credo ch'in una casa dove ci sia da vedere delle figure et historie ci sogli praticare ogni sorta di gente e gentilhuomini e di altra qualità e non so che ci vadano per far male e bene o si da questo andare ci possa nascere sospetto alcuno.
(369)—Io ho visto Artemisia non so che volte da che stava alli Greci e così la conosco.
—Detta Artimitia io l'ho vista a una finestra lì alli Greci che c'era l'impanata et anco l'ho vista a San Spirito alla finestra et una volta in casa quando c'entrai con Cosmo furiero e non c'ho mai parlato.
(369v)—Io non so quanto tempo sia che detta Artemisia sia stata sverginata né da chi, ma è un pezzo che ci praticava un mio amico chiamato Pasquino da Fiorenza ch'era guardiano di Ripagrande.
(370v)—Sì che può essere che detto Pasquino si vantasse di conoscere carnalmente detta Artemisia e che poi non fosse vero . . .
(370v)—E' un pezzo che sono tre o quattro anni che Cosimo mi cominciò a dire che lui aveva avuto che fare con detta Artemisia . . .
— . . . in compagnia di Cosmo, Agostino et uno che si chiama il Stiattesi che sta in casa di detto Horatio . . . si venne a raggionare di detta Artimitia et il Stiattesi disse che era una poltrona e una puttana.
371—Io ho inteso dire da Cosmo suddetto che Agostino era innamorato di detta Artimitia . . .
(372) io luca pentis ho deposto quanto di sopra

Fausta fu Domenico Ciaccone alias Palumbara
(372v) June 18, 1612 Fausta Ciacconi, a washerwoman, testifies about Tassi's quarrel with Tuzia, the woman who was supposed to protect Artemisia but had instead helped Agostino. Fausta intends to show that Tuzia's deposition against Tassi cannot be trusted since she had reasons for enmity toward the painter. (See Lapierre, app. 6.)

—Io habito alla Longara e son lavandara.
(373v)—Questa donna che io ho detto che contrastò con detto Agostino in casa sua si chiama Tutia et habita in casa del signor Horatio Gentileschi . . . Agostino gli disse poltrona se tu vieni più qua ti voglio buttare per queste scale.

Mario fu Filippo Trotta, circa 21 anni
(374v) June 23, 1612 Mario Trotta, an apprentice "learning to draw," declares that Orazio had evicted from his house his nephew Giovanni Battista, now dead, who had told him that Artemisia spent time at the window. During the winter, Trotta worked with both Orazio and Agostino in the Palazzo del Quirinale for three giulii a day. According to Trotta, Orazio is a loner, whose only friends are Agostino, Quorli, and the keeper of the Vatican fountain. Orazio employs day laborers. Trotta does not know Artemisia. He has heard she was a virtuous woman but has also heard that she was seen by Carlo Saraceni standing "very brazenly" at the window. He does not think that the comings and goings in Orazio's house would cause rumors. (See Lapierre, app. 5.) Mario Trotta was not included by Orazio in the list of false witnesses.

—Io habito in una camera a locanda a Montecitorio et l'essercitio mio è di pittore, cioè principiante, che vado disegnando.
(375) . . . un nipote di Horatio Gentileschi chiamato Giovanni Battista, che è morto all'ospedale di San Giovanni haveva detto che il detto Horatio l'haveva scacciato di casa per una parola . . . che lui haveva detto alla sorella cugina figlia di detto Gentileschi che non stesse alla finestra ch'era vergogna che lui gli l'haveva detto al padre e per questo l'haveva cacciato via.
(375v)—Io sono a Roma dalla canonizzazione di San Carlo [November 1, 1610] in qua . . . io stetti un mese in casa di monsignor Santoro e poi lui mi accomodò con Antinoro Bertucci . . . con il quale stetti tre mesi . . . sono stato anco sei mesi con il Cavalier d'Arpino e dopo tornai in casa di monsignore dove sono stato sino alli 15 di maggio prossimo passato et hadesso habito a camera locanda a Monte Citorio appresso a Monsignore.
—Io conosco Horatio Gentileschi et Agostino Tasso perché ho lavorato a giornate con loro a Monte Cavallo quest'inverno et mi davano tre giulii il giorno . . . l'un e l'altro mi han dato da lavorare . . .
(376)—Io non ho mai visto praticare il detto Horatio se non con Agostino Tassi, con il detto Cosmo furiero, con il custode delle fontane di palazzo e con noi altri lavoranti che ci dava da lavorare.
—Io non ho habitato nè praticato in casa dal detto Horatio, nè son stato mai a casa sua . . .
—Signorsì che in casa di pittori ci praticano gentilhuomini, ch'io son stato in casa del Cavalier Giuseppe [d'Arpino] e c'ho visto Monsignor Santoro e altri signori e gentilhuomini e cardinali e mal nome io non ho mai inteso in casa del Cavaliere per la pratica di detti signori.
—Signorno che io non conosco Artemisia figliola di Horatio et io non so di che fama e conditione si sia. Io (376v) la lasso nel grado et honore suo.
—Io ho inteso sempre dire da diversi pittori, che uno è Carlo Venentiano et delli altri non mi ricordo delli nomi, che la figliola di Horatio è virtuosa e buona zitella . . . quando stavo in casa di Antinoro Bertucci che vendeva li colori e lì ci praticavano delli pittori . . . e raggionavano qualche volta della figlia di detto Horatio et dicevano che era virtuosa e buona zitella come di sopra e la tenevano tutti per zitella se non che il signor Carlo disse l'aveva vista alla finestra molto sfacciatamente . . .
(377) Mario Trotta

Marcantonio Coppino fiorentino di anni 34
June 23, 1612 Marcantonio Coppino, who prepares ultramarine, claims that in Antinoro Bertucci's pigment store, at a time when Carlo Saraceni was also present, he had heard that Artemisia was a whore. When a neighbor reported this to Orazio, the latter had told him to mind his own business. According to Coppino, Orazio is almost always alone; his only friends are Tassi and Quorli. He does not want Artemisia to marry, has her pose in the nude, and likes people to come and see her. Orazio, who has brought charges against Agostino to avoid repayment of a debt of 200 scudi, has repented this action, but it is too late to do anything about it. Orazio wants Agostino to marry Artemisia and go to the devil. (See Lapierre, app. 7.) The painter from Modena mentioned here must be the Girolamo modenese, said by Bedino to be one of Artemisia's lovers. (See Menzio 153.)

—L'essercitio mio è di fare il colore azzurro oltremarino et habito alli Cesarini.
(377v) . . . in particolare una volta l'intesi dire nel corso in bottega di Antinoro Bertucci e che c'era presente Carlo Venetiano pittore et un gentilhuomo sbarbato chiamato Giovanni Battista per quanto credo et un prete che sta lì in casa et altre genti che non so il nome et un modenese pittore del quale non so il nome e si discorreva di questa figliola del Gentileschi come se fosse stata madonna pubblica del bordello e quel modenese disse che (Orazio) era stato avvertito da un suo compare falegname che si stava (378) accanto alli Greci e che lui gli haveva risposto bada a casa tua per favore.
—Io non ho mai visto il detto Horatio se non (378v) in compagnia di Cosmo Quorlo et di detto Agostino Tassi del resto lo [trovo] quasi sempre solo.
—Io in casa di pittori c'ho visto delle volte di gentilhuomini e di prelati et altre genti di buona conditione e fama che per questo andari di gentilhuomini et altri in casa loro ci possi nascere mala fama contra detto pittori o suspitione io non lo so.
(379v)—Io ho sentito dire quella volta nella bottega di detto Antinoro . . . che detta figliola del Gentileschi non fosse zitella, et l'ho sentito dire anco in bottega di uno scultore in Piazza di Sciarra da certi pittori che non so chi siano, dove

c'era tra li altri un certo Mario che non so il cognome ma è pittore ed è giovane sbarbato, et il padrone di detta bottega si chiama Angelo . . . diversi dissero molte cose della figlia del Gentileschi, cioè che era una bella giovane e che il padre l'haveva trovata da maritare e non l'haveva voluta maritare e che quando faceva qualche ritratto nudo la faceva spogliar nuda e la ritraheva e che gli piaceva che c'andassero le genti a vederla e dicevano che non era zitella e che faceva servitio a qualcheduno e questo disse haverlo sentito dire anco detto Angelo scultore e così anco disse detto Mario . . . (380) et anco ho inteso dire da Giovanni Battista nipote di detto Horatio ch'hora è morto che disse di haverlo fatto avvertito il padre di detta giovane e che per questo c'era discordia tra loro e l'haveva mandato via e mi disse anco ch'uno zio che stava a Pisa voleva maritare del suo detta figliola del Gentileschi e che lui non ce la voleva mandare, ma chi l'habbia sverginata io non l'ho inteso dire.
(380v) quando Agostino fu fatto prigione io intesi dire da diversi che il detto Horatio l'haveva fatto (381) mettere prigione per non darli 200 scudi che gli haveva da dare e per fargli pigliar per moglie la figliola . . . et io dissi [ad Orazio] ch'haveva fatto male a scoprirsi di questa cosa e lui mi rispose è fatto mò pagherei la man dritta di non haverlo fatto e ne son pentito e poi che ci sono voglio vedere di fargliela pigliare per moglie e poi vada al diavolo.
Io Marco Coppino per la verità ho deposto quanto di sopra

Fra Pietro di Giordano
(381v) June 29, 1612 Friar Pietro di Giordano claims that Tassi and Quorli had instigated Stiattesi's imprisonment, and that they had previously arranged for Stiattesi to live at Orazio's house in order for Agostino to better carry out his affair with Artemisia. Tassi had confessed to the friar his obligation to marry Artemisia because he had deflowered her. However, he was worried that his wife was still alive, even though he had received letters to the contrary. The friar had seen the lovers in Corte Savella behaving affectionately with each other. He had also seen Nicolò Bedino bringing food to Tassi in prison and knew that the latter had arranged for witnesses to declare that Artemisia was a prostitute. (See Lapierre, app. 17.)
The deposition of the friar, so damning for Tassi, also touches on the key point of Tassi's wife. Was she indeed still alive? If this was the case, obviously he could not marry Artemisia. In both the trial of 1611—in which Agostino was accused of incest with his sister-in-law Costanza—and the trial of 1612, we hear that Agostino had actively tried to dispose of her by sending assassins to Livorno).
(381v)—Essendo io questa settimana santa andato carcerato in Corte Savella ci trovai il signor Giovanni Battista Stiattesi il quale mi dette comodità di dormire vicino il suo letto . . . mi disse che era stato un suo cugino chiamato Cosmo a requisitione di Agustino Tasso, il quale havendo sverginato una zitella e lui cercando di farla prendere per moglie, per dispetto l'havevano fatto prendere pregione. Per poter haver maggior (382) comodità detto Agostino lo fece andare ad habitare nella propria casa di quella zitella che non volendo detto Stiattesi tener mano a simil'amori né fare tradimento al padre di detta giovane si corrocciorono e per questo l'havevano fatto metter priggione . . . (382v) detto Agostino confessò . . . come lui doveva prenderla per moglie e che saria stata sua senz'altro giacché l'haveva havuta zitella ma che un sol dubbio li rimaneva ch'era questo che lui sospettava che la moglie fusse viva se bene gli era stato scritto che era morta . . .
(383)— . . . viddi doi donne in Corte Savella con il Stiattesi e li figli, dopoi ch'havevano parlato in Cancelleria un pezzo con detto Agostino et il Stiattesi, viddi ch'una di quelle donne all'uscir di Cancelleria sin al cancello (383v) andava appoggiata al braccio di detto Agostino et al separarsi fecero gran segno d'amor et affettione insieme e dimandando io la matina a detto Agostino chi era quella donna che andava appoggiata al suo braccio come di sopra lui mi disse che era la sua cara Artemisia e moglie e così li domandai che havevano ragionato; lui mi disse che havevano concluso il parentado e che lui gli haveva dato le fede di sposarla e mi disse che restava in obbligo infinito al Stiattesi che gli haveva fatto uno dei più grandi servitii che si potessero fare al mondo.
(384)— . . . Nicolò . . . l'ho veduto venir altre volte a veder detto Agostino et a portarli robba da mangiare . . .
— . . . Agostino mi disse che voleva far dire a detti testimoni che Artemisia era stata una puttana pubblica . . .
Io fra Pietro Giordano ho deposto quanto di sopra

(384v) July 5, 1612 Agostino is again interrogated and urged to confess, but he continues to deny everything of which he is accused, even when he is confronted by the friar.

(391) Undated. Orazio brings new charges against Agostino—for slander and for subornation of witnesses—and against four of the six witnesses testifying for Agostino: namely Luca Penti, Marcantonio Coppino, Giuliano Formicino, and Nicolò Bedino. He points out contradictions in their depositions. Bedino, for example, has declared that Artemisia wrote love letters, but she cannot write. He cannot properly describe the house on via Margutta (actually, Nicolò's description of the house [Menzio, 150–51] matches those by Molli and Franchi below). Orazio also lies about Artemisia's age. See Garrard 481–82, for a summary, with some inaccuracies, of Orazio's new charges.

(391) . . . havendo io una figlia chiamata Artimitia zitella d'età d'anni 15 in circa detto Agostino hebbe ardire di Maggio dell'anno prossimo passato d'entrar in casa mia in strada della Croce et con lusinghe e promesse di sposarla voleva conoscerla carnalmente et non volendo lei consentire gli fece violenza addosso . . .
(393) Però vedendosi dalle cose sopradette che detto Agostino ha prodotto articoli falsi e calunniosi et infamatorii et indotti et fatti anco essaminare testimoni falsi dò querela tanto contro detto Agostino quanto anco li sodetti 4 testimoni subornati e falsi et domando che siano castigati conforme il giusto . . .

Giovanni Pietro fu Angelo Molli di Palermo
July 27, 1612 Giovanni Pietro Molli, a pilgrim from Palermo, declares that during Lent of 1611, Orazio used him as a model for a *Saint Jerome* (cat. 16) and other paintings. He went often to Orazio's house and received payment and meals. In the house he saw Orazio's grown daughter and three sons, one of whom ground colors, as well as Orazio's nephew. They had neither a servant nor a shopboy, and he has never seen Nicolò Bedino. During the time Molli was employed as a model, Orazio moved. Thus, he has been in two of Orazio's houses, one "alli Greci" (near the Greek church on via Paolina [present-day via del Babuino]) and one "sopra il Babuino" (that is, on via Margutta). He briefly describes the house "alli Greci" and, in more detail, the one on via Margutta, where the main floor had two rooms: a dining room and a studio where Orazio painted. He has not been in the other rooms. Molli may have been confused about dates, or was perhaps lying, in order to help Orazio prove that Nicolò was not living with him during Lent of 1611. In his second deposition Molli stated he had returned to Rome from Naples on the Tuesday before Easter 1611, after an absence of seven months. Thus, he could not have been in Orazio's house "ai Greci" during Lent of 1611, since Orazio was living on via Margutta by, at the latest, February 16 of that year (Bissell 1981, 102). In her second deposition, of September 14, the washerwoman, Margherita, claimed that Gentileschi lived on via Margutta about two years ago. The barber, Bernardino Franchi, who was admittedly very vague about dates, estimated that Orazio lived on via Margutta six months or a year. Since we know that Orazio moved out of this house on via Margutta by April 10, 1611, he had probably arrived there at some point in 1610 (Menzio, 57). According to Franchi's second deposition, Molli had posed for Orazio during Lent of 1610 at via Margutta, certainly the wrong time for the pilgrim to have helped Orazio prove Nicolò's perjury. The judge must have suspected that something was wrong with Molli's deposition because he continued to question him. Molli eventually refused to answer, saying he was about to faint.

(395; the page is badly damaged)—In quanto Vossignoria mi domanda io gli posso dire per la verità che quest'anno passato nel tempo di quadragesima cioè questa quadragesima prossima passata ha fatto l'anno il signor Horatio Gentileschi pittore si serviva . . . per ritrare una testa simile . . . , alcuni quadri

che lui faceva, et . . . un San Girolamo intiero; mi fece spogliare dalla cintura in su per fare un San Girolamo simile a me et per questo effetto mi tenne in casa tutta la quadragesima perché tre et quattro giorni della settimana sempre mai mi bisognava andare a casa sua et in qualche giornata che ci andavo ci stavo dalla mattina a la sera et magnavo e bevevo in casa sua e mi pagava le mie giornate ma a dormire ritornavo a casa mia et mentre il signor Horatio si servì di me per fare (395v) questi ritratti che ho detto lui habitava alli Greci et poi si partì et andò a stare sopra il Babuino in una casa dove . . . io continuai ad andare per l'effetto che io ho detto e mentre praticai in casa in detta quadragesima et anco alcuni giorni dopo Pasqua, che continuò il signor Horatio di servirsi di me che non haveva ancora finito li lavori che voleva fare, io ci viddi in casa oltre detto Signor Horatio una sua figlia grande e tre figli maschi che uno dei quali che era il più grande macinava li colori et anco un nipote del Signor Horatio che andava apprendere . . . [magnavamo] tutti insieme la sera io ritornavo a magnare . . . et in quel tempo perché io praticavo in casa per questo effetto, così alli Greci dove stava prima come anco in quell'altra casa di sopra al Babuino dove andò poi a stare non ci vidi mai nessun altro a tavola sua eccetto questi che ho detto.

—Mentre io praticavo in casa di detto signor Horatio non viddi che havesse garzone o servitore o serva che se l'havesse havuto (396) ci andai tante volte che li avrei veduti. Veddi bene praticarci una donna che era lavandara di casa la quale veneva molte volte a pigliare li panni e drappi.

—Il nipote del detto signor Horatio era quello che spendeva et anco [serviva] alla cucina.

—Mentre io andai in casa di detto Signor Horatio non ci praticò nessuno in casa che servisse a detto Signor Horatio nell'essercitio della pittura che se ci fusse venuto io l'havrei veduto in tanti giorni che io ci andai in casa. Io non conosco né so chi sia questo Nicolò che Vossignoria mi domanda . . .

(396v)—Io ho detto che mentre il signor Horatio si cominciò a servirsi di me lui habitava alli Greci in una casa poco lontano dalla chiesa la quale è una bella casa et ha una stanza a mano destra che s'entrava dalla porta dove lavorava detto signor Horatio, come se sia fatta dalla banda sinistra io non lo so perché non ci andai mai, et mi portavano da magnare in quella camera che in quelli princippi finchè non presero pratica della persona mia non mi sbrigava a magnare con loro. Partendo dalli Greci detto signor Horatio andò poi ad habitare (397) sopra il Babuino in una casa la quale nell'entrare oltre la porta c'è nell'andito c'è anco il cancello et dopo si trova una stanza a mano manca et poi si salisce su ad alto per una scala di due pezzi et a capo le scale a mano manca sono due stanze una avanti l'altra che nella prima si magnava e nell'altra lavorava et in questa ci sono due finestre che risponde nella strada et dall'altra banda c'è un poco di scoperto col pozzo e la cocinetta e di qui ci sono delle stanze ancora ma io non ci andai et sopra la cocina c'è un giardino con certi arbori che mi dicevano essere del padrone della casa.

Margherita fu Agostino milanese lavandaia

July 20, 1612 Margherita, a washerwoman, has worked for Orazio for eighteen or twenty years. She used to do the laundry and occasionally helped Artemisia with household chores. She has been employed in all of Gentileschi's homes but has met Nicolò Bedino only since Orazio moved near Santo Spirito. If the boy had lived in the other houses, she would, in all likelihood, have seen him.

—Di quanto Vossignoria mi domanda posso dire per verità che saranno fino a 18 o 20 anni che servo per lavandara il signor Horatio Gentileschi (397v) da quando lo cominciai a servire stava nella strada diritta di Ripetta et poi andò a stare nella piazza della Trinità et dopo partito dalla piazza della Trinità andò a stare alli Greci e partito dalli Greci andò a stare alla strada di Margutta sopra il Babuino . . . et alle volte anco mi mandava a chiamare la zitella che gli aiutassi a fare qualche cosa . . . et quanto a questo Nicolò che Vossignoria mi domanda vi dico che ho conosciuto un giovane sbarbato che si chiama Nicolò in casa del signor Horatio Gentileschi da che lui venne a stare alla casa di San Spirito che sarà un anno in circa che faceva in casa molti servitii et impararava anco la pittura, quale Nicolò mentre detto signor Horatio habitava in questi altri luoghi . . .

(398) io non l'ho mai visto in casa d'esso Horatio.

—Ogni cosa può essere ma saria gran cosa che non l'havessi mai visto (Nicolò) in queste altre case se ci fusse stato . . . .

Bernardino fu Francesco Franchi barbiere

(398v) July 31, 1612 Bernardino Franchi has been Orazio's barber for eighteen or twenty years and has often been to his house in different capacities, as a barber, to let blood from family members, and to pose as a model. He has never been to the house at Santo Spirito. During all these years in Orazio's various residences he has seen only Francesco Scarpellino, Giovanni Battista the nephew, Pasquino from Florence, a washerwoman called Margherita, her husband, and a few people who came to see the paintings. He also remembers having seen a young apprentice in the house on via del Babuino. The house on via Margutta had a laundry room on the ground floor, two rooms on the main floor, and two upstairs rooms where Artemisia lived and where he has never been. In this deposition, he gives answers regarding the time of Orazio's move to via Margutta that contradict those in his second interrogation.

(399) . . . saranno da 18 o 20 anni in circa ch'io conosco Horatio Gentileschi et da detto tempo in qua l'ho servito nell'essercitio della barberia che ho praticato in casa sua liberamente . . . se bene adesso è andato a stare a San Spirito dove io non sono mai stato . . . che alle volte ci sono stato una volta la settimana et qualche volta sono stato dieci o dodeci giorni et delle volte ci sono stato quattro et cinque volte il giorno perché lui più volte si è servito di me per modello; ho cavato sangue a lui alla figliola, alla moglie et alli figli, et ho fatto la barba a lui et mentre che in questo tempo ho praticato in casa del detto Horatio ho visto praticare in casa un certo Francesco Scarpellino, un certo Giovanni (399v) Battista nipote di esso Gentileschi et Pasquino fiorentino, un'altra donna lavandara chiamata Margherita et il marito di essa Margherita . . . forsi alle volte ho visto qualcun che veniva per vedere quadri che non so chi siano quali parlavano con lui e se ne andavano via.

—Io non conosco questo Nicolò che Vossignoria mi nomina.

(400)— . . . mi sovviene che habitando esso alli Greci ci veddi più volte in casa un ragazzo sbarbato che all'hora poteva havere da 13 o 14 anni in circa il quale imparava di disegnare et credo che questo ragazzo fosse stato accomodato col signor Horatio dal Cavalier Gioseppe d'Arpino . . . quando designava lo vedevo star basso con la testa ma del nome non me ricordo.

(400v)—Io non ho visto questo ragazzo se non mentre il signor Horatio habitava alli Greci l'ho visto; nelle altre case dove andò ad abitare dipoi io non ce l'ho visto.

(401)— . . . potria essere che il giovine sia stato anco in altri luoghi, in questo io non li posso rispondere con sodisfatione della coscientia mia.

—A me pare che il signor Horatio partisse dalla strada dei Greci et andasse a strada Margutta questo Carnevale ha fatto un (hole in the page) . . .

—Non ci stette molto il signor Horatio nella strada di Margutta ma credo [passasse] sei mesi o simil cosa e come ho detto io ci sono stato in questa casa dove lui habitava la quale all'entrare dalla prima porta c'è un poco di annito et poi si trova un cancello, entrati nel cancello (401v) si trova una porta a mano manca dove si fa il bucato et poi si va su per una scala che torcia et a capo la scala si trovano dui stanze a mano manca che una va nell'altra et l'ultima guarda le finestre nella strada a man dritta. In faccia c'è un cortiletto et se ben mi ricordo credo ci sia due vasche; di sopra so che ci sono dui stanze dove ci stava la zitella che di sopra io non ci andai mai et altre stanze non so che ci fusse.

(The deposition was signed and sworn, but the page has been torn by the ink.)

Pietro Hernandez Spagnolo

(401v) August 4, 1612 Pietro Hernandez is one of Orazio's neighbors at Santo Spirito. He states that Artemisia is his son's godmother and that Nicolò Bedino began living in Orazio's house in November or December 1612. He knows this from a neighbor, Caterina, who was employed as a housemaid

by the Gentileschi but who worked there less frequently after Nicolò arrived. The boy, who was learning to draw, also painted and was taught by Artemisia.

Hernandez was also a painter; see ASR, Stato Civile, app., Stati di anime di Santo Spirito in Sassia, 1614, 1615, where he is called *pittore*. He was a neighbor of Olimpia de Bargellis, Agostino's half sister, who was also a witness for the prosecution.

(The page is damaged.)
— . . . io conosco il detto Horatio Gentileschi da ottobre passato in qua con occasione che essendomi nato un figlio maschio feci comare (402) la signora Artemitia figliola di detto signor Horatio et mentre io il detto mese di ottobre cominciai a praticare in casa sua non ci viddi mai un certo giovane sbarbato che si chiama Nicolò il quale s'accomodò pur con il detto Horatio circa un mese o due di poi e questo lo so perché una donna mia vicina che si chiama Caterina la quale era solita andare in casa sua, ch'agiutava alla cocina et altri servitii di casa mi disse un giorno che detto Horatio haveva preso un ragazzo . . . e che perciò non c'andava più così spesso in casa . . . et (questo ragazzo) imparava di disegnare et anco l'ho visto dipingere che la signora Artemisia gli insegnava.
Io Pietro Hernandez o deposto come di sopra

Caterina Zuccarini
(402v) August (the page is damaged). Caterina Zuccarini says that Artemisia used to employ her as a maid in the house at Santo Spirito, but since Nicolò Bedino has come to live with the Gentileschi she does not go there as often. Previously, Nicolò had come to the house now and then for instruction in drawing, and he would draw with Orazio's son Francesco. They learned by themselves—or perhaps "from them" (da loro) meaning Orazio and Artemisia—but this is less likely. Nicolò used to live with Agostino Tassi.

— . . . l'anno passato nel mese di luglio o di agosto venne ad habitare in faccia a casa mia il detto Horatio Gentileschi pittore con la sua famiglia nel mese di luglio e con questa (403) occasione io cominciai a bazzicar a casa sua intorno a mezzo agosto che la sua figliola chiamata la signora Artimitia mi chiamò un giorno e mi disse s'io li volevo agiutar a far li servittii di casa cioè rifar li letti e quel che bisognava e così io gli risposi di sì e cominciai a praticar in casa sua non avendo loro nessuno che li facesse li servitii e così io seguitai di andare in casa sua ogni due o tre giorni sino a novembre che qualche volta anco mi facevano anco restar a magnar lì in casa e di novembre poi detto signor Horatio pigliò un servitore che era un giovanotto piccoletto sbarbato chiamato Nicolò e doppo che Nicolò venne in casa io non ce andai più così spesso . . . prima che detto Nicolò s'accomodasse con detto signor Horatio io ce l'ho visto venire in casa non so che volte che sarà doi o tre volte in circa che veniva a imparare di disegnare e disegnavano insieme lui e Francesco figliolo di detto signor Horatio che imparavano da loro, e questo Nicolò prima di venire a stare con detto signor Horatio stava (403v) con un pittore chiamato Agostino Tasso ch'abitava al monte di Sant'Honofrio . . .

Nicolò Bedino
(405) August 8, 1612 Nicolò Bedino testifies that he went to live with Orazio during Lent of 1611. According to Nicolò, while he was working in the Palazzo del Quirinale together with other painters, Orazio asked him to live at his house on via Margutta. Nicolò received instruction in drawing, plus food and lodging. In exchange, he cleaned the house, ground colors, made the beds, and sometimes went grocery shopping. At via Margutta, Orazio did not usually paint; at night and on feast days, however, he would make drawings for the frescoes in the Quirinale. Nicolò ground oil colors for Artemisia, who painted on canvas, but not for Orazio, who painted in fresco. He did not sleep in this house, but in the houses on via della Croce and at Santo Spirito —where Orazio is still living—in Orazio's room.

In fact, Nicolò was not employed on a regular basis by Orazio when the latter lived on via Margutta during Lent of 1611, but by Agostino. However, because the two painters worked together and were close friends, Nicolò may have been to the house on via Margutta occasionally, as he later was in the house on via della Croce.

—Io andai a stare a casa del detto Horatio questa Quaresima ha fatto l'anno.
(405v)—Fu a Montecavallo che il detto signor Horatio mi incitò ad andar a stare in casa sua che mi haverebbe imparato a disegnare.
(406) —Non si parlò né di tempo né di altro solamente che s'io havessi voluto andar a star in casa sua m'havrei imparato a disegnare et havrei bevuto e mangiato a casa sua e così ci andai.
—Io portai al detto Agostino (al Palazzo del Quirinale) per parte della cognata una camicia che fu un sabato sera et un'altra volta li portai pure una camicia et un'altra volta certi quattrini prima che m'accomodassi con detto Horatio . . .
(406v) Detto signor Horatio stava a Monte Cavallo a dipingere con altri pittori la sala fabricata nuovamente da nostro signore e la sera andava a dormire a casa sua con la sua famiglia et il giorno dopo stava a mangiare e a bevere lasù a Monte Cavallo.
(407)—Il nipote di detto signor Horatio si partì di casa sua quatro o cinque giorni ch'io andai a star con lui non so dove andasse. Io scopavo la casa e macinavo li colori e facevo li letti et alle volte andavo a comperare da mangiare.
(407v) Mentre stette in strada Margutta il detto Horatio non fece pitture, né opere alcune, solamente che la sera e le feste faceva delli disegni per servirsi a Monte Cavallo.
—Li colori ch'io macinavo in casa mentre stessimo a strada Margutta erano macinati a oglio e se ne serviva la figliola per pingere su le tele e non servivano altrimenti al padre perché (408) a Montecavallo le pitture sono a guazzo.
(408v)—Nel partir della via della Croce detto Signor Horatio andò a stare a San Spirito, dove è stato [per tempo] (409) e sta ancora . . .
(409v)—Io andai a dormir a casa di mio zio mentre il detto Horatio stette a strada Margutta e quando andò nella via della Croce cominciai a dormir in casa nella detta casa di via della Croce e sempre vi ho dormito di poi . . .
—Io dormivo su una cassa a canto al letto del detto Horatio il quale dormiva in una delle camere che ho detto.
—A San Spirito io dormivo in certe tavole in quella medesima camera dove dormiva il detto Horatio e dormivo da me solo.
(410)—Il nipote del signor Horatio si chiamava Giovanni Battista et era un giovane sbarbato poco più grande di me ed era tutto pieno di rogna.

Carlo Saraceni pittore veneziano
(411v) August 17, 1612 Saraceni declares he has known Gentileschi since he came to Rome eight or ten years ago. He does not know Artemisia, but he has heard that she paints. He has not heard anything about her or talked about her in Antinoro Bertucci's pigment store. Saraceni believes that Artemisia and Orazio are honorable people and that she is a virgin. He has not seen Orazio for two years, however, and during this time he has never heard Artemisia mentioned.

—Io conosco il detto Horatio Gentileschi da che son venuto a Roma, che saranno otto o dieci anni con occasione che è della stessa professione che son io e so ch'ha una figliola chiamata la signora Artemisia ch'io l'ho sentita nominare ma non la conosco e l'ho sentita nominare con occasione che lei dipingeva e conosco anco Antinoro Bertucci che vende li colori passato San Ambrosio al Corso con occasione che io qualche volta sono andato alla sua bottega a comperar [. . .], e so che lui in bottega sua ha tenuto un giovane chiamato Mario che non li so il cognome né donde sia che credo macini li colori quale io ho visto (412) in bottega sua . . . ma io non mi ricordo il tempo precisamente.
—Potria essere ch'io conoscessi questo Marco Antonio Coppino . . .
—Io non mi ricordo di havere raggionato né sentito raggionar alcuno nella bottega di Antinoro Bertucci né io ho raggionato che mi ricordi della signora Artemisia né in male né in bene.
—E quando io ne ho sentito raggionare in qualche luogo mentre detto Horatio habitava alli Greci che io conversavo con lui sempre lo conobbi per persona

molto honorata e per tale era tenuta si lui come la detta signora Artemisia sua figliola che sempre di quel tempo intesi dire che era zitella, ma dipoi ch'io non ho praticato con il detto Horatio che saranno circa due anni io non mi ricordo haverne raggionato, né sentito raggionare né in male, né in bene.
—Io Carlo saraceni

Olimpia moglie di Salvatore de Bargellis
(412) August 24, 1612 Olimpia de Bargellis, Agostino's half sister, testifies that in the fall of 1610 she had been instrumental in arranging for Nicolò Bedino to live with Agostino. He stayed with Tassi a year and then went to live with Gentileschi, where he was during Lent of 1612. Soon after, when Agostino was in prison, Nicolò returned to his service. Olimpia cooked for her brother, and Nicolò brought him food in prison.

(412v)—Saranno doi anni finiti adesso . . . ch'essendo io un giorno andata a casa di Agostino Tasso mio fratello che abitava al monte di San Honofrio non havendo detto Agostino in casa alcuno che li facesse servitii, se ben in casa sua habitava anco una donna chiamata Marta moglie di un Paolo che era una volta cavalleggero, io parlai una volta con una donna chiamata Vincenza serva di Giulio de Felice che abitava poco lontano di lì e le dissi che . . . vedesse di trovarli un ragazzo che fosse andato a comperar della roba fuori e a farli qualche servitio che li bisognava in casa e lei mi rispose che c'era un nipote di messer Giulio che lei gli avria fatto havere se gl'imparava di dipingere e così si accordarono che detto Agostino mio fratello gli promise di impararli e lo pigliò in casa (413) e ci stette non so che mesi che credo arrivasse all'anno, o poco più o poco meno, e stava in casa continuamente e lì mangiava, beveva e dormiva . . . e detto ragazzo doppo che si partì da detto Agostino andò a stare con il detto Horatio Gentileschi ch'io non so dire se c'andasse subito ma so che questa quadragesima ci stava e si partì da lui e tornò a stare con detto Agostino ch'era prigione a Corte Savella et io gli facevo da mangiare e detto ragazzo gli lo portava a Corte Savella . . .

Marta de Rubertis
August 24, 1612 Marta de Rubertis, who used to live in the same house as Agostino, confirms that Nicolò Bedino had been in his service.

(414)— . . . mentre io habitavo al Monte di Sant'Honofrio nella medesima casa dove stavo io di sopra c'habitava Agostino Tasso pittore con la cognata chiamata Costanza alias la frittelletta et il cognato chiamato Filippo, ch'havevano doi stantie, cioé una sala et una camera, che gli l'appigionava uno zoppo che era calzettaro e quando io partii da detta casa al monte di Sant'Honofrio Agostino habitava in una casa incontro a me, che c'era andato a stare un pezzo innanzi partitosi dalla casa sopra me.
—. . . detto Nicolò mentre che Agostino habitava sopra a me venne a stare con detto Agostino . . . e ci stette non so che mesi . . . (414v) che detto Agostino l'imparava a dipingere e lui lo serviva e faceva li servitii che li bisognavano e detto Nicolò veniva alle volte in casa mia per il fuoco o per l'acqua che le portava per servitio di detto Agostino . . .
—. . . e loro havevano una porta separata che potevano entrare senza passar per casa mia . . . che c'erano li muri in mezzo. . .(415) et Agostino e gli altri che stavano di sopra per andare alle sue stanze bisognava che passassero dalle stanze di detto zoppo che si chiamamava Pietro Paolo Turci.

Nicolò Bedino
August 26, 1612 Nicolò Bedino repeats his version of the events given on August 8, adding that he had helped Agostino for only four or five days before moving in with Orazio. He also accuses Olimpia and Marta of bearing false witness.

(415v)—. . . in casa di Agostino ci cominciai a praticare cinque o sei giorni prima ch'andassi a stare con il detto Horatio e li feci alcuni servitietti.
(416) Olimpia dice il falso e Marta non la conosco.

Pietro Hernandez
(417v) September 12, 1612 Pietro Hernandez does not know when Orazio started to paint the loggia (that is, the Casino delle Muse) on the Quirinale belonging to Cardinal Borghese (this must have happened during the fall of 1611) but knows that Nicolò Bedino served him as shopboy there. He does not know whether Orazio had any other helper; there might have been a boy called Ippolito. He has been to the Borghese casino only once to see Orazio paint, and this was after Nicolò had left Orazio.

(418) . . . il signor Horatio ha habitato da che io lo conosco al portone di San Spirito dove al presente habita.
—Io non so di che tempo detto signor Horatio habbia cominciato a servire l'illustrissimo signor cardinale Borghese in pingere la loggia a Montecavallo; ho ben inteso dire dalla detta Artimitia da poi ch'io la conosco che lui dipingeva a Montecavallo e quando dipingeva a Monte Cavallo con lui ci stava Nicolò che venne a stare con lui mentre ha habitato a San Spirito e non so se havesse altro garzone che detto Nicolò, ma con lui ci praticava qualche volta un ragazzo chiamato Hippolito.
(418v)—Io non son stato a Monte Cavallo a veder dipingere il detto Horatio se non una volta e quella non mi ci fermai e perciò io non posso dire chi ci dipingesse con esso e chi lo servisse di altri essercitii e quella volta che io ci stetti Nicolò s'era partito dal signor Horatio.
(419) . . . Nicolò . . . può havere da 15 a 16 anni poco più o poco meno et è un tozzotto sbarbato e grassotto e vestito di corame.
(419v)—Io ho detto nel mio esamine che conobbi il detto Horatio il mese di ottobre prossimo passato con occasione che la signora Artemisia fu comare di un putto che mi nacque il giorno di San Francesco e che, cominciando io a praticar in casa sua, una donna chiamata Caterina li faceva li servitii di casa e che da doi mesi in circa dopoi c'andò a stare detto Nicolò qual'io viddi in casa . . .
Io Pietro hendes (sic) confermo quanto di sopra

Antinoro di Alessandro Bertucci, bolognese
(420) September 12, 1612 Antinoro Bertucci, who owns the pigment store on via del Corso, has known Orazio for six or seven years. Once, when he was walking on via della Croce, Orazio called him into his house to show him some paintings. Inside, Bertucci saw a young woman whom he assumed was Artemisia. He has heard no rumors about her, but Orazio's nephew Giovanni Battista had told him that Orazio had ousted him from the house because he had scolded Artemisia for staying at the window.

— . . . io conosco il signor Horatio Gentileschi da sei o sette anni . . . e so che lui ha una figliola ch'io non so come si chiama, ma la viddi una volta mentre habitava in strada della Croce che passando di là il signor Horatio stava sulla porta e mi chiamò e mi menò di sopra che mi mostrò certi quadri e viddi lì una giovane (420v) ch'io mi imaginai che fosse sua figliola perché havevo inteso dire che haveva una figliola.
—Mentre che detto Mario Trotta stette con me né inanzi io non ho mai inteso raggionare nella mia bottega di detto signor Horatio nè della detto figliola né in male né in bene . . . se non che un nipote suo che si chiama Giovanni Battista che praticava con detto Mario si lamentava del signor Horatio che l'haveva cacciato di casa perché haveva bravato alla figlia che stava alla finestra.

Pietro fu Angeli Molli di 73 anni
(421) September 12, 1612 Molli says that he arrived in Rome the Tuesday before Easter 1612 (that is, March 19) from Naples, where he had been for seven months. Previously, he had lived in Rome for a year and a half, and other painters had used him as a model. He posed for Orazio at both via del Babuino and via Margutta, but he does not remember the details and refers to his previous deposition of July 27.

(421)—Io fui invitato ad essaminarmi dal detto Horatio Gentileschi che mi disse come io ero stato tante volte in casa sua mentre lui mi ritraheva in un quadro su chi havevo visto praticar in casa sua che volessi essaminarmi per la verità e così venni ad essaminarmi e dissi quel che sapevo . . .
(421v)—Io venni a Roma il martedì santo prossimo passato che venni da Napoli e sempre son stato ad habitar in Campo di Fiore, eccetto un mese e mezzo che stetti sotto San Pietro in Borgo et a Napoli ci stetti sette mesi che m'ero partito da Roma dove ero stato in Borgo un anno e mezzo che molti pittori si servivano di me per ritrarmi et non so chi siano le parti che litigano . . . ma quando mi ritraheva lui habitava acanto a una chiesa di Greci e poi andò in un'altra casa di sopra a quella in un'altra strada che non mi ricordo adesso come si chiami ma nel mio essame l'ho detto.
— . . . non mi ricordo (422) di che tempo fosse ma io vi andai parecchie volte in dette case perché il signor Horatio mi ritraheva e faceva un quadro di San Geronimo . . . e non mi ricordo adesso come era fatta detta casa . . .

Margherita moglie di Girolamo milanese, lavandaia
(423) September 14, 1612 The washerwoman, Margherita, describes the house on via Margutta and says that in the house, where Orazio's nephew Giovanni Battista also lived, she had seen Francesco Scarpellino, Pasquino Fiorentino, and Pietro Molli the pilgrim, all of whom posed for Gentileschi. Orazio lived there approximately two years ago. She does not know when he began painting for Cardinal Borghese, and she has seen him painting only rarely. When Orazio was painting from the model, he did not let anyone in the room, although he would later show her the canvases.

(423v)—. . . mentre lui habitava in strada Margutta saranno hora vicino o intorno a doi anni, e questa casa che ha la porta nella strada grande e quando s'entra c'è un andito, e ci sta una stanza a man manca dove si faceva la bugata e si salivano su le scale e poi si trovava una sala et una camera et anco una cocina piccolina et un cortile e di sopra ci sta [medesimamente] camera e sala e ci sono le finestre che rispondono nella strada pubblica e c'habitava il detto Horatio, Artimitia sua figliola e tre (424) suoi fratelli et un nipote di detto Horatio chiamato Giovanni Battista.
—In casa del signor Horatio mentre habitava a strada Margutta io c'ho visto praticare Bernardino stuffarolo che il signor Horatio se ne serviva per ritrarlo et anco un Francesco scarpellino et anco un fiorentino chiamato Pasquino che è morto et una volta ci vidi quel vecchio che s'esaminava poco fa che è pilligrino, che il detto Horatio li ritraheva nelli quadri e non c'ho visto altro pellegrino che questo . . .
—Io come ho detto non so dire in che (424v) tempo il detto Horatio cominciasse a servire il signor cardinale Borghese in pingere a Montecavallo e poche volte io l'ho visto dipingere et in casa sua ho visto praticare li supradetti che lui li ritraheva in camera che non si poteva vedere, ma mi mostrava bene li quadri che lui faceva a similitudine di costoro.

(426) September 16, 1612 Pietro Molli is again questioned, but he refers to his previous interrogations and says he is about to faint.
—Io vi ho detto e vi dico che non mi ricordo più come era fatta quella (casa di via Margutta) . . .
—Fatemi confessare e comunicare perché io sento che vengo meno e non posso star più qua.

Olimpia de Bargellis
(426) September 17, 1612 Olimpia de Bargellis describes how her brother Agostino pressed charges against her, under the pretense that she had tried to have him killed by the hand of Giovanni Angelo Rinaldi, one of his friends. He had done this because her husband owed him money. She stayed in prison for a day, after which Quorli helped her out. She, in turn, pressed charges against Agostino for committing incest with Costanza, his wife's sister. Agostino was in prison only a few days before he was acquitted as a result of Quorli's intervention. Until their argument over the money, Olimpia and her brother had been friends, and in April, or perhaps November, 1611 they made up. During Carnival of 1612, Agostino fell ill. During Lent of 1611, Nicolò Bedino was living with Agostino, certainly not with Orazio, and she would see them walking together toward the Palazzo del Quirinale when she lived near ponte Sant'Angelo. (See Lapierre, chap. 21 and app. 6.) Olimpia at this date was living in Tassi's neighborhood, where she had moved from her previous house at the "immagine di Ponte." Thus, it is likely that they had indeed stopped quarreling for a while. (See ASR, Stato Civile, appendice, Santo Spirito in Sassia, Stati di anime 1614–18.)

(426v)—Io fui querelata una volta nel tribunale del Vicario che era giudice il [Confidato] che fu Agostino Tasso mio fratello che mi querelò per malevolenza di certi denari ch'haveva d'havere da mio marito ch'io l'havessi voluto far ammazzare da Giovanni Angelo Rinaldi suo amico e stetti priggione un giorno e doppo un anno (*sic*) fui liberata perché Cosimo furiero mi faceva [. . .] ch'ora è amico di detto Agostino et altre volte non sono stato mai in giustitia né processata per causa alcuna. (la prima volta fu Stiattesi che la fece testimoniare)
(427)— . . . Agostino mio fratello venne a Roma nel Corpus Domini prossimo passato ha fatto doi anni e ce stette in casa mia tre mesi e poi andò ad abitare con la cognata che era venuta di fuori poco inanzi a lui al monte di Sant' Honofrio che tutti partirono di casa mia e doppo si partì di lì et andò ad abitare alla Lungara dove habitava quando fu preso et Horatio Gentileschi che litiga con lui io non so dove habbi habitato si non da Carnevale in qua che habitava al portone di San Spirito che mi ci menò detto Agostino una volta che tornavamo da casa di Cosimo furiero, dove eravamo stati a una commedia.
(427v)—Io conosco Agostino perché mi è fratello carnale da canto di madre . . .
—Io so che detto Agostino è stato prigione a Livorno che me lo disse la moglie però non so per che causa et io una volta lo querelai in Borgo perché si teneva la cognata e fu assoluto per favore che hebbe di Cosimo suddetto che tre-quattro giorni uscì di prigione . . .
—Signorsì che quando Agostino andò a stare al Monte di Sant' Honofrio che partì da casa mia io ci praticai et andai in casa sua spesse volte per tutto il mese di novembre sin che ci rompessimo per conto (428) delli detti denari che dopo ci [. . .] criminalmente che poi da Santa Caterina in qua facemmo pace e c'ho praticato anco da poi che lui s'amalò questo carnevale.
(429)— . . . Nicolò andò a star in casa di mio fratello e ci stette un anno in circa e ci andò a stare nel mese di agosto di modo che della quadragesima dell'anno seguente lui stava con detto Agostino mio fratello e certo non poteva stare con Horatio di detta quadragesima e di quel tempo Agostino dipingeva a Monte Cavallo e si menava con esso questo Nicolò ch'io li vedevo passare assieme quando stavo all'Imagine di Ponte.

Bernardino fu Francesco de Franchi stuffarolo
(430) September 27, 1612 Bernardino, the barber, again testifies that he often went to Orazio's house on via Margutta, both as a barber and to pose as a model. Francesco Scarpellino was there, and he too was employed as a model. He went only once to the Borghese casino—to clean Orazio's teeth—and while he was there Settimio Olgiati came to see the casino. He does not know who was Orazio's assistant for this project. At the house on via Margutta, he saw Settimio Olgiati and some Theatine fathers, who had come to see paintings. For more than a month, he saw an old pilgrim there who looked like a Saint Paul and who posed for a full-length *Saint Jerome*. Sometimes he was asked to undress. Orazio used him for other paintings as well, especially studies of heads. Whenever Bernardino went to Orazio's house, he saw him painting, especially during Lent of 1610 (*sic*), when he saw Orazio painting the pilgrim. He has also seen Orazio working on small paintings on alabaster. The barber's statement that Molli had frequented the house on via Margutta during Lent of 1610 partially invalidates the pilgrim's deposition, since he had talked about Lent of 1611. (See fol. 395 above.)
(431)— . . . non sono ancora tre anni che (Orazio) se partì da quella casa (agli Greci) et andò ad abitare nella strada di Margutta a man dritta passate tre o

quattro case nel [partir] dal Babuino et andare per detta strada, che il batocchio della porta è una campanella de ferro o metallo grande e grossa a foggia di maschera, et in questa casa ci stette un anno in circa che no sò manco se il finì l'anno o forse più. So bene che l'altra quadragesima che questa prossima passata ha fatto l'anno se mal non me recordo perché io non ho a memoria bene il tempo so bene che un anno o poco più o poco manco c'è stato in detta casa della strada de Marguta e partendo da questa andò a stare alla strada della Croce in una casa sopra un sartore in faccia ad un saponaro che in questa della strada della Croce io credo che ce habbia habitato da sei mesi in circa da dove partito se ne andò a stare a San Spirito per quello che me ha detto lui che io non la so la casa e ne meno ce so stato mai e lì [dice] che sta adesso . . .
(431v)—Io in casa de Horatio Gentileschi mentre che lui è stato ed ha habitato in quella casa che ve ho detto di sopra dentro strada di Margutta ci sono stato più volte che a mio giuditio e per quello che posso ricordare sarà da sessanta volte in circa in diverse volte che ogni settimana ce andavo due o tre volte e qualche settimana ce stavo in quella casa due o tre dì alla volta et quando ce sono andato ce sono andato a far la barba al detto signor Horatio a tosare agli figlioli a cavare sangue alla figliola e perché si cercava di me per modello cioè per ritrarre . . . (432) . . . Horatio in quella casa (di via Margutta) c'haveva Francesco (432v) scarpellino che pure se ne serviva per modello depingeva [. . .], ogni volta che ce andavo ce il trovavo; ci stava Giovanni Battista suo nepote, Francesco detto Ceccho suo figliolo, Giulio suo figliolo, Marcellino pure suo figliolo, Artimitia sua figliola, la balia lavandara che non me recordo il nome che questa balia ce veniva di continuo ma non ce habitava.
—Io non me ricordo in che tempo Horatio Gentileschi cominciasse a depingere la loggia del Cardinal Borghese ne quanto tempo ce sia stato a depingerla e non so chi fosse garzone di Horatio all'hora e chi ci sia stato assieme nel dipingere detta loggia a Monte Cavallo nel giardino del signor cardinal Borghese; ne meno so se detto Horatio ce tenesse uno o più al suo servitio in detta loggia perchè io in tutto il tempo ce fui solo una volta che detto Horatio me ce fece andare solo una volta a nettargli li denti; mentre ce stetti io all'hora il signor Settimio Olgiati che venne a vedere la loggia di modo che se ce tenesse o havesse potuto tenere gente io non lo so perchè non ce praticavo et poteva tenere o non tenere gente che io nol potevo sapere perché non praticavo . . .
(433) questa loggia a Monte Cavallo. In quella casa che habitava detto signor Horatio nella strada di Margutta [come] ho detto di sopra non ho visto stare altre persone che quelle che ve ho nominate; ho ben visto venire il signor Settimio Olgiati a vedere qualche quadro, i Teatini che pure venivano a vedere quadri come ho visto per più di un mese di continuo tante volte quante ce andavo la settimana in casa un vecchio vestito da pellegrino che è un huomo più presto grande che altrimenti, vestito da pellegrino come ho detto, huomo di bello aspetto d'una faccia che pare un San Paolo testa calva tutto canuto con una bella barba [tonda] grande cioè tanto nelle guancie quanto nella barba istessa e questo pellegrino detto Horatio il teneva che il . . . retraheva per un San Girolamo in un quadro che il ritraheva tutto et molte volte il faceva spogliare et se ne serviva anco per fare altre cose et delle teste et a questo fine ce veniva (433v) il suddetto pellegrino et altri che questo pellegrino io non ce ho visti in casa suddetta che habitava il detto Horatio.
—Ogni volta che io sono andato nella casa del detto . . . sempre l'ho trovato che pingeva et in particolare di quadrigesima dell'anno 1610 io ho trovato in casa più volte detto signor Horatio che depingeva et io non me raccordo che habbia più certa memoria che de quel San Gerolamo che ritraheva detto pellegrino et l'ho visto anco che faceva certi quadretti di alabastro e quant'altro . . .
—Io Bernardino o deposto (in capital letters).

Marta de Rubertis
September 27, 1612 Agostino's neighbor Marta de Rubertis confirms that Agostino had instructed Nicolò Bedino and that they had lived together, but she cannot remember whether this happened in 1611 or in 1610.
(435)—Io no so altro che quanto ve ho detto di sopra e detto Nicolò io non l'ho conosciuto se non mentre stava alla salita di San Nofrio nel tempo che ho detto e non so se fu del 1610 o 1611 che di questo ve ne potete rendere il conto e che Agostino [. . .] lavorato da prima a Monte Cavallo nelle loggie de detto Cardinale . . .

Luca fu Carlo Finocchi da Palliano, locandario
(436) September 30, 1612, in Nicolò Bedino's defense. The innkeeper Luca Finocchi met Orazio's nephew Giovanni Battista during Carnival of 1611, at a play staged in the Palazzo Colonna in Piazza Santi Apostoli. Together with Giovanni Battista, he saw Nicolò at Orazio's house during Lent of 1611. He has also seen him helping Orazio with the shopping. He does not know Artemisia, but he knows Orazio, who has asked him to testify that Agostino confessed to the rape. Agostino was often in the Palazzo Colonna, where they met at a play. Orazio is about fifty, with a black beard that is turning white, and is of medium height; he dresses in black.

—Io sono venuto qui pregato dal signor Agostino Tassi che mi ha detto se me raccordavo quando, in casa del contestabile Colonna, Giovanni Battista . . .
(436v) ha menato me a spasso a casa del Gentileschi se non ho visto mai che questo Giovanni Battista chiamasse Nicolò et che me venissi ad affermare per la verità e qui me ce ha menato il signor Pompeo procuratore del Signor Augustino Tassi acciò mi esamini per la verità . . .
(436v)—Io ho fatto una fede per la verità al detto Augustino la quale contiene che io conosco Giovanni Battista nipote del Gentileschi che lo conosco che essendo io in una commedia del contestabile a Carnevale del 1611 e venendo li detto Giovanni Battista con alcune altre persone per la folla io gli imprestai uno sgabello . . . et altro non contiene la fede che me recordi. Mi ricordo bene che contiene ancora che Giovanni Battista ne menò quattro o cinque (437) volte con occasione che ero andato in quella casa con Giovanni Battista che Giovanni Battista et io andavamo assieme a spasso che lui veniva a trovarmi a Santi Apostoli in casa del Contestabile [. . .] altre volte a casa del Gentileschi e che chiamava Nicolò anche veniva a basso. (Giovanni Battista) era giovane sbarbato e gli diceva se il zio era in casa et quello giovanetto rispondeva quando sì e quando no . . . contiene ancora che l'ho visto questo Nicolò in pescaria alla rotonda mettergli (ad Orazio) il pesce nella sporta et il Gentileschi il pagava . . . et de questa fede me ne ha richiesto Agostino in Corte Savella dove io stavo prigione . . .
(437v)— . . . quando io feci la fede Agostino me domandò ancora se havessi visto la figliola del Gentileschi io gli risposi di no che non l'havevo vista né la conoscevo.
(438)—Io conosco Horatio Gentileschi pittore et lo conosco da quadragesima quando andai con Giovanni Battista et l'ho visto una volta o due a casa sua et l'ho visto anco in piazza di [Montegiordano] . . . mi disse che io mi volessi essaminare a favore suo che havessi inteso dire ad Agostino che havesse sverginato la figliola . . . et io gli risposi che Agostino non haveva detta mai tal cosa . . .
(438v) Io ho visto Nicolò in casa de Horatio nel modo che ho detto di sopra in una casa alla strada Margutta di quadragesima del 1611 et ce l'ho visto quattro o cinque volte con occasione che ero andato in quella casa con Giovanni Battista che Giovanni Battista et io andavamo assieme a spasso (439) che lui veniva a trovarmi ai Santi Apostoli in casa del Contestabile . . .

Luca fu Carlo Finocchi
(439) October 2, 1612 (Finocchi's deposition continues)
(441)—Io cognoscevo prima Agostino Tasso che cognoscessi detto Nicolò con occasione che venne ad una commedia che se faceva in casa del contestabile Colonna et con occasione che havendolo io visto praticar lì nel palazzo vedendolo la sera come ho detto alla comedia gli imprestai uno sgabello.
(442)— . . . Horatio è un huomo di 50 anni di barba negra che ora comincia ad imbiancarsi un poco, di giusta statura [asciutto] vestito di negro . . .
(442v) Io luca finocchi da paliano ho deposto quanto di sopra per la verità

Valerio figlio di Francisco Ursino fiorentino pittore abitante a Roma
October 5, 1612 The painter Valerio Ursino has known Agostino for more than two years, since the latter came to Rome. They were introduced by the Florentine

painter Antonio Cinatti. At the time, Agostino was looking for paintings of sibyls to send to Livorno. Ursino obtained them from a painter called Grassino (perhaps Marzio Ganassini), and thus they became friends. He then moved in with Agostino, who later demanded to be paid for his hospitality. Agostino first lived on the right side of the road in via di Sant'Onofrio, then he moved to the left side, where Ursino and Nicolò Bedino also went to live. Ursino left at Easter of 1611, but Nicolò, who had come in the summer of 1610, continued to work for Agostino. Nicolò has confessed that Agostino persuaded him to lie. While in prison, Agostino asked Ursino to testify that Orazio owed him 200 scudi. Ursino first agreed but then changed his mind, since he learned that Agostino had also asked Marcantonio Coppino to perjure himself. (See Lapierre, chap. 21.)

—Io vi posso dire per la verità che conosco Agostino di Domenico Tassi ch'egli è pittore e lo conosco da due anni e più (443v) et dal principio che detto Agostino venne a Roma e suddetto Agostino havendo di bisogno e cercando [dodeci] sibille per mandarle a Livorno a un gentilhuomo suo amico, Antonio Cinatti fiorentino pittore mio amico il menò in casa dove habitavo io alla guglia di san Macuto et in quella casa trattò meco esso Agostino per le mie sibille che detto Cinatti gli haveva detto che io l'avrei fatto trovare siccome feci, che gli li feci dare dal Grassino pittore che stava al Corso et con questa occasione io e Agostino Tasso pigliassimo amicitia et [conoscenza] insieme et havemo praticato sempre per alcuni mesi . . . che ce separassimo poi perché essendo stato in casa sua a magnare et dormire sotto amicitia poi mi mosse una lite che voleva che gli pagassi gli alimenti et perciò ce separassimo et lasciassimo la conoscenza et amicitia et mentre siamo stati [stretti] nella conoscenza et amicitia nel modo che ora ho raccontato detto Agostino stava alla salita di San Nofrio, che prima stava in una casa a man dritta vicino al notaio accanto (443v) quella di Martino Cappelletti, che lì ce habitò da due o tre mesi, e poi si partì in tempo de [meloni] et andò a stare in una strada a man manca la suddetta strada più di un anno et io in quel tempo che ho havuta pratica seco et è stato in quella casa a man dritta et in questa a man manca che in questa finì la conversazione nostra . . . ne l'una e ne l'altra casa io ho praticato da un anno in circa ma otto mesi di continuo son stato a magnare bevere et dormire con Agostino in quella casa a man manca vicino a San Nofrio . . . et in questo tempo che ci sono stato io c'è stato anco sempre un giovanotto di diciotto anni in circa che si chiama Nicolò quale è nepote de uno che gli si dice Brugiavigne et imparava di disegnare e serviva detto Agostino, la cognata, cognato et altri in casa. Il detto Agostino il teneva come servitore, se bene veramente il ragazzo stava lì per imparare perché aveva (444) le spese et il dormire, faceva tutti i servizi in casa et io, quando lasciai l'amicitia di detto Agostino, ce lasciai anco detto Nicolò che pure stava con Agostino che l'amicitia nostra per causa di quella lite finì l'anno passato che saranno più di 14 mesi et quando Agustino andò a stare in quella casa a mano manca anche io cominciai a stare fermo con Agostino a magnare e bevere e dormire . . . Nicolò . . . per alcuni giorni . . . se ne tornò a dormire a casa che stava vicino . . . pui ce se accomodò come ho raccontato di sopra . . . alla sera ce restava a dormire nella stanza da basso che serviva per cocina et ce venne a stare d'estate dell'anno già passato et io me partii dopo Pasqua dell'anno prossimo passato et detto Nicolò ce lo lasciai lì et ho visto (444v) che continuato il servitio.

(445)—Agostino ha fatto dire queste cose al ragazzo, che stava a strada Margutta e agli Greci . . . Agostino mi rispose io gli ho detto che dica la verità et non le bugie et intanto fu chiamato Agostino da un gentilhuomo et io (parlando) con detto Nicolò gli chiesi perché l'hai detto et Nicolò mi rispose Agostino mi ha fatto dire che io son stato con Horatio Gentileschi alla strada Margutta et agli Greci . . . (Agostino inoltre domandava) che io volessi esaminarmi contro Horatio Gentileschi che gli era restato debitore de 200 scudi che io gli promisi all'hora ma poi non ho voluto fare questo esamine falso perché non è vero . . . et tanto più che essendomi incontrato con Marco Antonio Coppino lui mi ha raccontato che Agostino l'haveva richiesto di simile testimonianza et che per non farla non c'era voluto più andare che questo è quanto io vi posso dire per la verità.

Nicolò Bedino

(445v) October 29, 1612 Under torture, Bedino confirms his version of what happened.

— . . . Io son stato in casa di Horatio et ho veduto che Artemitia sua figliola mentre stava in strada Margutta fece questi atti disonesti . . .

SECTION B

ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, serie Testimoni, vol. 201

The following two depositions, although they come from a different series—witnesses for the defense—are part of the trial and should be inserted before Bedino's last deposition. Stiattesi, on Gentileschi's behalf, asked for their transcription. (See section C below.)

Michelangelo figlio di Silvestro Vestri da Montelupo pittore

(103) October 12, 1612 Michelangelo Vestri from Montelupo, a painter, confirms his written statement that during Lent of 1611, when he was working on the illusionistic architecture of the vault in the Sala Regia in the Palazzo del Quirinale, he saw Nicolò Bedino carrying cartoons for Orazio. Orazio himself told him that he employed Nicolò, and he has also seen the boy in the Gentileschi house on via Margutta. Vestri met Tassi during the summer of 1610, in the Palazzo Firenze, where they both worked. He has often seen Orazio and Agostino walking together on the streets of Rome. He knows that Nicolò helped Agostino "on the Quirinale"—which probably still means the Sala Regia, although this partially contradicts his former claim that Nicolò was Orazio's assistant there—but he does not know whether Nicolò has ever been Agostino's servant or shop-boy or whether he has ever slept at Agostino's house. Vestri met Valerio Ursino in Passignano's workshop and knows that he quarreled with Agostino. Vestri has painted both in the Sala Regia and in the Casino delle Muse. Of all Orazio's children, he has met only Francesco, at the Palazzo del Quirinale. The "Giovanni sollecitatore" is probably the lawyer Giovanni Salvarani of section C below. Tassi also employed the lawyer Pompeo Trococia or Tracagna. (See Cavazzini 2000 and Lapierre, app. 6.)

—Io son comparso qua per esaminarmi et sono stato menato qua da un Giovanni sollecitatore di un Agostino Tasso, et sono stato menato qua (103v) sotto pretesto che dovevo dire la verità quando mi esaminavo et fui cominciato ad essere menato qua da San Michele prossimo passato in qua et io non so sopra che materia mi habbia da esaminare ma mi ho da esaminare ad istanza di Agostino Tasso pittore.

—Signorsì che io ho fatto una fede sottoscritta di mia mano et la fede ch'ho fatta contiene che lavorando io a Montecavallo con il detto Agostino Tasso nella Sala Regia a quella prospettiva ho visto venire in detto luogo il signor Horatio Gentileschi pittore a far le figure da Quaresima passata ha fatto l'anno da che ho visto più volte venire appresso a lui a portar li cartoni un certo ragazzo che si chiama Nicolò e lì su nel lavoro ho visto che più volte ha comandato al detto ragazzo et vedendo io che detto Horatio comandava tanto alla libera al detto ragazzo gli dimandai con chi stava et detto Horatio rispose sta con me [perché].

— . . . perché andando io una volta a spasso per strada Margutta et vedendo uscire detto ragazzo d'una casa [sita] lì in detta strada et dimandando io una matina che ero andato con il detto Augustino Tasso (104), et fu la domenica dell'oliva di quella Quaresima, su chi habitava in quella casa dove lui haveva chiamato il detto Horatio Gentileschi mi disse che ci habitava il detto Horatio et questa fede io feci in Torre di Nona dove io fui mandato a chiamare più volte dal detto Agostino Tasso ed ad instanza sua e da lui pregato io feci la detta fede per la verità et facendo la detta fede io pensava che fosse a favore del detto Agostino.

—Io di questa lite o causa che è tra Agostino Tassi et Horatio Gentileschi non ho parlato mai con altri che con il detto Agostino, et li ragionamenti sono stati che detto Agostino si doleva e lamentava meco dicendo ch'era assassinato in questa causa et anco fu ragionato della detta fede che lui desiderava da me per

la verità ma con Filippo cognato di detto Agostino e con Nicolò io non ci ho mai parlato di questa causa.
postea-Con Filippo incontrandomi con lui me ricordo haverci parlato, dimandandolo della causa di Agostino, alcuna volta mi rispondeva che andava bene at altra volta che andava in longo et io ho parlato anco con altre persone della fede ch'io havevo fatto per servitio di detto Agostino per la verità.
(104v)—Agostino per quanto io ho inteso dire da lui e da altri è prigione per causa della figliola del detto Horatio, ma Nicolò non so per che causa et lo [sentii] dire ch'Agostino era prigione per questa causa dal principio che fu carcerato et lo sentii dire da Filippo sua cognato che lavorava con me.
—Io ho cognosciuto Agostino Tasso pittore sin dal principio che lui tornò a Roma, che mi pare che fosse l'anno 1610 d'estate, con occasione che, lavorando io nel palazzo dell'ambasciatore di Firenze, ci venne detto signor Agostino a fare certi paesi et non ho havuto mai che trattare con detto signor Agostino se non questo ho lavorato con lui, et questo Nicolò Bedino lo cognobbi dall'anno 1611 di Quaresima et non ho havuto altro mai che trattar con lui di negotio nissuno et lo cognobbi nella Sala Regia di Montecavallo.
—Signorsì ch'io cognosco il detto Horatio Gentileschi pittore et lo cominciai a conoscere di vista se ben prima lo conoscevo per fama della sua virtù, dopo che cognobbi Agostino Tasso, che li vedevo spesso assieme (105) andar per Roma et li salutavo, l'ho poi conosciuto et visto a Montecavallo quando veniva a far le figure dove lavoravo ancora io et non ho hauto mai che trattar con lui et io non ho né da dare né da havere cosa alcuna da detto signore Horatio Gentileschi.
—La professione mia è di pittore et al [momento] mi esercito a lavorare nella fabrica del Signor Francesco Colonna a Piazza di Sciarra et quando io vado a giornata mi guadagno cinque giulii il giorno et io adesso habito in Piazza di Sciarra solo. Io non ho havuto cosa nessuna per venirmi ad esaminare in questa causa sono stato ben ridutto ad esaminarmi altre volte ma in cause civili
—Io non so dove al presente habiti il detto Horatio Gentileschi, questo carnavale habitava al Monte di Santo Spirito, ma io adesso non so se ci sta più overo se si è partito et prima che andasse ad habitare al monte di Santo Spirito, dove habitava io, ho visto che habitava in strada Margutta et che poi è stato una volta nella strada della Croce, ma io non so in che luogho (105v) perché io non sono stato mai in casa sua.
—Io non so che detto Nicolò sia stato mai per servitore o garzone di detto Agostino, so bene che lavorando io a Monte Cavallo detto Nicolò serviva lì nel lavoro di detto Agostino ma [se] poi ci andasse a dormire et mangiare io non lo so ch'io lavoravo a giornata et la sera quando era hora me ne andavo a dormire et anco ce lo lasciavo a rassettare et la mattina quando ce ritornavo ce lo ritrovavo.
. . .
—Signorsì che io cognosco Valerio Orsino pittore fiorentino che lui venne a Roma che puol essere 6 o 7 (106) anni in circa et lo cominciai a cognoscer perché praticando lui con il Passignani pittore dove praticavo ancora io con certi altri giovani et come tutti di una professione cominciassimo a praticar assieme et io non sono creditore né pretendo di essere debitore di detto Valerio che io gli fossi stato debitore mi haverebbe fatto pagare per via di giustizia havendo noi litigato assieme, et in quanto a me io tengo il detto Valerio per huomo dabene et honorato.
—Io so che Agostino Tasso et Valerio Orsino pittori hanno litigato assieme del dare e del havere che l'uno e l'altro di loro pretendono essere creditori che non fa l'anno hanno havuto tra loro questa lite et lo so perché l'uno e l'altro di loro me l'hanno detto, et io veddi il sopradetto Valerio tre o quattro giorni sono che passava così per strada, et non ho parlato mai più con lui doppo che cominciassero a litigare et l'ultima volta che mi ricordo parlai con il detto Valerio fu nell'hosteria dell'Aquila in piazza di Sciarra dove venne a cena con certi huomini che lui teneva et non discorsero di altro senò del lavoro che lui haveva di una carrozza del signor [Marangolanti].
(106v)— . . . mi comunicai nella chiesa di San Marcello all'hora mia parrocchia . . .
—Io cognosco Antinoro Bertucci, il signor Carlo Venitiani et Mario Trotta pittori ma il signor Carlo Venitiano non lo cognosco se no per vista et in quanto a me io li tengo tutti per huomini da bene.
. . .

(107) Sunday, October 14, 1612 Michelangelo Vestri's interrogation continues
—Io non so il stato suo [di Nicolò] et non so che se sia stato per servitore con nessuno sebene che è stato con li pittori a imparare ne so se ha havuto salario sì o no.
—Io non so che arte si faccia detto Nicolò ma l'ho visto servire al lavoro mentre si dipingeva la sala di Monte Cavallo et non so se sia stato per garzone sì o no, ma l'ho visto servire al lavoro come ho detto di sopra et non l'ho visto praticare mai in casa di Agostino perché io non ci son stato mai.
—Io come ho detto ho visto questo Nicolò servire nel lavoro di Monte Cavallo che haveva preso Agostino Tasso et l'ho visto anco alcune volte andar anco appresso a lui.
—Io so che detto signor Agostino ha dipinto la sala grande di Monte Cavallo assieme con altri pittori et lo so perché ci son stato a pingere ancora io et so come ho detto di sopra che per servitio del lavoro ci stava il sopradetto Nicolò che andava (107v) a fare li servitii che bisognava.
—Signorsì che io conosco il signor Horatio Gentileschi pittore che lo conosco con occasione che detto signor Horatio venne a lavorare di figure nella detta sala di Monte Cavallo di quaresima farà l'anno come ho detto di sopra e non ho mai havuto che trattare con lui.
. . .
—Io non so se il signor Horatio Gentileschi da che io lo conosco ha tenuto servitori e quanti et non so altro se non quanto ho detto di sopra che ragionando io lì sul lavoro su con chi stava detto Nicolò lui rispose sta con me.
—Io come ho detto ho visto dipingere il signor Horatio Gentileschi nella sala al Monte Cavallo (108) dove ci dipingevo io ancho et altri e non so che abbia tenuto altri se no quanto ho detto di sopra. Ho visto anco di poi dipingere la loggia del Cardinal Borghese dove ho lavorato ancora io et ci venivano a servire lì dui ragazzotti questo Nicolò et un Napolitano.
—Io so che il signor Horatio Gentileschi ha figli maschi et femmine che l'ho sentito dire et conosco un figlio maschio che si chiama Francesco che l'ho visto venire su nel [lavoro] a Monte Cavallo.
—Io posso dire per la verità come ho detto anco di sopra che ho visto questo Nicolò servire nel lavoro della sala di Montecavallo et il signor Horatio ho visto che gli commandava et la mattina ho visto che veniva il detto signor Horatio quando veniva su nel lavoro ci menava appresso il detto Nicolò con li cartoni come anco più apieno ho detto nelli interrogatori alli quali mi riferisco.
. . .
(108v) Io Michelagnolo o deposto per la verità quanto di sopra

Costanza moglie di Onofrio Ceuli

(110v) October 21, 1612 Costanza, the wife of Onofrio Ceuli, used to be Orazio's neighbor on via della Croce, but she had known him earlier, because her husband was his tailor. She testifies that Orazio never had a live-in servant, as he could not afford one. However, now and then, from her window she saw Nicolò Bedino working in the Gentileschi house, often grinding pigments. Artemisia told her that Nicolò lived with Agostino, but that occasionally he helped them as well. Costanza has been in their houses—both on via della Croce and on via del Babuino—because Orazio made drawings of her children. She has never seen Orazio paint, only draw.
. . .
(111)—Io non ho fatto fede alcuna ma mio marito ha fatto fede come non c'è stata alcuna persona con il Gentileschi che è un pezzo che io conosco la quale fede et la fece fare il Gentileschi una sera ma se ce fussi stata io non ce l'avria lasciata fare . . . et lui gliela fece fare con dare ad intendere che questo servitore gli domandava scudi trenta per causa di mercede et mio marito due giorni dopo mi domandò dicendomi chi diavolo è questo ragazzo che domanda il salario a costui. Io non me recordo non so chi sia e so che non ha tenuto mai servitore che veramente il Gentileschi era povero huomo e come stimo io che [. . .] alla giornata che quando haveva quatrini spendeva alla grande e quando non ne haveva faceva niente . . . (111v) . . . non so quello gli potesse giovare questa fede che gli fece mio marito.

—Io con Agostino non ho parlato nemeno con Nicolò, ho bene parlato con Filippo che così me pare che si chiama (il) cognato di detto Agostino che è venuto qui due o tre volte acciò mi essamini che altro non me ha detto et io sopra il grembo che sto per partorire ho detto la verità et circa la fede io ho detto quanto che ne sapevo et io non ho parlato con nessuno.
—Io ho inteso che detto Agostino et Nicolò che stanno prigione qui in Roma ma non so in qual carcere che l'ho inteso per il vicinato.
—Io conosco detto Agostino da un anno in qua et da tanto tempo ancora conosco detto Nicolò et non gli sò cognome ma è un ragazzo di sedici o diciotto anni con occasione che detti Agostino et Nicolò praticavano in casa de Horatio Gentileschi che habitava in questa strada et sopra questa casa dove sto io et io al signor Agostino poi gli ho parlato mai ma a Nicolò può essere che gli habbia parlato una volta o due che non me reccordo che cosa gli habbia detto et questo ragazzo se gli ho parlato gli avrò parlato dal cortile di casa che risponde in quello della casa dove stava il Gentileschi . . .
—Io conosco Horatio Gentileschi da quatrodeci anni in qua che mio marito serveva lui di vestiti et la moglie che gli faceva le vesti che quando il cominciai a conoscere habitava nella piazza della Trinità a casa de Pietro Pauluzzi et poi andò a stare agli Greci, di là alla strada di Marguta et poi qui sopra me. Con esso non ho havuto altro che trattare se non che mio marito il serviva et da lui non ho da havere nè gli ho da dare.
—Io [. . .] in bottega con mio marito et guadagnamo da sei a otto giulii il giorno et quando più et quando manco (112v) et sono tredici anni che io sto in questa casa con mio marito.
—Io non so dove habita adesso detto signor Horatio ma quando se partì di qui . . . disse che andava a stare a San Spirito che manco il sò et in casa de detto Horatio mentre habitava in questa casa sopra me ci [stetti] tre volte in casa sua che me ce faceva menare il mio parto per ritrarlo.
—Io so che mentre stava qui il Gentileschi ce praticava in casa con il medesimo ragazzo . . . la figliuola del Gentileschi lo chiamava Nicolò e questo Nicolò rispondeva lui, ma se gli fosse servitore o garzone io non lo so, ma un giorno dimandai ad Artimitia figliuola del Gentileschi chi era quel ragazzo che haveva gli era rispose che non gli era cosa alcuna ma che gli faceva qualche servitio et che stava col detto Agostino che è quel gentilhuomo (113) che sta prigione adesso et questo fu un giorno nel cortile di casa mia che sarà da un anno in circa e poco prima che se partissero da questa casa, ma quanto tempo sarà stato detto Nicolò con Agostino non vorrei dire come io non lo so nè altro ne so che quanto me disse quella figliola del Gentileschi ma quel Nicolò come ho detto praticava in casa del Gentileschi e faceva gli servitii.
—Io ho visto detto Nicolò in casa del Gentileschi mentre ha habitato con la famiglia in questa casa sopra me et ce l'ho visto tre o quattro volte con occasione che me afaciavo quando [cavavo] l'acqua che l'ho visto due volte macinare il colore nel cortile di casa . . . et una volta quando il Gentileschi sgombrò dalla strada Margutta che gli veddi portare certi quadri et una tinozza da fare la [bocata] et sempre l'ho visto solo.
Io mi sono confesata e comunicata quest'anno più volte . . .
. . .
(114)—Io ho visto detto Nicolò col detto Agostino due o tre volte veniva a chiamare il detto Horatio, che detto Horatio con il detto Agostino s'erano come fratelli, et detto Nicolò come ho detto mentre il detto Horatio è stato in questa casa è venuto due o tre volte con detto Agostino che altre volte non ce l'ho visto et quelle volte perché bussarono alla porta et domandarono del signor Horatio che non so altro.
—Io ho inteso dagli figlioli del Gentileschi che Agostino dipingeva la sala di Monte Cavallo assieme con loro padre et me lo dissero quando vennero stare in questa casa in quel principio ma se Agostino tenesse servitore alcuno io non lo so.
. . .
—Io ho detto un'altra volta che ce sono stata in casa del detto Horatio mentre stava qui tre o quattro volte et una volta (114v) [. . .] agli Greci che ce menai gli putti a retrahere.
—In casa del detto Horatio non ci ho visto altri che quel Nicolò come vi ho detto di sopra et . . . se stesse per servitore non lo so, so bene che servitore non ha tenuto che haveva della famiglia assai et agli Greci si faceva servire da Giovanni Battista suo nipote che è morto.
—Io non ho visto il detto Horatio dipingere in luogo alcuno. Io lo ho visto quando designava i putti miei dove et come ho detto et quando ancora et io non ci ho visto mai servitore come ho detto di sopra.
—Il signor Horatio ha quatro figli tre maschi et una femina che si chiama Artimitia che credo habbia adesso da venti anni in circa e dei maschi uno si chiama Francesco che haveva quatrodeci anni, l'altro Giulio di 12 anni in circa, l'altro Marco che può havere da 9 anni . . .

SECTION C

ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Registrazioni d'atti, vol. 166

(9v) October 23, 1612 The notary Giovanni Battista Stiattesi, on behalf of Orazio Gentileschi, pays a small tax to receive a copy of the two depositions in section B, both of which are in Nicolò Bedino's defense. Lapierre has argued persuasively that it was Stiattesi who guided Gentileschi through the trial, as this payment surely verifies. (See Lapierre, chap. 21.)

Pro d. Horatio gentilescho contra Nicolaum Bidinum in off. mei Jo bapt. Stiattesi petiit copiam depositionis Michelis Angelis pictoris et Costantiae uxoris Honofrii Ceuli sutoris [. . .] beneventius pro presente d. Nicolai pro qua habenda pro Arra dedit julios tres officium
Io (Giovanni Battista) Stiattesi detti la sopradetta Arra et in fede

(26v–27) October 30, 1612 The day after Nicolò's Bedino's final interrogation—where, under torture, Nicolò repeated that he had been in Orazio's house on via Margutta and had seen Artemisia's lascivious conduct— Orazio reaffirms to the court that he has heard that Nicolò is a false witness. Seven other witnesses have demonstrated that Nicolò was never in Orazio's house, either in 1609 or in 1610, in fact, not until the summer of 1611; nor was he in the houses on via Margutta and via della Croce—but this is not precisely what the witnesses said —and asks that Nicolò not be released from prison.
Pro fisco et adherentes contra Nicolaum Bidinum
In off. mei D. Horatius Gentileschus et interrogato sibi de iure competenti et dixit ad eius aures devenisse dictum Nicolaum fuisse testium super falsa depositiones sine preiuditio confessatos et convictos [. . .] et qua d. Nicolaus est [. . .] falsam depositionem convictus per septem testis qui concludenter deposuerunt et in repetitionionis [dixerunt] Nicolaum nunquam fuisse de anno 1609 et 1610 cum dimidio anni 1611 in domo viae Marguttae nec Crucis et propae protestationis non deveniri ad aliquam ipsius excarcerationem nisi prius data sibi [. . .] ad Nicolaus sit comitus [. . .] Hieronimum Felicium locumtenens

(57) November 10, 1612 Orazio Gentileschi appeals a decree in favor of Tassi and Bedino, which is evidently lost.
Appellatio
Pro D. Horatio Gentilesco contram Augustinum Tassum et Nicolaum Bidinum ex iuramento coram Hieronimo Felicio locumtenens neque [. . .] et a decreti facti ad favorem d. Augustini et Nicolai aliisque appellavit ut in cedula decretis cui dominus dedit refutationis in forma camerae.

(101) November 27, 1612 Agostino Tassi is sentenced to exile from Rome for five years under threat of the galleys for the defloration of Artemisia Gentileschi, for the subornation of witnesses, and for defamatory statements against Orazio Gentileschi. He is released on bail from the prison in Corte Savella, promising to carry out his sentence and not to offend Orazio, under threat of a fine of two hundred scudi. The sentence is pronounced in front of Calisto Paravicino and the prison guards. This document that pronounces the sentence against

Agostino is not the original, which is lost, but a record of it for the benefit of the court. Indeed, the phrase "pro Agostino Tasso," that is, in his favor, is rather baffling. But for some reason all sentences of exile are listed in these volumes as "pro." Lapierre's translation of the sentence, in her chapter 22, is slightly fictionalized. Clearly, it was Orazio's honor that was at stake much more than Artemisia's.

Exil.
Pro Augustino Tasso pictore sabellis carcerato pro pretenso stupro praetensaque subornatione testium de articulis infamatoriis contra Horatium Gentileschum productis et aliis de quibus in processu contra eum fabricato Ill. et ecc. d: Hieron. Felicius sostitutus locumtenens iniucto eius exilio ab urbem sub pena triremium per quinquennium ac data cautionem de servandum dictum exilium ac de non offendendum dictum Horatium sub poena scutorum ducentorum eum relaxari mandavit. Deinde fuit per me intimatum exilium presentibus Calisto Paravicino et carceris custodibus

(103v) November 28, 1612 The sentence is here repeated, with one modification. Not being able to find bail, Agostino is released under the guarantee of a Captain Pietro Paolo Arcamanni. See Lapierre, app. 3, for a Francesco Arcamanni, close friend of Quorli's.
Pro Augustino Tasso pictore sabellis carcerato pro praetenso stupro et praetensa subornatione testium ac productione articulis infamatoriis [. . .] contra d. Horatium Gentileschum et aliis de quibus in processu [. . .] Ill. et ecc. Hier. Felicius habito verbo cum Illm. ut asseruit decretum hinc ex quo ante extensionem decreti et postea fecit de reperienda fideiussionem et non potuit [. . .] fide Cap. Petri Pauli Arcamanni de servando exilio et de non offendendum dictum Horatium ac iniucto exilio ut in alio eundem relaxari mandavit
Deinde fuit per me intimatum exilium presentibus carceris custodibus

ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Registrazioni d'atti, vol. 167. The following documents are unrelated to the trial of 1612. See Lapierre, app. 21; her slightly different interpretation results in part from my misreading of the act of April 9. This is not a reversal of the original sentence, as I had believed, but a new sentence of exile for a different crime.

(165v) March 13, 1613 The quarrels between Valerio Ursino and Tassi continue in 1613. Apparently Ursino, who lived in the house of Antonio Maria Bertucci, was about to be released from prison, because there seemed to be no reason to keep him there. At this point, Agostino Tassi appeared in the office of the notary Stefano Faina and asked that more witnesses be interrogated in a new lawsuit that he had filed against Ursino for insulting him. By means of this new filing, Tassi wanted to expose the crimes perpetrated against him by his adversary. Ursino is here called a color grinder. Antonio Maria Bertucci, cousin of Antinoro, used to own the pigment store on via del Corso. (This information is in Processi 104, fol. 420.)

Pro d. Augustino Tasso contra d. Valerium Ursinum macinatorem colorum degentem in domo Antonii Mariae Bertuzzi in Platea Nicosia fiscum adherentem ac instigationem Antonius Cur.li [. . .] in dicta domo eius [. . .] at eius [. . .] excarcerari Infra pt. instantiam [. . .] D. quibuscumque non obstari ad [. . .] presens e compari in off.o meis [. . .] non posse excarcerari [. . .] ex carceribus secretis ad effectum examinari posse alios testes repertos super nova querela porrecta insultus cum [. . .] de quo in processo et sus locus et tempus petiit sibi accomodari de toto processu ad effectum dimostrandi manifesta delicta per adversarium perpetrata D. insta (instanza) reponit in iudicium coram Ill.m et ecc. D. Anselmo Ciolo locumtenens neque D. Stephanus Faina tamquo uno de populo petiit sibi accomodari de eo processum ad effectum demostrandum manifesta delicta perpetrata D. insta ut coram ill. Anselmo Ciolo locumtenens meque Stephanus Faina . . .

(183) March 20, 1613 This act records the reconciliation between Tassi, a prisoner in Tor di Nona, and Valerio Ursino, a painter from Florence living on via dei Condotti. They promise to forget all wrongs and insults and to be reconciled now and in the future; as a gesture of peace, they embrace and kiss.
Pace
Pro Augustino Tasso Nonae Carcerato contra quosquumquem In meis presentia Augustinus Tassus q. Domenici de Tassis romanus pictor ex una et Valerii q. Francisci Ursini flo. pictor incola urbis in via Conductorum nuncupata [. . .] nunc pacem fecerunt inter se et unum alteri et alter alteri promiserunt [. . .] reconciliationem ac pp. [pacem] duraturam [. . .] et singulis injuris cum armis quibuscunque [. . .] usquem in presentem diem et in signum pacis amplexi fuerunt hosculo interveniente quam pacem promiserunt . . . , et qu sit mihi put et contra nos facere per se ipsam alium [. . .] In ampl. forma camera apostolica

(192) March 23, 1613 Giovanni Salvarani, the lawyer defending Tassi, asks that no sentence be pronounced on his client, who is in prison, until he receives a copy of the evidence (on payment of a small tax). If this and the following act have anything to do with the litigations between Tassi and Ursino, their "long-lasting reconciliation," mentioned in the previous act, was short-lived indeed. The following document may, however, be part of a yet another judicial proceeding. It was not unusual for Tassi to be involved in more than one trial at a time.
Arra
Pro Domino Augustino Tasso carcerato contra fiscum et adherentes, in officio D. Ioannes Salvaranus defensor, Dominum Joannis Salvarani defensor et procurator quaesivit non deveniri ab aliquam sententiam preiudicialem nisi prius habuit copiam indiciorum pro qua habenda pro Arra dedit iulios tres offerendi pro ut

(222v) April 9, 1613 In consequence of a fight—probably with arms—Agostino Tassi, who is in prison, is exiled from the Papal States for five years. The phrase "eundem relaxari mandavit" (I ordered him set free) states, in effect, that after being sentenced to banishment, a prisoner is actually released, at times under bail. We do not know how common it was to ignore such a sentence, as Agostino did in 1612. This time he seems to have left the city, but not the Papal States, for two or two and a half years.
Exil.
Pro Augustino Tasso pictore hodie carcerato pro rixa cum [. . .] de mandato contra fiscum Illustrissimus iniucto eidem exilium toto statu ecclesiastico per quinquennium eundem relaxari mandavit
Deinde fuit per me eidem intimatum exil. presentibus Iulio Martellio et carcerorum custodibus

Appendix 2. Orazio Gentileschi in Rome: Two New Documents

LIVIA CARLONI

March 22, 1601
Orazio Gentileschi petitions to execute cartoons for the mosaics in the cupola of Saint Peter's in order that he may demonstrate his abilities. He was, in fact, among the painters working under the Cavaliere d'Arpino who were paid for cartoons both for the drum of the dome (the account for these was closed on April 15, 1609) and for the cupola, for the latter of which he designed an angel and the Virgin (payments in 1609 and 1610, respectively: see Bissell 1981, 148).

22 marzo (1601)
Beatiss.[mo] P[ad]re
Oratio Gentileschi Pittore, et humil.[sso] oratore della S[anti]tà V[ost]ra ha infinito desiderio di poter fare li desegni de Cartoni del restante della Cupola di S.to Pietro per poter cognioscere in concorso di altri valent'huomini se egli è buono da qualche cosa; n'ha supplicato li Si[gno]ri deputati della fabbrica et l'han'dato buona intenzione, però supplica con ogni humiltà V[ostra] B[eatitudi]ne degnarsi farlo gratificare di detta opera, quale farà con ogni diligenza et riceverà a molta gratia da V[ostra] B[eatitudi]ne per la cui felicità pregarà sempre Dio benedetto.
Quas Deus
(sul retro): Alla S[anti]tà di N[ostro] S[igno]re
al card.[e] di Cosenza [Pallotta]
Per Oratio Gentileschi Pittore
Die 22 mensis martij 1601 in Congregatione
All. Ill. card. del Monte
All. Ill.e Rev. card. del Monte

(Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica S. Pietro, Arm. I, B. 19 N. 42, f. 185)

July 24, 1619
Orazio Gentileschi writes a supplication to decorate the Benediction loggia at Saint Peter's. Having heard of the *fabbrica*'s intention to decorate the Benediction loggia at Saint Peter's, he puts himself forward as a candidate, promising to do his best. The commission was awarded to Giovanni Lanfranco, who in 1616–17 had frescoed the Sala Regia of the Palazzo del Quirinale together with Carlo Saraceni and Agostino Tassi. With the death of Pope Paul V on January 28, 1621, the commission collapsed.

Ill[ustrissi]mi et R[everendissi]mi S[igno]ri
Horatio Gentileschi Pittore humil[is]s[i]mo serv[ito] delle S[ignorie] V[ostre] Ill[ustrissi]me havendo inteso che si doverà dipinger in S. Pietro la loggia delle benedittioni, supplica le S[ignorie] V[ostre] Ill[ustrissi]me à servirsi dell'opera sua promettendo che s'impiegarà con ogni diligenza et lo ricevera per grazia delle S[ignorie] V[ostre] Ill[ustrissi]me. Quas Deus
(sul retro): All: Ill[ustrissi]mi et Rev[erendi]ssimi domini S[igno]ri
Cardinali della S. Congregaz[ione] della Rev. Fab.
Per Horatio Gentileschi pittore
die 24 Julij 1619 in Congreg[azione] guando sene trattara

(Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica S. Pietro, Arm. I, B. 14 N. 76)

Appendix 3. Artemisia Gentileschi in Florence: Inventory of Household Goods and Working Materials

FRANCESCO SOLINAS AND ROBERTO CONTINI

On February 10, 1620, Artemisia Gentileschi, then residing in Florence, wrote to Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici that she intended to make a trip to Rome. She had begun a painting of Hercules for the grand duke and promised to finish it for him within two months. For this picture, one and a half *oncie* of ultramarine had been advanced to her, and when payment was not received, the ducal *guardarobba* sequestered some of her possessions. These were released on February 15, 1620, when Francesco Maria Maringhi stood as guarantor for the payment. It is unclear whether the picture was ever painted, but by the following year Artemisia had decided to move permanently to Rome and sold her household goods to Maringhi. Maringhi's relationship with Artemisia is not altogether clear; Bissell (1999, 161) has suggested that they may have been lovers. They certainly remained in touch, since in 1635 she wrote to Galileo Galilei indicating that his reply should be addressed to the care of Maringhi.

The inventory provides an indication of the projects Artemisia was involved in at the time of her move to Rome as well a glimpse of her lifestyle in Florence. This previously unpublished inventory was discovered by Francesco Solinas in the private archives of the Frescobaldi family. He has generously permitted its publication here.

Frescobaldi Archive, Florence
1623 [modern calendar: 1624] 10. February

Inventory of furniture and [other objects] sold by Artemisia [cancelled: Margherita] Lomi to Francesco Maringhi for the price of 165 ducats.

X February '620 [1621]. In Florence.

This certifies that Signora Artemisia Lomi sells to Signor Francesco Maria Maringhi the items listed below for the price of 165 ducats, which the above-named Lady will receive in ready money, and she gives this to Signor Francesco as a receipt. They agree that this is valid as a public document, and they have asked me, Francesco Conti, to prepare the present list. The items are as follows:

2. large solid walnut chests
3. other Venetian walnut-veneered chests
1. large walnut cupboard with shelves
12. walnut stools with backs
1. small walnut socle [or plinth]
4. chairs with seats of various colored damasks and their covers
1. wooden chest
4. wool mattresses
4. rough linen mattresses
4. straw mattresses
3. bedsteads, one with walnut columns
76. golden and green leather hangings, Spanish size
18. gold and red columns with their frieze

1. red *ormesia* [?] and taffeta blanket
1. turquoise cloth blanket, trimmed with green taffeta
1. other turquoise blanket, trimmed with rose-colored cloth
3. blankets quilted with cotton wool
1. turquoise and white cotton wool canopy, made in the Turkish manner
2. feather cushions
1. quilted blanket of 30, stuffed with down
1. kneading trough

1623 10. Febb.o [1624 stile comune]

Inventario di Mobili et venduti da Artemisia [canc. Marg/gherita] Lomi a Francesco Maringhi per prezzo di d[ucati] 165.

Adi X febr[ai]o 620 [1621]. In Firenze

Si dichiara per la pre[sen]te qualmente la S[igno]ra Artemi=/sia Lomi vende al S[igno]r Fr[ances]co Maria Maringhi / li robbi qui Sotto notati per il prezzo di ducati / 165, quali d[ett]a S[igno]ra riceve di contanti, e con la p[rese]nte / ne fa quietanza al sud[dett]o S[igno]r Frances]co, restando di accor=/do che questa p[rese]nte sia, e vagli come pub[bli]ca iscrittura, / ed han pregato me Fr[ances]co Conti, che glie ne stenda / la p[rese]nte scrittura. Le robbe sono l'infra[scri]tte /

2. Casse grandi tutte noce
3. altre casse impiallacciate di noce viniziane
1. Credenza di noce grande co' suoi gradini
12. Scabbelli di noce con le spalliere
1. zoccoletto di noce
4. sedie di damasco d'appoggio di colore mischio con fodere
1. cassa d'albero
4. matarazzi di lana
4. matarazzi di capeccio
4. sacconi
3. littiere una con le colone di noce
76. pelli di oro, e verdi misura di Spagna
18. collonne d'oro, e rosse, e suo friscio //

1. coltre di ormesia rosso, e taffetano
1. coltre di tela turchesca bendata di taffetá verde
1. coltre pur turchesca bendata di tela incarnatina
3. coltroni di bambace
1. padiglione di bambace turchino, e bianco fatto alla turchesca
2. piumacci di piuma
1. coltrice di 30 tutto di piuma
1. madia

1. kneading board
1. wooden bed warmer
1. small wooden table
2. other small wooden tables
1. wooden cabinet with drawers
1. big pot
1. cauldron
2. warming pans
1. large pan for starching
1. vessel for cold water with brass dishes
1. small brass bucket with handle
1. bucket
1. brass fountain
1. copper pan
1. chain for the fireplace
2. iron fire shovels
3. tripods

1. big tripod for the cauldron
3. round tin plates
5. Pistoiese stools
4. wooden stools
4. easels
1. large canvas, half painted
1. picture of a clothed Magdalene, 2 *braccia* high
1. picture of a Madonna, 2 *braccia* high
1. portrait of a woman in a walnut frame
4. walnut palettes for colors
2. brass candlesticks
3. iron oil lamps
1. pair of fire tongs
1. brass snuffer
3. boards to be put crosswise on the easels
15. stretchers for paintings, including large and small ones
1. picture of a Magdalene, just begun, 2 *braccia* high
1. lamp holder with an iron candlestick
3. small paintings on copper
1. crucifix
4. small feather pillows [cancelled: viciria]

1. mortar with pestle
1. large vessel and clay strainer
140. gold and red common leather hangings and 13. turquoise and gold cotton ones, decorated on the top and the bottom
24. majolica dishes, including large and small ones, with other clay utensils for the kitchen

The above-named Signor Francesco Maria Maringhi declares that he has received the items listed above and the above-named Signora Artemisia [declares] that she has received the aforementioned 165 ducats; in witness thereof they undersign [the document] in their own hand, together with their attestation.

I, Francesco Conti, am the author of this document.
I, Artemisia Lomi, confirm the above.
I, Francesco Maria Maringhi, confirm the above.

1. Asse da pane
1. Prete di legno
1. tavolino d'Albero
2. altri tavolini d'albero
1. Armarino d'albero coi suoi cassetti
1. caldina grande
1. paiolo
2. scaldaletti
1. teglia da dare l'amido
1. rinfrescatoio con piatti d'ottone
1. secchino fornito d'ottone, e suo manico
1. secchio
1. fontana d'ottone
1. caldano di rame
1. catena del foco
2. palete di ferro
3. trepiedi / /

1. trepiede grande per la caldaia
3. tondi di stagno
5. seggiole alla Pistolese
4. scabelli d'albero
4. leggij da dipingere
1. tela grande mezza dipinta
1. quadro alto 2 braccia di una Maddalena abbilata
1. quadro alto 2 braccia di una Madonna
1. Ritratto di dona incorniciato di noce
4. tavolozze di noce da dipingere
2. candelieri d'ottone
3. lucerne di ferro
1. paio di molle per il foco
1. smoccolatore di ottone
3. assi per metter a traverso a legij
15. telaj da quadri tra grandi, e piccoli
1. quadro d'una Maddalena cominciato alto 2. braccia
1. Lucerniere con il candeliere di ferro
3. rametti dipinti
1. Crocifisso
4. guancialetti di piuma [canc. viciria]

1. mortaio col pestello
1. concone, e colatoio di terra
140. pelli d'oro, e rosse ord[ina]rie e di cotone 13. turchine, e d'oro, con suo friscio sotto, e sopra
24. piatti di maiolica tra grandi, e piccoli, con altre mas / serizie di cucina di terra

Quali robbe il S[igno]r Fr[ances]co Maria Maringhi sud[det]o / confessa havere ricevuto, e la S[igno]ra Artemisia / sud[dett]a ricevuti li sud[dett]i ducati 165 ed in fede / del vero si sottoscriveranno di lor propria / mano con gli infra[scri]tti testimonij

Io. Fr[ances]co Conti ho scritto la presente
Io Artemisia lomi affermo quanto di sopra
Io Fran[ces]co M[ari]a Maringhi affermo q[uant]o di sopra.

Appendix 4. Orazio Gentileschi at the Court of Charles I: Six Documents

GABRIELE FINALDI AND JEREMY WOOD

Transcriptions of six documents from Orazio Gentileschi's years in England are included here. There are three letters from Gentileschi to the secretary of state, Lord Dorchester, dating to 1629 and 1630; a report of payments received by Gentileschi and his two sons; a postscript from a letter by Balthazar Gerbier of 1633 that mentions the artist; and Gentileschi's nuncupative will of 1639. The original punctuation and spelling have been retained, but contracted words have been given in full.

1.

Letter from Orazio Gentileschi, in his own hand, to the secretary of state, Dudley Carleton, Lord Dorchester, undated but written in March 1629.

Orazio Gentileschi offers a lengthy and defensive account of the activities of his sons Francesco and Giulio during their recent trip to Italy, where they had been sent to acquire a picture collection in Genoa for Charles I. He explains that Nicholas Lanier, the English musician and art dealer who was then resident in Italy working for the king, had vetoed the purchase, and Gentileschi's sons had been authorized by the English ambassador in Venice to use the money intended for the acquisition to pay for the travel and living expenses of their extended stay.

London, PRO (Public Records Office), SP16/139, no. 88, fols. 168r–169r

Listed in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* 1859, 510, no. 88; published in English in Sainsbury 1859b, 311–13.

Ill[ustrissi]mo et Ecc[ellentissi]mo Sig[no]r et p[ad]ron Mio Col[endissi]mo

Acciò V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]za resti informata delle spese fatte da Francesco, et Giulio miei figlioli, nell'occasione del viaggio fatto da loro in Italia, per ordine di S[ua] M[aes]tà, è necessario con questa sappia, come dal S[igno]r Tomas Cari il di 20 d'Agosto l'anno 1627, furno inviati per commando di S[ua] M[aes]tà à Genova, per far compra d'uno studio di quadri del S[igno]r Filippo San Micheli, con l'intervento del Sig[no]r Nicolas Lanier, quale di già si trovava à Venetia, et per il loro viaggio sino in d[ett]o luogo, gli fù dato per le mani del S[igno]r Cari Lire cento cinquanta, con parola di d[ett]o S[igno]re haverebboro trovato il S[igno]r Lanier à Genova, essendo che per lettere gli haveva inviato tal'ordine, con dover somministrargli danari per la loro stanza, et per il loro ritorno, accompagnandoli con proprie lettere in suo favore; ma quando furno à Milano, intesero che il S[igno]r Lanier si trovava à Venetia, et che era fra poco tempo di partenza per Inghilterra. (Tear in paper, one word missing) uno di loro determinò andare à Genova, et l'altro à Venetia à trovarlo (tear) così fecero, et quando quello arrivò à Venetia, gli fù detto da D(tear) in casa del quale abitava d[ett]o S[igno]r Nicolò, che erano già quattro giorni (tear) per Genova; per il che Giulio immediatamente, risolse in posta andare (tear) per ritrovarsi con il fratello à stabilire con il S[igno]r Nicolas in compagnia del fratello quel tanto, per il quale erano stati mandati in Italia; ma quando Giulio fù arrivato, et abboccatosi con il fratello Francesco, gli dimandò se haveva parlato con il S[igno]r Lanier, et egli gli disse che non l'haveva veduto, per essersi fermato solo un giorno in Genova, il che fece maravigliare il proprio mercante, al quale erano dirette le lettere di Cambio; si che Giulio di nuovo senza intervallo di tempo, giudicò bene ritornar'à Venetia, per saper chiaramente l'intentione di d[ett]o S[igno]r Nicolas; dove arrivato, et abboccatosi seco, et trovato non voler acconsentire alla compra di quello studio, gli disse che li provedessi de denari perche disegnavano ritornarsene, al che rispose che voleva prima parlar con il S[igno]r Ambasciatore di S[ua] M[aes]tà, et che la mattina seguente serebbe [*sic*] venuto à trovarlo, come fece in compagnia del Nipote del S[igno]re Amb[asciato]re; et per risposta gli disse che al d[ett]o S[igno]r Amb[asciato]re pareva bene che loro dovessero fermarsi in Italia, (tear in paper; fol. 225v:) al che Giulio disse voler obbedire, ma che se si fermavano sino à quel tempo, che sarebbe sopragiunto l'impeto dell'inverno, essendo all'hora il mese di Novembre; che perciò sarebbero stati forzati prolungar il loro ritorno sino à Primavera, et che non havevano commodi di danaro per trattenersi tanto tempo, al che rispose il S[igno]r Lanier, che dovessero valersi delli cinquecento scudi datigli dal S[igno]r Tomas Cari, per comprar pitture, et che ciò era servitio del Rè, et che lui haverebbe fatto scusa con d[ett]o S[igno]r Cari, et avvisatolo esser stato suo ordine, come fece, et doppo questo Giulio gli disse haver fatto dui viaggi in poste à Venetia, per li quali non haveva hauto denaro alcuno, et che haveva speso quanti denari haveva del suo, che però gli facesse gratia provedergliene tanti almeno per il ritorno, et perciò detto S[igno]r Nicolas gli fece dare da Daniel Niis trenta doppie di Spagna, et egli riceutole ritornossene à Genova, dove riscosse unitamente con il fratello li sudd[ett]i cinque cento scudi dal S[igno]r Federico Saminiati, et fermatosi Francesco costà, et Giulio andato à Pisa a passar l'inverno, con alcuni suoi parenti, in capo a cinque ò sei mesi io gli scrissi à tutti dui li miei figli per ordine del S[igno]r Tomas Cari, che dovessero ritornarsene in Inghilterra, chè così era l'intentione di S[ua] M[aes]tà, quale voleva riconoscerli delle loro fatiche, et che il Sig[no]r Nicolas Lanier teneva ordine provederli della medesima somma di danaro, che gli fù dato quando furno inviati in Italia, et loro subito riceuto la mia lettera, scrissero all S[igno]r Nicolò à Venetia, che gli mandasse li denari per il loro ritorno, et doppo haver aspettato la risposta un mese, e mezzo, Francesco si risolse andare à Venetia per il denaro, et in quello instante venne a Genova al S[igno]r Saminiati l'ordine di pagarli cento cinquanta doppie, mà Francesco arrivato à Venetia, et trovato il S[igno]r Lanier gli disse, volessi dargli à lui il denaro; mà il S[igno]r Nicolò gli dette la poliza di cambio in confermatione di quella di prima, pagabile à Giulio, et Francesco unitamente, delle sudd[ett]e doppie cento cinquanta, et poi gli dette per ritornarsene à Genova, et per altri suoi bisogni altre doppie cinquanta sette, che fanno in tutto la valuta delle Lire cento cinquanta sterline riceute da loro (fol. 226r:) per la gita à Genova, et ciò è il denaro ri (tear) per tutto, con la dichiaratione della cagione delli loro viaggi fatti à Venetia, che quando vogli V[os]tra Ecc[ellen]za retifichino il tutto alla sua presenza con il S[igno]r Nicolò Lanier, resterà servita, non havendo io messo nella presente informatione cosa nessuna, che loro prima non l'habbino data in simil forma à S[ua] M[aes]tà et all S[igno]r Tomas Cari, per scarico d'ogni oppositione gli fussi fatta, et quì con reverente affetto gli bacio humilmente le mani.

Di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma et Ecc[elentissi]ma
Ser[vito]re Humiliss[i]mo et Obidientiss[i]mo
Oratio Gentileschi

2.

An account of payments received by Orazio Gentileschi and his sons between 1627 and 1629 (addressed to the secretary of state, Lord Dorchester).

The list covers payments received by Gentileschi from the king and from George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham, for living expenses, for the purchase of canvases and pigments, and for payment of male and female models. The list also includes monies received by his sons Francesco and Giulio for their trip to Italy. The document, in Orazio's hand, probably accompanied the letter the artist sent to Lord Dorchester in March 1629 (item 1 in this appendix).

London, PRO, SP85, bundle 6, fol. 333r,v. At the end of the document is an annotation stating that in 1953 it was removed from SP84/104.

Published in Finaldi 1999, 33.

Conti delli denari ricevuti da Oratio Gentileschi, tanto per le sue provisioni, quanto per le spese fatte per colori, tele, accurro Oltramarino, et modelli, per ordine di S[ua] M[aes]tà

In primis lire cinquecento per le mani del s[igno]r Porter, date à Oratio Gentileschi per la provisione d'un anno, assegnateli da sua M[aes]tà si per bocca del s[igno]r Duca per ciascun'anno per il suo vitto, et mantenimento della sua casa ______________________________ 500

Item altre lire cento cinquanta sterline date da S[ua] M[aes]tà per comprar colori, azzurro, tele per dipignere, et Modelli ______________________________ 150

Conto delle spese fatte in Colori

In primis per azzurro oltramarino scudi __________ 225
Per altri colori grossi delli quali ce n'è ancora bona parte __ 45
Per tele impremite scudi __________________ 30
Per modelli tanto di femine quanto di huomini, non ce n'è conto preciso, non havendo mai messo in lista il denaro pagato per tal servitio
____

Conto delli denari ricevuti dalli figlioli d'Oratio Gentileschi per il viaggio fatto da loro in Italia in servitio di S[ua] M[aes]tà, et fermatisi sette mesi

In primis lire cento cinquanta sterline pagate dal segretario del s[igno]r Tomas Cari alli d[ett]i Francesco, et Giulio per andare a Genova, per uno studio di quadri del S[igno]r Filippo San Micheli, conforme appare nell'informatione data a V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]za ________________________ 150

Item trenta doppie date dal S[ignor] Nicolas Lanier à Giulio, per il suo ritorno à Genova havendo fatto dui viaggi in poste à Venetia, come appare nella d[ett]a informatione ____________________________doppie 30
Item riscossi da Francesco, et Giulio, con ordine del S[igno]r Nicolas Lanier in Genova, cinquecento scudi di quella moneta, per la loro stanza in Italia
__________________ 500

Item doppie cento cinquanta date à Francesco in lettera di Cambio, et altre cinquata sette in contanti, per il loro viaggio in Inghilterra come appare nella d[ett]a informatione dovendo ricever tutta d[ett]a somma, in conformità delle cento cinquanta lire pagategli per la lor gita
Doppie______________________ 207

3.

Letter from Orazio Gentileschi, in his own hand, to the secretary of state, Lord Dorchester (by whom endorsed on April 24, 1629).

The painter gives an account of the money he has received from the duke of Buckingham, who had recently died, and from the king. He requests that the money owed him by the king be paid immediately, since he is in financial difficulty.

London, PRO, SP16/141, no. 35, fol. 46r,v

Listed in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* 1859, 527, no. 35; published in English in Sainsbury 1859a, 313–14.

Ill[ustrissi]mo et Ecc[ellentissi]mo S[igno]r et p[ad]ron Mio Col[endissi]mo

Poiche Vo[st]ra Ecc[ellen]za mi commanda, per parte di S[ua] M[aest]à ch'io dia conto di quello, mi fu donato dall'Ecc[ellentissi]mo Sig[no]r Duca Bocchingam, gloriosa memoria, alche non pensavo mai di venire, come cosa separata dalle mie pretentioni, et dall'interessi di S[ua] M[aest]à havendolo da sua Ecc[ellen]za riceuto in dono, con sua parola, non per cosa nessuna ch' havessi fatta in questo Regno; mà per essermi appreso à questo servitio, et lasciato quello di Francia a sua devotione, et venutomene à mie spese in Inghilterra, differentemente à quando sono stato chiamato dalla Repub[b]lica di Genova, dal Gran Duca di Toscana, del Ser[enissi]mo di Savoia, et ultimamente dalla Regina Madre di Francia, dalli quali Prencipi hò riceuto buona somma di denaro per il mio viaggio; et ancora per haver perso molto tempo per attendere il commodo di quella casa, fatta da sua Ecc[ellen]za fabricare per mio servitio, et hora per mancamento della sua persona ne devo uscire: gli dirò quello, che hò riceuto da S[ua] Ecc[ellen]za in Inghilterra; che mentre servivo altro Prencipe fuori di questo Regno, credo V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]za non voglia riceverne conto alcuno, tanto più che il tutto mi hà dato per li quadri inviatigli di Parigi, et per ricompensa dell'opere mie, che ne l'uno ne l'altro m'assicuro non potrà fare pregiuditio alcuno alle mie pretentioni, et al credito che hò con S[ua] M[aes]tà per la servitù fattagli, sapendo non esser l'intention sua satisfarmi del denaro donatomi dal S[ignor] Duca, ma benignamente riconoscermi, conforme me n'hà dato intentione, et come è accostumata di fare si gran M[aes]tà benche sin'hora non habbia riceuto da quella, solo che la prov[v]isione d'un anno, et le cento cinquanta Lire per l'azzurro, Modelli, et altri colori, come di già n'hò informato V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]za, quale pol ben sapere dalla bocca di S[ua] M[aes]tà se hà ordinato mi sia dato altro denaro, ò vero si trova alcun pagatore del Rè, che m'habbia dato cos'alcuna, che cosX resterà chiara V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]za del mio credito, et del mio debito; mà per venire à quello di che son ricercato, gli dirò come non ho riceuto altro solo che il denaro di quella gratia che donò S[ua] M[aes]tà al S[igno]r Duca con le sudd[ett]e parole di S[ua] Ecc[ellen]za havendo d[ett]o S[igno]re prima fattone rice[v]uta di sua mano à quel Visconte, al quale ordinb S[ua] M[aes]tà che dovessi pagare il denaro al S[igno]r Duca, et non ad altri, et egli per sua benignità, et per li suddetti particolari me ne fece dono; la qual gratia importb in tutto lire mille, et cinque cento, mà di quelli me ne toccorno solo mille, et trecento, havendone date doicento ad alcuni interessati in quel negotio, essendo quelli che la proposero, et che la trattorno con queste conditioni, et delli lire mille et trecento, parte ne hò spese in mio figliolo, stato qualche tempo al servitio di S[ua] Ecc[ellen]za et il resto nel mantenimento della mia casa, qual figliolo, non hà riceuto cos'alcuna à quella servitù (fol. 46v:) com' hanno fatto gl'altri, delche non ne haverei parlato mai, come delli suddetti particolari, se non fossi stato forzato dar questi conti; si cura che se non era il commodo di questo denaro, mi bisognava esser molto più sollecito per non dir importuno, in risquoter quello, che mi è stato assegnato per il mio vitto. Hora credo non haver altri conti da dare à V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]za, et questi sò li conoscerà di nessun momento per quello che mi si deve; rest'hora la preghi vogli farmi gratia terminar il tutto, acciò possa far riscossione delle mie provisioni, essendo del tutto scarso di denaro, anzi di più indebitato, per haver mandato li

miei figlioli in Italia, sicondo l'intention di Sua M[aes]tà come pol sapere da un Mercante che mi ha accommodato del denaro per tal servitio che di ciò ne resterò obligatiss[i]mo alla cortesia di V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]za alla quale humilmente bacio le mani

Di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma et Ecc[ellentissi]ma

Ser[vito]re Humiliss[i]mo
Oratio Gentileschi

4.
Letter from Orazio Gentileschi, in his own hand, to the secretary of state, Lord Dorchester, October 13, 1630.

Gentileschi asks for money that is owed him to be paid by the lord treasurer as soon as possible, so that he can clear his debts. He asks also for passports for two men returning to Paris who had been with him at Windsor and were concerned that they might be inconvenienced by customs officials when they departed.

London, PRO, SP16/174, no. 33, fol. 45r,v

Listed in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* 1860, 359, no. 33. Unpublished.

Eccelent[i]ssimo Sig[no]r e P[ad]ron mio Col[endissi]mo

Pensavo di poter venire costà per sollecitare la rescussione delli denari promessimi dall'Eccelentiss[i]mo Sig[no]r Tesauriere che già sono passati gli otto giorni ne quali havava promessomi sodisfarmi; ma sono stato sopresso da una furia si grande di cattarro che perciß sono stato forzato inviare à Vostra Eccelenza questo huomo à posta e con la presente infastidirla e sono in stato tale che se lei vi fussi presente haveria compassione di me non sendomi mai trovato in peggiore stato, nel quale al presente sono con debiti, che giornalm[en]te mi danno travaglio non essendo io a questo accostumato. Per tanto supplico l'eccelenza vostra à fare qualche cosa p[er] me app[ress]o il sig[no]r Tesauriere à fine che io possa sodisfare i miei debiti e vivere con qualche sorte di quiete del che gli sentirß infinite obligat[io]ni. Quelli ss[ignor]i che à Vinsor in mia compagnia vennero sono di partenza p[er] Parigi et hanno comperato qualche poche cose p[er] loro uso, e p[er]chè non hanno la lingua temono d'essere alle Dogane trattenuti; percio loro, et io insieme la supplichiamo d'un passaporto, à fine che con quello li sia permesso fare il loro viaggio liberam[en]te non have[n]do intentione di defraudare in alcun modo le dette Dogane. Replico che non ho migliore speranza interno alli miei interessi di quella che s'e degnata porgermi la supplico à favorirmi col sudetto passaporto di due linee in risposta con che à vostra Eccelenza inchinandomi prego dal sig[no]re Idio contento di Londra li 13 8bre 1630
di vostra Eccel[en]za ser[vito]re Humiliss[im]o e Devotiss[im]o

Horatio Gentileschi

(45v)
Londra 12 8b[re] 1630
Il Sig[no]r Gentileschi all'Ill[ustrissi]mo & Eccelentiss[im]o Sig[no]r Viconte di Dorcestra

5.
Postscript in a letter from Sir Balthazar Gerbier, in Brussels, to King Charles I, October 14, 1633.

Gerbier informs the king that Queen Maria de' Medici, the exiled mother of Louis XIII of France, and Archduchess Isabella, infanta of Spain, had admired a work by Gentileschi in Brussels.

London, PRO, SP105/10, fol. 260

Gentilesco hath prayed me to [*sic*] in a letter to witnesse to Your Majesty the Queen Mother and the Infanta have admired here his worke; being the truth I cannot refuse him to sett it downe in this postscript, for which I humbly crave pardon.

6.
Orazio Gentileschi's will

Gentileschi did not make a formal will, but before he died he orally declared before witnesses his intentions for the disposal of his estate (nuncupative will). It was to be divided between his three sons, the largest portion to Giulio, his second son, and the smallest to Marco, his youngest. He appointed Francesco, his eldest son, his executor.

London, PRO, Prob 11/180, fol. 473r

Published in Finaldi 1999, 33.

In the margin: T[estamentum] nuncupatinu[m] Horatio Gentileschi: def[unct]i

Memorandum that upon the one and twentieth day of January anno Domini iuxta (?)[?]; one thousand six hundred thirty eight or thereabout Horatio Gentileschi late of the p[ar]ishe of Saint Martin in the fields in the Countie of Midd[lesex] gent[leman] beinge sicke in bodie of the last sicknes whereof he died but of p[er]fecte mynd and memorie with an intention to declare his last will and testam[en]t nuncupative did utter and declare as followeth: I will that after my debts are paied my sonne Julio shall have a little more of my estate then my sonne Francisco because he hath a greate charge of children and is not soe well able to gett his livinge as my sonne Francisco is, and that my sonne Francisco shall have a little lesse then my sonne Julio, and that my sonne Marco shall have leaste of all because he hath beene an undutifull child to me and hath putt me to greate charges, and I will that my sonne Francisco shall have all my wearinge apparell and ready monyes to defray the charges of my buriall. And I will that my Servant Francis Tarilli shall have tenn poundes which I owe him for worke and all my household goodes and alsoe that my said three sonnes shall give him (meaninge the said Francis Tarilli [)] five poundes apeece, in all fiefteene poundes for his paines taken in attendinge me in my sicknes and he made his sonne Francis Gentileschi sole executor, which wordes or the like in effecte were soe spoken and declared by the said Horatio Gentileschi as aforesaid in the presence and hearinge of Joannes Dumoriceaux (?) # # Joannes Copatus (?) fui presens Francis Tarilli.

The will was proved on July 2, 1639, by Francesco Gentileschi.

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General Index

Italic page numbers indicate illustrations. **Boldface** numbers indicate principal discussions of works. Works by the Gentileschi are listed in separate indices arranged by location and by title (see pp. 473–76).

Index of Works by Orazio Gentileschi

Italic page numbers indicate illustrations. **Boldface** numbers indicate principal discussions of works.

BY LOCATION

BY TITLE

Index of Works by Artemisia Gentileschi

Italic page numbers indicate illustrations. **Boldface** numbers indicate principal discussions of works.

BY LOCATION

BY TITLE

Photograph Credits

Abbrescia e Santinelli, Face 2 Face Studio, Rome (fig. 6)

Archivio Fotografico Luciano Pedicini, Naples (fig. 143)

Arte Fotografica, Rome (fig. 124)

Bibliotheca Herziana, Rome (fig. 37)

Marc Blondeau, Paris (fig. 128)

Concessione dei Musei Civici di Torino (fig. 5)

Prudence Cuming Associates Ltd., London (fig. 46)

Documentation de la Fondation Getty et du Département des peintures du Louvre, Marc Jeanneteau / CNMHS / SPADEM (fig. 82)

Finarte, Milan (figs. 25, 57, 138)

Christopher Foster (figs. 11, 13)

Fotodesign Michael Lüder (figs. 98, 99)

Fratelli Alinari, Florence / Art Resource, New York (figs. 36, 39, 68, 114, 117, 126)

Frick Art Reference Library (fig. 47)

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Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome (figs. 32, 33)

Nicolas Mathéus, Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris (fig. 92)

Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures, Documentation G. Bazin, 1994 (fig. 81)

Claudio Pizzorusso, Florence (fig. 112)

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Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma e di Lazio (fig. 34)

Sotheby's London (fig. 144)

Vatican Museums (fig. 105)

Warburg Institute, London (fig. 146)

Weiner Kunst Auktionen (fig. 100)



ISBN 0-300-09077-3

9 780300 090772